LOCAL DEVELOPMENT, INSTITUTIONS and CLIMATE CHANGE in BURKINA FASO

Situation Analysis and Operational Recommendations

Final Draft January 2010

Social Development Department
Area-based Development and Climate Change
THE WORLD BANK
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1: Burkina Faso and its Administrative Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of acronyms and abbreviations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. BACKGROUND REVIEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 COUNTRY PROFILE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Total surface area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3 General economic context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.4 Climate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.5 Agro-ecological zones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Major ministerial bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Devolution structures: Region, District and Sub-district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Decentralization structures: Region, Council and Rural Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Village Development Commissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Community institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 GENERAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Local development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Decentralization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Fight against poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.4 Other sectoral policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. VULNERABILITIES TO RISKS AND LOCAL ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 UNITS OF ANALYSIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. RISKS, UNCERTAINTIES AND VULNERABILITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES TO CRISES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1 Household adaptive strategies: Case-studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Agro-pastoralism as capital adaptive strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3 Other long term adaptive strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4 ‘Coping’ or ‘survival’ strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND RISKS VULNERABILITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF DECENTRALIZED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 AT POLICY LEVEL

4.2 AT NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM LEVEL

4.3 AT THE LEVEL OF COMMUNAL PROJECT OWNERSHIP

4.4. AT THE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

4.5 LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CONSTRAINTS

4.6 DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING CYCLE

4.7 WORLD BANK PROGRAM ACHIEVEMENTS

4.7.1 The National Decentralized Rural Development Program

4.7.2 Other World Bank Projects

5. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY PROSPECTS

5.1 General prospects

5.2 Specific initiatives

   I. Upgrading policy frameworks and operational strategies

   II. Consolidation of the institutional framework

   III. Building stakeholder capacities

   IV. Upgrading the planning process

   V. Consolidation and expansion of financial mechanism

5.3 Overview

6. CONCLUSION

MAIN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Institutional structure of local development in Burkina Faso

Annex 2: History of major instruments of the legislative framework in Burkina Faso

Annex 3: Major World Bank-sponsored programs in Burkina Faso

Annex 4: Other policy frameworks, programs and approaches

List of Maps, Boxes, Figures and Tables

Map 1: Burkina Faso and its Administrative Regions

Box 2: Soil characteristics in Burkina Faso

Map 3: The seven agro-ecological zones in Burkina Faso

Map 4: Major environmental risk-prone areas in Burkina Faso

Table 5: Major features of agro-ecological zones

Figure 6: Interlocked institutions: From household to community-based organization

Box 7: On the notions of ‘risk’, ‘uncertainty’ and ‘vulnerability’

Figure 8: Strategies adopted by households confronted with crisis situations in Burkina Faso

Box 9: Adapting agriculture to climate change

Figure 10: Recommended initiatives to support adaptation to climate change

Box 11: Elements concerning the implementation of initiatives
This report was drafted by Angelo BONFIGLIOLI, a Freelance Consultant and Local Development Expert.

* * *

This paper is part of studies commissioned by the Social Development Department of the World Bank under the Area-Based Development and Climate Change Project, with support from the World Bank-Netherlands Partnership Program (BNPP) and the Norway-Finland Trust Fund for Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development (TFESSD).

The core objective of the project is to understand how area-based development initiatives can build adaptation and resilience of local stakeholders and community groups to climate change.

First of all, I thank Robin Mearns, Nicolas Perrin, Minna Kononen and Eija Pehu of the Social Development Department of the World Bank in Washington, DC, for all their support and helpful contributions to this study.

Special thanks are also due to Mathieu Ouédraogo, Joachim Ouigba and to the entire team of the MARP Network for their hospitality and collaboration in the course of the study in Burkina Faso in January 2010, and for coordinating field surveys. Finally, many thanks to Charles Dalla, Karim Dieni, Mohammed Ouédraogo, Drissa Soulama and Dominique Zongo who took part in a validation workshop held in Ouagadougou on January 27, 2010, under the stewardship of Jean-Baptiste Sibiri Taonda (of INRA, MARP resource person).
Map 1: Burkina Faso and its Administrative Regions

[Source: The World Bank]
**LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMBF</td>
<td>Association of Municipalities in Burkina Faso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCT</td>
<td>General Code for Local and Regional Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSLP</td>
<td>Poverty Alleviation Strategic Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSLMOD</td>
<td>Strategic Framework for Implementing Decentralization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVD</td>
<td>Village Development Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCL</td>
<td>Skills and Legality Department (MATD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFL</td>
<td>Local Finance Department (MATD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DGFROP</td>
<td>Directorate General for Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DGCT</td>
<td>Directorate General for Local and Regional Authorities (MATD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPDCT</td>
<td>Standing Fund for the Development of Local and Regional Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPDRD</td>
<td>Decentralized Rural Development Policy Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAHRH</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture, Hydraulics and Fisheries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATD</td>
<td>Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEF</td>
<td>Ministry of Economy and Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRA</td>
<td>Ministry of Animal Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MECV</td>
<td>Ministry of Environment and Livelihoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAPA</td>
<td>National Adaptation Program of Action to Climate Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPISE</td>
<td>Action Plan and Investment Program in the Livestock Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEDD</td>
<td>Sustainable Environmental Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNDRD</td>
<td>National Decentralized Rural Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAF</td>
<td>Agrarian and Land Reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Early Warning System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR</td>
<td>Rural Development Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFR</td>
<td>Rural (Communal) Land Tenure Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SISA</td>
<td>Information System on Food Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOD</td>
<td>Orientation Instruments on Decentralization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCDF</td>
<td>United Nations Capital Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDAF</td>
<td>United Nations Development Assistance Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Climate change poses a looming threat to the livelihoods of households and communities worldwide, especially in rural areas. This is even more so in Africa, where most people depend on natural resources from an increasingly fragile environment for their living. Prepared as part of initiatives taken by the Social Development Department of the World Bank under its ‘Area-Based Development and Climate Change’ Project, this paper aims to examine the particular situation of Burkina Faso and describe its major economic, ecological and weather features. Major institutional local development stakeholders are also identified, as well as key features of local development, major political and operational frameworks and vital aspects of development planning and management. This paper defines the role played by institutions (both public and private, formal and informal, national and local) in disaster response and support to local adaptive strategies, and makes recommendations for World Bank operations in Burkina Faso.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS

In Burkina Faso, local development policies and programs are formulated and implemented by a host of public institutional stakeholders operating at local, regional or national level amid a varied and complex institutional dispensation. The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD) is currently responsible for implementing and regulating the territorial administration policy, for supporting local development through local and regional authorities, and for applying government decentralization policies. Within the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF), the Directorate General for Territorial Development, Local and Regional Development is in charge of formulating territorial development, as well as local and regional policies, and translating such policy frameworks into projects and programs. Sectoral ministries involved in local development provision include the Ministry of Agriculture, Hydraulics and Fisheries (MAHRH), the Ministry of Animal Resources (MRA) and the Ministry of Environment and Livelihoods (MECV).

LOCAL INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS (DEVOLUTION AND DECENTRALIZATION)

At local level, Burkina Faso possesses three levels of devolution structures, namely: Regions (13), headed by Regional Governors and including the Regional Consultation Framework; Provinces (45) headed by a High Commissioner and including a Provincial Consultation Framework; and Districts (350) headed by District Officers.

As concerns decentralization structures, decentralization laws in Burkina Faso have provided for two levels of local governments, notably: (i) the Council, a grassroots local authority (managed by an elected mayor), which is made up of urban and rural councils (overall, there are 351 Councils in Burkina Faso, including 49 urban councils and 302 rural councils), and (ii) the Region, which is an intermediate local authority between Councils and Central Government (Burkina Faso has 13 Regional Authorities). Local governments freely exercise the right to administer and manage their own affairs with a view to promoting area-based development and building local governance.

COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Within the Council, a host of ‘internal’ and ‘external’ community-based organizations (CBOs) operating under a more or less formal setting are carrying out collective adaptation efforts to economic, social, food, ecological and climate-related hazards, with more or less support from government institutions.
• *Institutions based on social and political traditional values* have been active in protecting and advancing local identities and social and cultural values of the various groups, thus ensuring some local balance in relation to good governance. They include religious fraternities which are also advocating values like solidarity, equity, and consensus-building at grassroots level. In most ethnic groups, the traditional chieftaincy remains highly influential both socially and politically, especially with regard to conflict management (including conflicts related to the management of natural resources).

• *Production institutions* essentially aim to protect and consolidate household strategies (investment and production strategies, where possible, or even adaptive strategies). These institutions organize themselves as a rather dense network comprising village and inter-village institutions (NGOs included therein to give these networks a regional and even national dimension).

• *Institutions for the management of services and assets* integrate productivity and growth objectives with local social values, while ensuring sustainable management and development of local production resources (assets). Most of these institutions are far-reaching and extend beyond a single village, with constant use of fair and inclusive mechanisms.

**NATIONAL POLICIES FOR AREA-BASED DEVELOPMENT, DECENTRALIZATION AND THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY**

Over the past few years, various laws and regulatory instruments have been formulated and enacted by Burkina Faso Government to press on administrative and political decentralization. This was a long-drawn, difficult and at times very tedious process which has finally come to fruition despite some backpedaling down the road. During this process, conceptual frameworks and economic and social development as well as poverty alleviation strategies were initiated, amended and explained. Issues relating to rural development, poverty alleviation and support to local production, survival and adaptive strategies to crises were taken into account along with social democratic reforms. The *Poverty Alleviation Strategic Framework* (CSLP) involves all sectoral policies, and defines a unique intervention framework for Government and its partners as concerns local socioeconomic development and the fight against poverty. The *Rural Development Strategy of Burkina Faso* (SDR) by 2015 which was adopted by Government in 2003 falls in line with the national poverty reduction strategy. Its vision is to curb rural poverty rates, to ascertain that rural areas are less vulnerable to crises of any kind, and have sustainable food security. The *National Decentralized Rural Development Program* (PNDRD) seeks to operationalize the vision of decentralized development and to promote ownership of local development by local communities and farmer organizations. These instruments are completed by a range of documents and sectoral plans, including the *National Adaptation Program of Action to Climate Change* (NAPA), which is integrated in Burkina Faso’s sustainable development strategies and CSLP.

Decentralization now occupies centre stage in the poverty alleviation strategic framework and national good governance policy. In Burkina Faso, decentralization has been a changing, gradual and cautious process. In 2004, the *General Code for Local and Regional Authorities* (CGCT) was seen as a major achievement for the legal and institutional framework of decentralization (because this led to ‘integral decentralization’). The *Strategic Framework for Implementing Decentralization* (CSMOD) adopted in 2006 lays down the major guidelines for applying the reforms from 2006 to 2015. In relation to the financial mechanism, this policy hinges on a new tool called the *Standing Fund for Council Development* (FPDC), which is aimed at substituting existing financial instruments and at pooling resources from bilateral and multilateral cooperation for council development.

**HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS DISASTER RESPONSE STRATEGIES**

In Burkina Faso, the livelihood of the local population is adversely impacted by ecological and weather stakeholders, beside strong external factors. Apart from population growth, rapid monetization of the rural economy, land and livestock ownership transfer to a conspicuously absent and urban minority elite, and the continuing collapse of community land tenure have further weakened rural groups and distorted land use patterns, while undermining conditions conducive to sustainable management of natural resources.
However, in Burkina Faso, rural households do not passively submit to the constraints they are facing. As basic units of ownership, production, consumption and social life, they apply a wide range of adaptive strategies to all risks and uncertainties (most often with support from local CBOs). In addition, beyond the selective choice of specific practices and techniques (tools, working techniques, mobility, and so on), combining with more or less success agriculture with livestock farming (agro-pastoralism) is regarded as the key adaptive strategy to build household resilience to disasters.

Against the backdrop of the current social changes in Burkina Faso, strategic linkages should be established between neighboring households within the same village or within the same village or inter-village economic interest groups. These linkages are even stronger than relations between family members living apart. Henceforth, this pragmatic community emerging beyond the ideological community is based on concrete objectives and common production and survival strategies. Thanks to their integration into CBOs, households have devised short to long term ‘coping’, ‘adaptation’ or ‘survival’ strategies to avert any recurring disasters.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations can be made for World Bank operations in Burkina Faso. These recommendations are proactive initiatives to influence national policies and practices, and to include climate change into WB’s programs underway. These initiatives have turned out to be a ‘road map’ for integrating climate change into area-based development practices. The key pillars are:

1. Political framework: Updating political frameworks and operational strategies
2. Institutional dispensation: Strengthening good governance institutions
3. Capacities: Building stakeholder capacities
4. Planning: Adjusting the planning process with regard to problems posed by climate change
5. Financial arrangements: Consolidating financial instruments.

CONCLUSION

Burkina Faso has a rather wide, heterogeneous and complex social development policy structure which sometimes lacks internal cohesion. If climate change effects are already being felt, though variably depending on the different agro-ecological zones of the country, ‘climate change’ is yet to influence political debate and behaviors.

However, key ecological, weather, meteorological, social and economic climate change parameters are increasingly being discussed with a view to applying suitable responses. Burkina Faso can boast of a good social capital, characterized by a vibrant community life in villages. If the population is less affected by poverty thanks to this social capital, this may build household and community resilience to climate change.
1. INTRODUCTION

Climate change poses a looming threat to the livelihoods of households and communities worldwide, especially in rural areas. This is even more so in Africa, where most people depend on natural resources from an increasingly fragile environment for their living.

However, the current climate-related risks cannot be separated from ecological, economic, food and social hazards facing African populations. In fact, climate-related risks can only increase the vulnerability of their socioeconomic patterns. Population growth, recurring droughts, stagnating agricultural output and environmental degradation are root causes for rampant poverty on the continent.

Over the past few years, with support from the international community, most African countries have formulated innovative and proactive poverty alleviation policies and run local development programs in order to meet basic needs of the most vulnerable groups. Democratic institutional processes were expected to support local partners and to build their capacities to manage their productive resources.

Prepared as part of initiatives taken by the Social Development Department of the World Bank under its ‘Area-Based Development and Climate Change’ Project, this paper aims to examine the particular situation of Burkina Faso and describe its major economic, ecological and weather features. Major institutional local development stakeholders are also identified, as well as key local development features, major political and operational frameworks and vital aspects of development planning and management. This paper underlines the role played by institutions (both public and private, formal and informal, national and local) in disaster response and support to local adaptive strategies.

Finally, this paper highlights strengths and weaknesses of Burkina Faso’s area-based development pattern and makes recommendations for World Bank operations. These recommendations are in fact proactive initiatives aimed at influencing national policies and practices and at incorporating climate change into ongoing WB programs. In other words, while answering the question on who does what and how for area-based development in Burkina Faso, this report ultimately seeks to identify key factors and

1 Area Based Development and Climate Change/ABDCC), implemented with support from the World Bank-Netherlands Partnership Program (BNPP) and the Norway-Finland Trust Fund for Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development (TFESSD). Similar reports are available for Senegal and Niger, and for three American countries (Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Peru). Go to: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/0,,contentMDK:22187478~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:244363,00.html.
conditions likely to advance household adaptation to climate perils, to reduce household vulnerability to climate change, and promote sustainable livelihoods through increased resilience to climate change.

The conclusion is both simple and difficult: adopting sustainable risk aversion techniques is only possible if there are effective and sustainable institutions to govern environmental governance and collective action patterns for disaster response at local level. Consequently, this report provides a dual meaning to ‘institution’, which refers both to an organizational structure (institutional stakeholders, ‘players’) and to a normative and regulatory framework (standards, mechanisms or ‘rules and regulations’ enabling the stakeholders to operate individually and collectively).

## 2. BACKGROUND REVIEW

### 2.1 COUNTRY PROFILE

#### 2.1.1 Total surface area

Burkina Faso is a landlocked West African country bounded on the north and west by Mali, on the east by Niger, and on the south by Benin, Togo, Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire (Map 1). The country’s area is 274,200 sq km (105,900 sq mi), and its population is estimated at 13.7 million.

#### 2.1.2 Population

Data from the 2006 ‘General Population and Housing Census’ (GPHC) indicates that Burkina Faso’s population is estimated at 13.7 million, with women accounting for 51.7% of total population as against 48.3% for men. Between the 1996 Census and the 2006 Census, there has been an average population increase of 341,765 people every year.

Geographically, Burkina Faso’s population is unevenly distributed. The Center Region accounts for 11% of the national population. It is followed by other regions such as the “Boucle du Mohoun” Region (10.5%) and the “Hauts-Bassins” Region (10.3%). Conversely, the “Cascades” Region is the less densely-populated region (3.8%), followed in the ascending order by South-West (4.6%) and Center-South (4.7%) regions.

Data from the 2006 GPHC also indicates that more than 80% of this population lives in rural areas. The Center Region is the region with the highest urbanization rate (77.5%). It is followed by the Hauts-Bassins Region (with 34.7% of its population living in towns). The two major towns of Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso, are found in these two regions. Dwellers of these two cities account respectively for 42.7% and 15.7% of the total urban population. Conversely, the Sahel and East Regions have the lowest urban population rates with 6.5% and 6.3%, respectively.
There are several sociolinguistic groups in Burkina Faso, including the Mossi (about 48% of the total population) and Fulani (10%) groups. Other ethnic groups are the Lobi, Bobo, Mande, Senoufo, Gourounsi, Gourmantche and Kel Tamasheq (Tuareg). Population density is relatively low, with 40 inhabitants per sq km.

2.1.3 General economic context
Burkina Faso’s economy is heavily dependent on cotton exports, and is therefore vulnerable to external shocks (low cotton prices and inauspicious weather conditions). In 2007, actual income per capita stood at US$ 430. This is a 50% increase since 1994, but remains below the US$ 578 average in low income countries, and US$ 592 for Sub-Saharan African countries.2

According to the Human Development Report (2009), Burkina Faso is one of the world’s poorest countries, ranked 177th out 182 nations in the human development index.3 About 44% of the population lives under the poverty line and 20% under the extreme poverty line.4

2.1.4 Climate
The country is characterized by a dry tropical climate, which alternates between monsoon humidity from oceanic highs and dry air from Saharan latitudes. Key weather features include: a seasonal variation characterized by two much contrasting periods, i.e., a rainy season (also called wet season) and a dry season which is at least as long as the rainy season; total absence of any cool season (with average minimal monthly temperatures >18°C) and increased dryness from the south to the north.5 In Burkina Faso as in most Sahel countries, rainfall and temperature are the two climate parameters with the greatest impact on resources and key industry sectors because they are characterized by a changing trend and above all by great inter-annual and intra-seasonal variability. In concrete terms, these parameters tend to lead to: a shorter rainy season; more droughts; more severe floods; climate variation (in time and space); high temperatures and unusual blustery winds.6

2.1.5 Agro-ecological zones
Phyto-geographic sectors determined according to weather and floristic criteria are considered as agro-ecological zones. Table 3 which sums up general characteristics for each zone distinguishes arid Sahel climate in the north and less xeric Sudanian climate in the south (see also Table 5). Map 3 describes the key environmental risk zones.

The distribution of land across the entire national territory is as follows:

- Cultivated land represents 13%
- Arable land represents about 40%
- Protected areas (classified forest, reserves, national parks) constitute about 16%

---

2 web.worldbank.org/WEBSITE/EXTERNAL/ACCUEILEXTN/PAYSEXTN/AFRICAINFRENCHXT/BURKINAFASOINFRENCHXT/
3 Senegal is ranked 166th and Niger is bottom on the classification table (go to: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Indicators.pdf).
4 UNDP, 2000
6 MARP Network/Burkina (2009)
Grazing land during the rainy season represents close to 61%.

However, this distribution of space is not static, and growth rate of the agricultural front generally estimated at 3.6 % per year is done at the detriment of grazing lands (grazing land being in reality made up of fallow lands, marginal lands and land not yet under cultivation).  

Box 2: Soil Characteristics in Burkina Faso

The country has several soil characteristics. Amongst them, the following present the greatest number of risks in relation to climate change:

- Washed-out ferruginous soils, localized mainly in the Southern part of the Precambrian peneplain south of the 13th parallel are characterized by inadequate moisture conditions, and poor physical properties (porosity and permeability).

- Soils less developed from erosion, located within the northern half of the country, have a sandy landscape at the surface (15 to 20 cm) and a clayey landscape beyond that (whose compactness and impermeability adversely impact water supply and entrenchment).

- Brown eutrophic soils are characterized by an important clayey fraction. The presence of irritating clay gives them a strong exchange capacity and high saturation rate. These are generally well-drained soils. Their surface structure varies from lumpy to prismatic. It is this property that regulates fertility. Brown eutrophic soils are distributed across the national territory, through spots spread over a low scale.

- Vertisols particularly developed in the south-east and centre-west (the Sourou Valley) have the same textual pattern as brown soils but are far less drained.

- Brown mineral soils are poor soils with stock plants that are at times sparse or on the contrary dense, due to their low agricultural ability which shields from any human intervention.

- Halomorphic or salty soils are found north of the country. With their varied texture, these soils really have degraded structure (poor soils tolerating extremely loose shrub steppes).

[Source: www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/]

---

7 Ministry of Animal Resources
Map 3: Agro-ecological zones of Burkina Faso


Map 4: Main environmentally risky zones of Burkina Faso

[Source: http://www.fao.org/countryprofiles/Maps/BFA/04/ec/index.html]
### Table 5: Main characteristics of agro-ecological zones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agro-ecological Zones</th>
<th>% of the National Territory</th>
<th>Annual Rainfall in mm</th>
<th>Soil occupancy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Sahelian              | 13.4                        | < 400                 | • Shrub steppes with annual spineferous and graminaceous plants  
  • Pastoral vocation zone moving towards pastoral dominated agro-pastoralism  
  • Millet, sorghum and niebe – based food crop agriculture  
  • Zebus transhumant Fulani stock-raising |
| Sub-Sahelian          | 15.3                        | 400 – 700             | • Shrub steppes with annual combretaceous and gaminaceous plants  
  • Agricultural-dominated agro-pastoral zones  
  • High human density and land saturation  
  • Millet, sorghum and niebe – based self-consumption, cereal agriculture  
  • Transhumant pastoral stock-raising and sedentary agro-pastoral stock-raising |
| North Sudanian        | 38.9                        | 700-900               | • Arboreal and shrub-covered Savannah  
  • Agricultural dominated agro-pastoral zones  
  • High population and animal density  
  • Groundnut basin and Millet, sorghum, niebe and groundnut – based agriculture  
  • Transhumant pastoral stock-raising and sedentary village stock-raising |
| South Sudanian        | 32.4                        | 900- 1200             | • Wooded, arboreal and shrub-covered savannah, open woodland forest  
  • Agricultural zone characterized by perennial cultivation (mangoes, citrus fruits, common cashew, etc.) cotton, yam and cereal growing (sorghum, millet and maize)  
  • Reception zone of transhumant during the dry season and at times deadly conflicts between agriculturalists and pastoralists  
  • Sedentary village bull raising |

In Burkina Faso, one of the constraints to agricultural production is the low level of natural soil fertility. Its parent rocks are amongst the oldest in the world and are generally covered by very old and washed-out soils. The ratio of organic matter in soils is very low (< 1 %) and agricultural production is curbed by nitrogen and phosphorous deficiencies. Consequences for this include:

- High soil sensitivity to water-induced and wind erosion;
- Reduction of the water stocking capacity of the soil;
- Inefficient use of water by plants;
- Drop in the productive capacity of grazing lands;
- Drop in agricultural, animal and forestry production;
- Intensification in the phenomenon of desertification.8

2.2 NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT 9

2.2.1 Major ministerial bodies
Local development in Burkina Faso is implemented by a host of public institutional stakeholders operating at local, regional or national level amid a varied and complex institutional dispensation (see also the graphs on Annex 1).

- The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD) is currently in charge, amongst others, of territorial administration through coordination of territorial affairs, support to area-based development through the capacity-building of local authorities as well as conduct and implementation of Government’s decentralization policy. Within MATD, three departments are particularly important in relation to local development, namely the Directorate General for Local and Regional Authorities (DGCT), the Department of Local Finance (DFL) and the Skills and Legality Department (DCL).

- Within the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF), the Directorate General of Territorial Development, Local and Regional Development formulates area-based development policies, and ensures that such policy frameworks are translated into projects and programs. Regional Economy and Planning Departments (DREP) are devolved structures of MEF. The Ministry of Finance has a particularly key role to play in operational decentralization, especially in the management and functioning of the tax system at local government level.

Sectoral ministries particularly involved in local development provision include:

- The Ministry of Agriculture, Hydraulics and Fishery Resources (MAHRH), which is in charge of implementing Government’s agricultural policy. The Directorate General of Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations (DGFROP) is particularly relevant for area-based development.

- The major duties of the Ministry of Animal Resources (MRA) include restructuring of traditional cattle-farming by way of training and monitoring of pastoralists. MRA is made up of several departments, including the Department of Studies and Planning (DEP) responsible for coordinating the formulation of sectoral policies, programs and projects, and the Department of Pastoral and Land Development (DGAEP) responsible for implementing the national policy of identifying, developing, improving and providing security to pastoral land tenure systems.

9 For detailed analysis of the institutional framework of local development, go to Annex 1 (especially Figure 1).
The Ministry of Environment and Livelihoods (MECV) ensures implementation and monitoring of Government’s environment policy, and seeks to improve upon the living standards of the population and environmental protection.

2.2.2 Devolution Structures
Since 2004, Burkina Faso has three levels of devolution structures, namely: Regions (13) headed by Regional Governors and including the Regional Consultation Framework; Provinces (45) headed by a High Commissioner and including a Provincial Consultation Framework; and Districts (350) headed by District Officers.

2.2.3 Decentralization Structures: local governments
Decentralization laws in Burkina Faso have made provisions for two levels of local governments, notably:

- The Council, a grassroots local authority made up of urban and rural councils. Overall, Burkina Faso has 351 Councils (49 urban and 302 rural). The council is managed by an elected mayor. Eleven areas of authority have been entrusted to local governments, including land ownership, territorial development, landed estate and the environment as well as natural resource management; this is to say property that can potentially protect and strengthen local communities, and build their resilience and adaptive responses to climate change.
- The Region, an intermediate local authority between Councils and the Central State (there are 13 regional authorities).

Pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution and laws on decentralization, local governments have the right to freely administer and manage their own affairs with a view to promoting area-based development and strengthening local governance. Technical supervision of local governments is ensured by the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization whereas financial supervision is ensured by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. ‘Legality checks’ are the privilege of State representatives (the Governor for the Chairman of the Regional Council, and the District Officer for the Mayor).

2.2.4 Village Development Commissions (CVD)
From now onwards, especially since 2007, CVDs have acquired a real legal status and specific corporate personality. Thus, pursuant to the law, they contribute in designing communal plans, developing their own annual investment plans and are entitled to financial transfers from relevant municipal councils.

2.2.5 Community Institutions
For centuries, most socio-linguistic groups of Burkina Faso were able to preserve much developed informal mutual aid and solidarity mechanisms. This chiefly concerns various forms of mutual aid, solidarity, community work and invitation to agricultural work (based on the style of the susoaaga system of the Mossi groups), mutual aid associations (such as the yewole or songtaab of Bissa youth), lending of animals (such as the habbana.e from the Fulanis). But this also concerns the system of traditional chiefdoms inasmuch as ‘village heads or chiefs’ (are responsible for conflict resolution, and handling local administrative affairs), and ‘land lords’ (who perform religious and land rites and manage relationships of communities with the nourishing earth) continue to enjoy strong moral influence.

In this light, the notion of ‘community institution’ includes all grassroots institutions, either ‘endogenous’ (i.e., an institution formed within the community) or ‘exogenous’ (i.e., an institution
formed by virtue of the action of external stakeholders). These institutions have more or less formal status, arouse and favor collective adaptive actions to crises of any sorts (economic, social, food, ecological and climate-related) and which have more or less strong collaboration links with public institutions.

2.3 GENERAL POLICY FRAMEWORKS

Over the past few years, various laws and regulatory instruments have been formulated and enacted by the Government of Burkina Faso to press on administrative and political decentralization. This was a long-drawn, difficult and at times very tedious process which has finally come to fruition despite some backpedaling down the road. During this process, conceptual frameworks and economic and social development as well as poverty alleviation strategies were initiated, amended and explained. Issues relating to rural development, poverty alleviation and support to local production, survival and adaptive strategies to crises were taken into account along with social democratic reforms.

2.3.1 Local Development

It was through Ordinance 84-050 of August 4, 1984 that the Government of Burkina Faso defined agrarian and land reforms (RAF). But there are the Orientation Instruments on Decentralization (TOD), adopted in 1998, which eased the democratic decentralization process with sharing of responsibilities between the State and local authorities. TODs have contributed in applying good governance, insofar as they acknowledged the principle that when promising social groups pooled their resources to form recognized public interest communities, they could apply the ‘subsidiarity’ principle to assume duties the State has failed to carry out.

In the Decentralized Rural Development Policy Letter (LPDRD) published in 2002, key tenets of the new area-based development dispensation in Burkina Faso are defined. The major principles include project ownership entrusted to beneficiaries, and involvement of the population in all the development phases. From a historical perspective, this Letter has been used as reference framework to design, implement, coordinate as well as monitor and assess a whole range of rural development projects and programs (such as the one sponsored by the World Bank). This Letter is also an unavoidable reference point in relation to all local development aspects. Then, the Rural Development Strategy of Burkina Faso (SDR) by 2015 which was adopted by Government in 2003 falls in line with the national poverty reduction strategy. Its vision is to curb rural poverty rates, to ascertain that rural areas are less vulnerable to crises of any kind, and have sustainable food safety. In the same way as the SDR, the Government drew up a program covering a fifteen-year period (from 2001 to 2015), referred to as the National Decentralized Rural Development Program (PNDRD), which seeks to operationalize the vision of decentralized development and to promote ownership of local development by local communities and farmer organizations. PNDRD is based on institutional reforms aimed amongst others at making local communities and farmer organizations accountable in relation to the definition and implementation of local development priorities. Besides, the strategy closely associates land security and environmental protection, thereby laying emphasis on promoting production systems ensuring ecosystem sustainability and general anti-erosive and soil fertility restoration measures.

2.3.2 Decentralization

10 For detailed analysis of the local development policies, see Annex 2 (especially Figure 1).
Unlike in countries such as Senegal or Mali, decentralization in Burkina has been a changing, gradual and cautious process. This was variously interpreted by observers: some saw it as a pledge for a sustainable policy or better still apolitical attitude curtailing the democratic rights of citizens for others. In 2004, Law N°055-2004 on the *General Code for Local and Regional Authorities* (CGCT) represented a major evolution of the legal and institutional framework of decentralization. In fact, this law enshrined what is commonly referred to as the ‘the extension of local administration to the whole’, through the fact that henceforth decentralization has become a reality across the national territory. This law has a number of innovations. At local level, the Code sets up Village Development Commissions/CVDs. Lastly, it settles on two levels of local and regional authorities, namely the Region and the Council (urban and rural) – going beyond an orientation aimed at two levels notably the Council and the Province.

Finally, the *Strategic Framework for Implementing Decentralization* (CSMOD) which was adopted by the Government of Burkina Faso in June 2006 lays down the major guidelines for applying the reforms from 2006 to 2015. Decentralization now occupies centre stage in the poverty alleviation strategic framework and national good governance policy. The institution of councils, which initially concerned only a limited number of urban councils, affected the national territory as a whole. In Burkina Faso, decentralization is effectively implemented since the holding on 15 February 1995 of the very first council elections which paved the way for the setting up of 33 councils vested with full powers. In 2000, during the second municipal elections, 16 new councils were added to existing ones, thus bringing the total number of urban councils to 49.

It should also be added that, in relation to the financial dispensation, this policy is based on a new tool known as the *Standing Fund for Council Development (FPDC)*, which is meant to supersede existing financial instruments, and to pool resources from bilateral and multilateral partners working in the area of council development (and notably PDC implementation).

### 2.3.3 Poverty Alleviation

Henceforth, the reading of all legislative and regulatory instruments is done alongside the document of *Poverty Alleviation Strategic Framework* (CSLP) (adopted by the Government in 2000 and revised in 2003/2004 to introduce the regional dimension). In fact, this Framework, taking into account all sectoral policies, defines the *sole intervention framework* of the Government and its partners in the area of local socioeconomic development and poverty alleviation. This document consisting of several immediate objectives emphasizes the need to share powers between the State and local and regional authorities. CSLP establishes a close link between poverty alleviation and sustainable management of the environment and natural resources. Moreover, it underscores the importance of land security within the prospects of an efficient fight against poverty.

### 2.3.4 Other Sectoral Policies

The legal dispensation is supplemented by a plethora of sector-based planning mechanisms. In this light, the *National Land Security Policy in Rural Areas* stands out as the land management administration capable of solving land disputes. To this effect, local ownership requires representative, legitimate and recognized local institutions, represented by persons elected at the grassroots and endowed with necessary powers enabling them to act effectively.

The *National Territorial Development Policy* adopted in 2007 lays down a policy to organize the space with a view to ensuring smooth national territory development. In addition, this policy spells out the
role of various stakeholders (including local authorities, the civil society and private sector). At environmental level, it is the **Sustainable Environmental Development Plan (PEDD)** which, by defining main guidelines and strategic pointers for concerted sustainable development of all sectors, determines in a way the strategy around which the poverty alleviation and sustainable development framework may revolve; this framework takes into account the environmental dimension. PEDD determines the socio-economic, ecological and legal data for each sector of authority, defines the modalities for participation of all sustainable development stakeholders and partners (public or private institutions and authorities, the civil society, NGOs). The **National Program for Forestry Resource Management** explains common and specific objectives as well as options of the National Forestry Policy (PFN). Lastly, in relation to climate change, the vision of the **National Adaptation Program of Action to Variability and Climate Change** (NAPA) drawn up under the aegis of the Ministry of Environment and Livelihoods in November 2007, falls in line with Burkina Faso’s sustainable development strategies and CSLP. NAPA’s priority objectives include: identifying the needs, emergency and immediate activities and projects likely to help communities address adverse effects of climate change; searching for synergy and complementarity with existing means and development activities; and integrating climate change-related risks in the national planning process. NAPA also carried out a quite exhaustive survey of major adaptation responses to climate change and identified criteria for prioritizing actions.

3. VULNERABILITIES TO RISKS AND LOCAL ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES

3.1 ANALYSIS UNITS

In Burkina Faso, the **household** or **domestic group** is a basic unit for ownership of goods, production, consumption and social life. As the basic socio-economic unit, the household ensures division of labor between its members, and makes a decision on consumption models and technical and productive choices. The household also implements key adaptive strategies to risks and uncertainties of all sorts. On average, households in Burkina Faso are made up of 6.5 persons, and the household size in rural areas is even bigger than the size of urban households (6.7 as against 5.6).\(^{11}\) Nevertheless, the size is almost twice bigger in poor households than in well-off families (10.0 and 5.4, respectively). In other words, larger families are poorer.\(^{12}\)

However, individual households are part of larger units on the basis of blood ties (kinship groups) and/or co-residence (village community). In fact, against the backdrop of current social changes in Burkina Faso, strategic linkages should be established between neighboring households of the same village or within the same village or inter-village economic interest groups. In response to current ecological, climate-related and economic crises, such linkages are even stronger than relations between family members of the same clan living apart. As such, **this pragmatic community emerging beyond the ideological community is based on concrete objectives and common production and survival strategies.**

Hence, the **village** is the most immediately visible social entity of these pragmatic communities. Within a village, differences among individual domestic units are not too glaring in principle (all households living, working and feeding likewise). Thus, collective cooperation and action mechanisms are established directly (see Figure 6).

---

\(^{11}\) INSD, (2003)

\(^{12}\) J.P. Lachaud, 2009
Indeed, no village may live in isolation, due to various external factors. Village community members are increasingly setting up a network of relations expanding beyond their village or even neighboring villages to a geographical region, and they are involved in various local institutions or community-based organizations.

- Crises of all sorts, including climate variations, are felt at the level of individual domestic units and by village groups of which they are an integral part. They trigger adequate adaptation responses at the level of individual members.

- But more lasting solutions are those that are sought at the level of larger networks in which the village community is integrated using geographical and/or sociological criteria, on the basis of common production interests and survival.

3.2. RISKS, UNCERTAINTIES AND VULNERABILITIES

In Burkina Faso, households, village communities and community-based organizations are faced with extremely unstable and precarious livelihoods. Their livelihoods is characterized by more or less severe crises and constant efforts to address the situation, to rehabilitate, reconstitute granary and make reserves, and carry on reproducing the society, or even simply survive.

Box 7: On the notions of ‘risk’, ‘uncertainty’ and ‘vulnerability’
Conceptually, a risk entails something that is known (either through preliminary estimation or following empirical conclusions) and risk may be anticipated in more or less objective manner.

Conversely, the object of an uncertainty is not known, because it is peculiar and even unique, and linked to a set of possibly unpredictable situations. On account of such uncertainty, there can only be estimations and subjective intuitions. This distinction is relevant in relation to the analysis of household and community behaviors, given that a set of strategic choices enable them to align and adapt to their livelihoods, and to risks and uncertainties.

In this light, vulnerability is a conjunction of risks and uncertainties and defines the degree according to which a system is more or less capable of facing risk consequences and uncertainty effects. The opposite of vulnerability is security (thus, antonyms for ‘food vulnerability and climate vulnerability’ are ‘food security’ and climate security’ respectively). From this perspective, a household is vulnerable: (i) if it is at risk in relation to economic, ecological and weather variations; (ii) if it is likely to feel, more or less directly, effects of external economic, commercial, epizootic, demographic and climate-related events; and (iii) if it has not devised adaptive strategies (or if it is not capable of so doing) likely to mitigate any risks, to limit damage and to help the household take opportunities.

Rural population exposure to climate-related risks and soil degradation has increased. Productive activities are marred by: unstable and unpredictable precipitation; repeated and acute water scarcity; floods; deforestation and depletion of soil nutrients; acidification and erosion; declining yields; impoverishment of grazing land; drop in of fish stocks and loss of biodiversity.

For example, the ‘Boucle du Mouhoun’ is considered as one of the poorest regions in Burkina Faso (according to the 2005 UNDP report), though it is also the country’s major cotton-producing region. Average household size stands at 7.8 persons; this is the country’s highest average. Paradoxically, in spite of the fact that the region is the country’s best irrigated region, more than 66% of the population has no access to potable water. Several social indicators (dated as far back as 2005) show the general state of precariousness of this province, which is home to 235,000 people. In this situation, about 65% of households live in rudimentary housing (mud-covered houses); about 32% of households live far away from health services; 56% have archaic or very inefficient agricultural tools.13

In Burkina Faso in general, household and community vulnerability to climate change results from the combination of various factors including: widespread poverty; fragile ecosystems; greater

---

13 Log on to www.fondationsemafo.org
sensitivity of economic sectors to climate; poor infrastructural and specialized institutional levels in relation to climate-related risk management; poor access to basic services and education. Thus, water, agricultural, livestock and forestry sectors are considered as the most vulnerable. Rural households, small-scale cereal growers as well as pastoralists are the most vulnerable groups.\(^{14}\)

- It is acute risk awareness which determines farming techniques in rural areas and production strategies.
- As such, mitigation of risks and uncertainties seems to be the key objective set by households in order to grow or to simply survive.

There are no linear explanatory models to root causes for household vulnerability. In fact, the natural explanation which considers climate change (especially drop in rainfall) as a root cause for ecological disruptions should imperatively be supplemented by a socio-political explanation, which links economic and food crises to structural disequilibrium (land degradation for instance, or land reform).\(^{15}\) As such, two types of overlapping causes can be distinguished:\(^{16}\)

- ‘Underlying causes’ or ‘root causes’,\(^{17}\) notably economic, demographic and political causes, which affect allocation and distribution of resources – these causes depend on the economic structure, laws, relations between the elderly or persons of different gender and consequently group ideology.
- ‘Dynamic pressure’\(^{18}\) translates root cause impact into specific vulnerability forms and somewhat channels them into more or less constant particular insecurities depending on the risk (including population pressure, epidemics, civil strife as well as climate change).

In other words, in Burkina Faso, households and communities, which have already been rendered vulnerable by a set of ‘underlying causes’ (by virtue of their social status, for example: their gender, age or political marginality), may be affected more rapidly by this dynamic pressure and adversely impacted by climate change (and this depending on the weather characteristics of the country’s various ecological zones). The factors which particularly affect the relationship between households and their environment are as follows:

- The recurrence of drought and other physical and bio-weather factors whose effects have taken immense proportions across the past decades, has specific dimensions linked to extraordinary variations in weather conditions from year to year and their extreme fluctuations or changes.
- Population growth with attendant consequences such as overexploitation of land resources.
- Variations and fluctuations in the cereal and livestock market which severely affects household/community viability in relation to their basic objectives which are food self-sufficiency and trade.
- Lastly, the effects of a multitude of uncontrollable phenomena and technical and material conditions which contribute in rendering the socio-economic environment of households and communities unstable (with impacts on government policy).

---

\(^{14}\) MARP/Burkina Network, 2009
\(^{17}\) In French les causes d’origine.
\(^{18}\) In French, forces de pression dynamiques.
In other words, the impact of ecological and weather factors on local household livelihoods is worsened by the concomitance of powerful external factors. Apart from population growth, rapid monetization of the rural economy, land and livestock ownership transfer into the hands of conspicuously absent and urban minority elites, and gradual collapse of community land tenure have further weakened rural groups and distorted land use patterns, while undermining conditions conducive to sustainable management of natural resources.

A survey carried out by the Research Institute for Development (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)) enabled, in relation to a given number of indicators, to organize household risks of a given region in hierarchical order (Gnagna). This led to the identification of four risk zones. Concerning exposure to food crises, findings of the analysis showed, amongst others, that the degree of apparent risk is far from corresponding to the actual level of cereal product supply. Faced with the irregularity of family cereal production and the recurrence of food shortages, households are more likely to gradually work out adaptive strategies for a relatively longer term as well as seasonal anticipation measures to enable them build resilience to crises and climate-related hazards.  

3.3 ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES TO CRISIS

3.3.1 Adaptive strategies of households: case-studies

Case Study No 1: Households in the Namentenga Province

The main characteristics of household poverty in the Namentenga Province (Centre-North region), one of the poorest provinces of Burkina (the central part of the country), are linked to their vulnerability to food crises, the fragile nature of their economies and weakness of their agricultural productions.

- The level of food insecurity is very severe even if there are strong variations between zones and production systems (rainfed farming, irrigated agriculture, and pastoralism). Household production is strongly subjected to weather hazards and the population which increases at a quicker pace than that of food production.

- The average annual household income stands slightly above CFAF 763,000 per household. Nevertheless, gaps among zones as well as villages within the same zone are glaring. With an absolute threshold of poverty standing at CFAF 598,469 per household, the proportion of poor households in the zone stands at 58%.

- Household cereal production is very low, and clearly below national average. This is mainly due to low soil fertility and poor use of agricultural inputs. Almost all the family agricultural production is meant for family consumption (it is estimated that annual average production will enable most households to be food self-sufficient for a maximum of 7 months).

To address this precariousness, key adaptive strategies for households are as follows:

---

19 Log on to: www.ird.bf.
20 This study takes into account data from a household survey in 1,440 households (from a sample of 45 villages) conducted by the Support Project to Agro-Pastoral Development in Namentenga (UNDP-UNDAF). A household is defined as "the basic economic unit within which the various members, on account of kinship or any other relation, live in the same house or compound, pool together their resources and meet their basic food and other needs, under the authority of an individual referred to as household head." This study also takes into account data from a farmer group survey conducted in a few villages (Belga, Niounougou and Yalgo); see A. Bonfiglioli, January 2003.
- Local Development, Institutions and Climate Change in Burkina Faso -

To attain a given level of food security, households tend to join one of the region’s cereal banks (for over twenty years now, hundreds of cereal banks were set up across the province, especially within the framework of project activities, and activities by NGOs and development associations).  

Households are also working to take active part in a large social network of parents and friends: this participation may be considered as a true adaptive strategy, inasmuch as it involves sharing of large quantities of cereal products and community labor practice.  

The adoption or intensification of the stock-raising of small ruminants is also considered as a key adaptive strategy, insofar as it enables the household to have cash for food and other needs.  

Lastly, the harvest of leaves of some bush trees and grass also enables the household to make up for their feeding during ‘hard times’.

3.3 ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES TO CRISES

3.3.1 Household Adaptive Strategies: Case-Studies

Case-Study No 2: Household and Community Organization Strategies

At the end of the 1990s, the World Bank supported the conduct of a survey in 959 households of 48 villages (20 households per village) in four provinces, namely Yatenga, Sanmatenga (in the North), Houet (in the South-East), and Sissili (in the South-East), which adequately represent the national variety in terms of social organization, climate and the environment. Results of this study have, amongst others, paved the way for a better understanding of variety (depending on the social capital tradition of the various groups), the complexity and evolution of interactions existing among households, more vast local organizations and community institutions.

In the modern context, interactions between households and larger community organizations seem to develop less on the basis of static cultural values and economic differences than in the dynamics of the search for original institutional forms. Moreover, this research is strongly marked by ecological and environmental conditions as well as local economic potentials.

One of the main conclusions of the study is that from a sociological perspective, local community institutions effectively contribute to equitable social and economic development and have a decisive impact on the alleviation of poverty and inequalities.  

Generally speaking, community organizations are very conscious to set up standards of conduct or rules and regulations enabling them to operate appropriately. This institutional worry may be considered as a real adaptive strategy in variable social, economic, weather and ecological contexts.  

In the Sanmatenga Province, in the face of new stakes and challenges and crises of all sorts, special focus is on building community institutions on an inclusive basis using a participatory approach that involves all members. Collective action likely to benefit the entire community and contribute indirectly to household productivity is of the essence here (with the collaboration of government institutions, this led in particular to the building of small dams and water reservoirs in order to address adverse effects of recurrent droughts). The Sanmatenga Province thus has an array of very dense internal institutions which find expression in a whole set of endogenous community activities.

On the contrary, in the Houet Province (which has a rainfall of in excess of 1000 mm annually and a variety of cash crops), new strategies and behaviors increasingly focus on inclusive strategies, with

---

21 However, many among these cereal banks are less operational, especially because of the lack of capital.

the emergence of very strong collaboration links with exogenous forces (governmental institutions and the private sector) at the expense of internal solidarity links and the creation of larger institutional federations, more efficient to resolve local problems and increasingly focusing on economic problems.

- In the Sissili Province, institutional development is strongly marked by massive arrival, over the past years, of a varied migrant population in search of arable land free from the scourge of river blindness. These groups actively take part in the setting up and strengthening of organizations likely to influence approaches to development projects and play an important role in initiative management. It should be noted that advice from of elders plays a crucial role in popular consultation mechanisms.

- In the Yatenga Province (characterized by strong population density, vulnerability to recurrent droughts, use of traditional management techniques and natural resource protection), individual households lay emphasis on local social capital and the adoption of an integration strategy into local community organizations on the basis of unity, solidarity and learning of new techniques. Nevertheless, collaboration between local communities appears weak, even within the same village.

- At Yatenga and Sanmtenga, political and moral structures are still relatively powerful. The village head has undeniable moral influence. The landlord, who oversees agrarian rites, thereby expressing links existing between lineages and the nourishing earth, enjoys great legitimacy. In return, in the Houet Province, customary political and moral institutions and these traditional solidarity links seem to increasingly give way to pragmatic institutional forms focusing on economic and commercial interests.

Case Study No 3: Households and Institutions in the face of crises

Within the framework of the ABDCC project (‘Area-Based Development and Climate Change’), the NGO MARP Network/Burkina Faso carried out surveys using a sample of 120 households belonging to 23 villages attached to 4 Councils (in 3 Provinces of 3 Regions). It also conducted interviews with 48 focus group discussions (that is 12 groups per council). The survey concerned both high climate risk zones (such as villages in Soum Province) and average or moderate climate risk zones (such as villages in Kouritenga and Houet Provinces). Particularly noteworthy is data from a series of reports, which provides information on local perception of climate-related crises and on individual and collective household response and adaptive strategies.

a) Perceptions of climate-related crises

- Awareness of the impact of climate-related crises on local livelihoods seems relatively quite high within the population in areas where the survey was conducted. What is striking is especially an ambivalent and shared perception of crises and its extreme manifestations: on the one hand, there is the terrible experience of floods in June and July 2007, with all the damage and destruction that ensued; on the other hand, there is the recurrent experience of years (or year periods) characterized by erratic climate, with severe heat and poor rainfall (having negative repercussions on the productivity of agricultural and livestock activities).

- Floods have certainly constituted a major catalyst which led to a dramatic awareness of the virulence of climate-related hazards. Generally, floods affected agricultural production (with massive loss of harvested products, significant drop in production, and disruptions in the agricultural calendar, especially during the planting season). They have destroyed the habitat, damaged the road network and physical infrastructure and led to loss of livestock (with sheep being particularly

23 Council of Bama (Houet, Haut-Bassin); Pobe-Mengao and Baraboul (Soum, Sahel); and Kando (Kouritenga, Centre-East).

vulnerable to heavy rains). Floods have disrupted commercial networks. For example, according to some women member of the Bama Women Cooperative, floods delayed commercial activities (the marketing of white rice dried or steamed before husking). According to devolved technical services, floods have also contributed in interrupting the communication system with the population (for animation and supervision).

- However, at least according to popular lore, climate change seems to be primarily associated with erratic rainfall, strong heat and the soil aridity (concepts referred to in the Mossi language as tênkwiré, literally meaning ‘arid soil’), following constant and unusually hot winds and strong heat. For Fulani pastoralists of the Djibo zone, each rainy season generally comprises short periods without rain (termed kokke); but, in their opinion, a characteristic of the current weather context is the number, frequency, repetition and unusual duration of these ‘dry’ periods during the same season, with destabilizing consequences on vegetative cover development and animal health.

- Popular lore has it that these weather variations manifest themselves either through the outbreak of unknown diseases (for example, an outbreak of a strange fever) or the unusual and particularly virulent frequency of already known diseases (arthritis and rheumatism). Some also mention the outbreak of thin particles of dust which, propelled by hot winds, impregnate the atmosphere all along the month before the rainy season and are at the origin of debilitating respiratory infections.

### b) Key Household Strategies

In the face of these crises which only contribute in exacerbating already difficult living conditions, the households of Burkina Faso have the tendency to intensify a whole range of adaptive strategies:

- **Food strategies:** diet modification (for example in Kouritenga, two meals per day instead of three or reduction in food ration).
- **Widespread practice of petty trading:** more or less seasonal practice of a whole range of petty trades by men and women to cover up the family budget.
- **Integration of livestock within the agricultural system:** in Kouritenga, agriculturalists tend to attach greater importance to livestock activities (going beyond traditional ‘stock-raising within a hut’). This entails, amongst others, investment in the purchase of animals, rational use of agricultural by-products and possible practice of fodder cultivation. In the same way, among Fulani pastoralists, agriculture is increasingly considered as a means likely to ensure greater resilience to crises (in this sense, it means going beyond any former inhibition).
- **Change at the level of agricultural practices:** preference is given to precocious cereal varieties (50 days as against 70-80 days for traditional varieties) and improved seedlings (despite all former reticence on the taste and value of these varieties).
- **Rural Exodus:** departure of active household members to towns in search of paid jobs (to meet subsistence needs of those who remain behind).
- **Family mobility:** final abandonment of family land and search of land less exposed to climate risks (especially floods).

Several reports show that in the face of crises a great proportion of households in Burkina Faso tend to be self-centered, by devising personal survival strategies. Traditionally, among the Mossi, it is the extended family (referred to as yiri) which carries out important agricultural work on its own collective family farm (to guarantee its own subsistence), whereas the nuclear family (termed ka) farms only a small piece of land (to meet basic daily needs). Nevertheless, together with other sociological factors, uncertainties linked to the new weather context seem to obstruct this equilibrium and to result in increasing disappearance of collective farms. Among Fulani pastoralists, the traditional ante-mortem
inheritance system provides that the father leaves the ownership of some animals to his sons, while preserving the right of enjoyment until his death. However, within the current context, youths are voicing with more and more vigor their intent to retain absolute control of their animals. Still among the Fulani ethnic groups, the temporary lending system of dairy animals between nearby households, with gift of the very first calving (a system referred to as hawtaraajji) is increasingly scarce, each household preferring to keep all animals within the family herd.

Moreover, on account of quantitative data collected by MARP Network bringing together households based on some variables (level of risks, exposure to risks, adaptive strategies and access to public and private institutions), a separate and supplementary report draws very general conclusions in relation to interactions between households and institutions (this preliminary evidence however requires verification within the specific context of Burkina Faso):25

(i) Households living in geographical zones with strong exposure to climate-related risks seem to have developed supportive local institutions;
(ii) Access of these households to institutions seem to enable them to adopt and use a whole range of adaptive strategies;
(iii) The households capable of using these adaptive strategies are also those more likely to have access to governmental institutions and civil society associations. In return, households less exposed to risks and with weak adaptive capacities are not actively involved in the life of community organizations and have limited access to services provided by public government institutions.
(iv) Households ‘at risk’ (that is to say, households which are more likely to feel the effects of climate change) are low-income households vulnerable to diseases, and with poorly diversified economic activities; their size is below average. They make less use of services provided by public institutions and fail to adopt the most common adaptive strategies (for instance, mobility) and find themselves in a special vulnerability situation given that they have very few assets and very few sources of revenue (only agricultural and/or pastoral activities).
(v) Households having a higher level of adaptation, in terms of strategies, are also those which derive their revenues from agricultural and commercial activities. For example, in the far north of Burkina Faso, households carry out petty trading (shop-keeping) and additional activities (blacksmiths). Such activities provide these households with some autonomy and resilience to crises (at least if compared to other households).

3.3.2 Agro-pastoralism as a key adaptive strategy
From the findings of these case-studies and several other analyses on current and past situations, it clearly appears that the population of Burkina Faso, as all Sahel farmer societies, does not succumb passively to incentives and constraints to which it is subjected. In fact, climate-related hazards are interpreted according to the population’s priorities, notably risk minimization and labor force development.26

---

25 See the report drawn up by a group of students of the University of Michigan (United States of America) which partly contributed to the work of the MARP Network: University of Michigan (2009). It is a report which cumulatively and comparatively presents quantitative data collected of the ABDCC project in Burkina Faso, as well as in Senegal and Niger, as to what concerns Africa; and Peru, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, as to what concerns Latin America.
Generally speaking, beyond the selective choice of specific practices and techniques (crops, tools, work techniques, mobility, etc.), it is of course the joint and more or less harmonious practice of agriculture and breeding (agro-pastoralism) which can be considered as the principal adaptive strategy in the face of crises of any nature. It is all the more legitimate to think that as part of new risks linked to climate change, it is still to agro-pastoralism which households will resort to. This shows that the increasing urge of agriculturalists for speculative stock-raising and gradual disillusionment of pastoralists for nomadic pastoralism is increasingly limited by the lack of pasturelands.

In fact, in Burkina Faso as in most Sahel countries, agro-pastoralism enables households to minimize the risks inherent to each of these forms of production and improve the living and production conditions within an eminently precarious social and economic context. Sahelian agro-pastoralism, viewed as complex and varied, is a difficult phenomenon to grasp because it is the result of the integration and overlapping of wide-ranging agricultural and pastoral behaviors. However, the forms of this association vary with time and are subjected to perpetual historical fluctuations (a distinction should be made between agro-pastoralism adopted by groups which traditionally practice only pastoral activities, on the one hand, and the agro-pastoralism of groups formerly involved only in agricultural activities). Thus, agro-pastoralism comes in at the crossroads of the same search of equilibrium.27

- Agro-pastoralism as a diversification strategy aims at mitigating the risks inherent to a separate practice of agriculture or stock-raising (on condition however that the two agricultural and pastoral activities maintain some autonomy).
- Agro-pastoralism is in a position to build higher resilience in households, that is to say the capacity to return to the state of equilibrium which existed before the crisis.

In normal period, by virtue of the exchange rate between stock breeding and agricultural products, an agro-pastoral household may obtain a greater number of calories with the exchange of meat and milk against cereals and can satisfy the energy needs of his family.

From a technical perspective, recycling of nutrients is a key element for integrating stock-raising to agricultural activities linked to population pressure. For agriculturalists, acquisition of livestock is justified by economic reasons (in terms of animal energy, transportation, animal fattening, savings, milk, manure). Within this perspective, resources necessary for stock-raising (from harvesting residues, concentrates, fodder, folds, and may be soon, access to grazing land during transhumance periods and even to water) are in the process of acquiring or increasing their market value. In agro-pastoralism, however, the main issue is that of co-existence of cultivation and stock-raising systems which are complementary in principle, but competitive in practice within a space where plant biomass is insufficient to cover up energy and food needs of rural populations as well as fodder needs for the livestock.28

3.3.3 Other long term adaptive strategies
Apart from agro-pastoralism, the rural population of Burkina Faso adopts a whole range of complementary or alternative adaptive strategies. As most population live in arid and semi-arid zones, they have since time immemorial integrated weather variations in their lives and are in a way well-adapted to an extremely unpredictable environment. In fact, their livelihoods and local institutions tend

28 Pieri, cited by C. Raynaut (ed) 1997:184
to be fundamentally oriented towards adaptation to climate change through adoption of flexible strategies aimed at reducing vulnerability in a preventive manner. These strategies are sometimes made possible by support from community-based organizations to which households adhere based on a multitude of production and survival objectives. These strategies have proven to be efficient especially when they are linked to local practices.

In rural areas, households in Burkina Faso are faced with risks related to farming methods (related to weather conditions, attacks by crickets and destruction caused by birds) and economic risks (uncertain sale price of products and profitability of new techniques or the consequences of indebtedness).

- A climate-related risk quickly translates itself into an economic risk, thereby rendering the household economy fragile. Moreover, inadequate responses to economic risks may increase cultivation risks and exacerbate the impact of climate risks.

- Climate change has a multiplier effect on existing forms of vulnerability. It directly threatens a substantial part of programs geared towards achieving poverty alleviation that was set up over the past few years.

More so, the population does not easily adapt to its natural environment, it modifies it by adopting a whole range of flexible technologies. Poor producers living on weakened land have accumulated centuries of experience in the management of risky natural environments, thereby helping them to identify and experiment new technological options.

As such, risk minimization objectives can lead households to adopt multiple and at times contradictory technical and economic attitudes which nevertheless have some rationality and internal logic. Thus, strong risk awareness may oblige some households to turn down technical innovation (rejection of a more successful variety of cereals than local varieties, but whose resistance to arid conditions is not proven) or accept additional economic efforts to ensure a certain level of productivity (for example, purchase of manure for cotton producers). This also leads to:

- Preference of food crops to cash crops; use of less successful cereal species but surer and more resistant to semi-arid farming conditions, with modest soil requirements (it is only the well-off farmer who is able to make the decision to use innovative practices, for instance new species with stronger but variable output);
- Keep relatively less milk-producing but more resistant and even immunized animals from major local epizootic diseases;
- Adoption of very challenging mobility patterns, thereby accepting to live in a rudimentary and scanty environment (in relation to habitat and equipment), to enable the flock exploit varied and favorable ecological niches and obtain regularly constant milk production.

But it is worth adding that some households may also be absolutely unable to manage distress situations due to accumulation of a whole range of factors which turn climate-related hazards into distress and loss. These factors are, amongst others, linked to forms of social injustice and inequalities, inequitable

---

30 E. B. Dialla (2005) identifies many practices, even in the area of natural resource management and protection.
access to resources, inadequate social infrastructure, lack of representation and appropriate social welfare systems.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32} J. Ribot, 2000: 49
Figure 8: Strategies adopted by households confronted with crisis situations in Burkina Faso.

Temporary crisis situation
- Coping strategies
  - Reduction of the number of meals
  - Diet modification (harvested products)
  - Search of agricultural salaried work
  - Increased participation in collective work
  - Borrowing dairy animals from parents
  - Seasonally watching over other people’s animals
  - Search for local extra agricultural salaried work
  - Borrowing of small amounts of money and/or food
  - Greater access to community networks
  - Withdrawal to individualistic strategies

Persistent crisis situation
- Adaptive strategies
  - Agro-pastoralism
    - Increased mobility of men and livestock
    - Search for permanent salaried agricultural work
    - Permanent guarding of other people’s animals
    - Permanent search of local extra-agricultural salaried work (petty trading)
    - Borrowing money
    - Choice of resistant cereal species, in the short term
    - Greater diversification of raised animal species
    - Conservation of old but resistant to crises and immunized cattle
    - Mobilization of social networks and participation in community life
    - Greater access to services of local public institutions

Chronic crisis situation
- Survival strategies
  - Radical modification of diet
  - Practice of degrading work
  - Borrowing huge amounts of money
  - Increased practice of Picking (for subsistence)
  - Sale of land and livestock
  - Final departure of active members to towns
  - Permanent exodus of entire households to towns
  - SITUATION OF NO RETURN
3.3.4 ‘Coping’ or survival strategies
Adaptive strategies previously analyzed aim at enabling households adjust to longer term changes occurring within the physical or economic environment, by modifying their living and production conditions. Adaptive strategies contrast with ‘coping strategies’ or ‘survival strategies’ usually adopted to address short-term scarcity. Conversely, households which have fallen below a given poverty line and lost all resilience to crises are only left with extremely ‘restrictive’ strategies which in fact are ‘distress’ strategies (see Figure 9).

In a lingering crisis situation, a set of distress strategies should be gradually added to these transitional food strategies: borrowing food from parents and neighbors; intensifying harvesting and handicraft practices; sale of baby animals of the ‘speculative’ herd; sale of family workforce; intensive practice of unusual and even degrading work; increasingly important and long seasonal exodus of some active members to urban centers; distress sale of parcels of land and preceding animals to ‘subsistence’ herd; and permanent exodus of the entire family unit to urban centers. This is the point of no return, the end of a lifestyle.

3.4 LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND RISKS VULNERABILITIES
In the face of a situation of widespread precariousness and crises of all sorts, most households in Burkina Faso, beyond the customary and regional differences, not only strive to pursue their specific social and economic objectives, but also opt for community logic which highlights mutual aid and collaboration. New community-based organizations integrate many traditional elements and values, especially in relation to village governance, an appropriate model for pooling resources, solidarity mechanisms, management of common assets, conflict prevention and management, etc.

In the current situation, traditional household strategies as well as techniques associated therewith are not always in a position to make up for the negative impacts of population growth, climate change and human pressure on soil fertility. Some techniques (such as the control of water and soils) can even worsen the situation, by increasing runoff water, causing erosion and reducing the infiltration of water into the soil. As such, there are local CBOs (including village organizations) which can play a key role in assisting households to better address risks of all kinds. In fact, depending of their type and mandate, farmer organizations are actively supporting short and long term strategies in various areas. Generally speaking, in Burkina Faso as is the case elsewhere, these organizations mediate individual and collective responses for adaptation to climate change and usually find themselves at the receiving end of external assistance earmarked for implementing such adaptive strategies.

- **Institutions based on customary social and political values**: These institutions have contributed to the emergence, activation and protection of local identities and the social and cultural values of various groups, thereby thus ensuring some local equilibrium in the area of governance. Groups with a religious vocation are included in this category which, in a very different manner, underscores the importance of solidarity, equity and consensual values in the functioning of local social life. The

---

33 In French: *Stratégies d’adaptation*
34 In French: *Stratégies de sortie*
35 In French: *Stratégies de retrait*
37 A. Agrawal (2008); Agrawal A. & Perrin N. & Kononen M. (2009)
customary chieftaincy continues to occupy a very important political and ideological space among most groups, especially in relation to the management of all sorts of conflicts (including those that are involved in natural resource management). The objective of these institutions is to reduce the insecurity of agricultural activities, stabilize production conditions and make up for the needs in manpower during agricultural activities: they are instruments developed by rural societies to ‘regulate relations’ between their members concerning access to production means (land and water), the agricultural calendar and technical practices, and so on. 38

The unavoidable place and role of customary authorities were once more clarified in a recent official document (the land security policy), which, amongst others, underscores the fact that customary authorities should be able to efficiently play their role of animating Village Development Councils (CVDs). This however entails revising instruments in force. Many factors now tend to transform in a more or less radical manner the local institutional landscape and function of institutions. It is worth pointing out that among these factors, the dissemination of democratic principles and the disruptions resulting from the return of a relatively important proportion of former migrants into their communities with both financial resources and capacities or technical know-how at their disposal.

- **Production institutions**: These institutions (set up across the country over the past 45 years) mainly aim at protecting and consolidating household strategies (investment and production strategies, as and when possible, or simply adaptive strategies). As for customary organizations, these new formal producer organizations are of various kinds, inasmuch as their main duty is to organize relationships with the outside world. Mediation institutions on their part can be either means capable of stepping up the integration of rural communities into the global market and society or means likely to improve on the relation of these communities with their commercial and social environment. Thus, they ensure a better management of natural resources and assets (in their capacity of user associations), improve access to socio-economic services and enable producers to take part in decision-making. In particular, these farmer organizations can induce and ease technical, economic and institutional changes.39

Local institutions organize themselves into quite dense networks comprising village and inter village structures (NGOs coming to add to these networks to give them a regional and even national dimension). In a schematic manner, we can distinguish two types of organizations at village level, notably: (i) *Village Groupings (GV)*; and (ii) *Naam Groupings (GN)*, which, having started off in the early 1970s, integrate traditional cultural values in a village system for the provision of services and developing itself within more vast regional networks. In most cases, these two types of groupings are representatives of agricultural projects initiated by the Government and donors. It should be added that the *Naam* should increasingly be considered as a popular movement whereas the ‘*Association of the Six S*’40 is a real NGO which draw inspiration from the ‘Naam’ to launch many

---

projects (in all the provinces of Burkina Faso as well as out of Burkina Faso) whose objective is to overcome the major obstacles facing farmers.

- **Service-asset management institutions**:\(^{41}\) these institutions integrate productivity and growth objectives with local social values, while ensuring the sustainable management and development of local means of production (assets). These institutions are more recent than those other institutions which directly stem from former development committees in charge of wells and other water infrastructure, schools or health centers as well as forest, animal and water resource management committees, etc. In some rural areas, this type of institution crops up at the time when the arena for the exercise of these ancient powers crumbling. The population then appears capable of preserving its identity and devising a set of rules and regulations for more efficiency within the framework of a clearly defined space.\(^{42}\) Most of these institutions stretch beyond an individual village, by constantly applying inclusive equitable mechanisms (‘water management committees’ represent a good example of an approach including all users and water points of a given geographical zone). Other committees assume specific responsibilities in relation to livestock, activities and conflicts arising between various producers and/or different forms of production concerning access to productive resources (the example of the water management committee of the Sanmatenga region which has greatly contributed in reducing the number and incidence of conflicts between agriculturalists and pastoralists is often cited). Some entities defend the collective interests of a given category of producers such as the APESS Association (Association for the Promotion of Livestock in the Sahel and Savannah).\(^{43}\) Thus, on the whole, this institutional category plays a major role in supporting households and communities of Burkina Faso in their adaptation to all sorts of crises.

### 4. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF DECENTRALIZED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

#### 4.1 AT THE LEVEL OF POLICIES

The analysis on stakeholders (section 3 of this report) and the institutional and political framework of local development (section 3) enable us to make some observation on the strengths and main constraints:

- **Political frameworks now place local governments** (stemming from free and fair elections) in the heart of the institutional and legal framework of local development. Decentralization laws enshrine local governance and the right of local authorities to freely administer and their own affairs in line with their specific objectives and strategies in view of promoting area-based development.
- **Nevertheless, it is worth noticing** that the transfer of powers from the central State to local authorities is not yet effective and encounters administrative, financial and logistics problems. Theoretically, local governments possess wide-ranging responsibilities. But, this seems to have nothing to do with what happens in reality. In addition, most of the local powers conferred on these local governments by law are barely or even not at all exercised by them. Most often, the principle

---

\(^{41}\) In French: ‘**Institutions de gestion des services et des actifs**’

\(^{42}\) P.J. Laurent, 2007.

\(^{43}\) Log on to: [http://www.oecd.org/document/11/0,3343,fr_38233741_38242551_42358219_1_1_1_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/11/0,3343,fr_38233741_38242551_42358219_1_1_1_1,00.html).
of inclusive involvement and consultation of the population seems to be left at discretion of devolved administrations and their agents.

• The issue of decentralized local development has been topical over the past few years and centre stage on the national political debate. However, most sectoral policies do not seem to be in line with decentralization, and technical mechanisms of the different ministries do not yet seem to have actually adopted a decentralization ‘reflex’.

• The definition of a legal and institutional framework of decentralization was marked by its gradual, progressive and changeable character. However, the various sectoral laws or regulatory provisions were not followed by implementation decree or these instruments have gradually lapsed and become obsolete.44

• The institutional and statutory provisions concerning local development are numerous and cover very wide areas. Nonetheless, there seem to be a huge discrepancy between the legal arsenal and the magnitude of pragmatism on the field (through community development experiences).

• The local development planning cycle historically underscores the key role of community organizations, especially in relation to natural resource management. However, several sector-based provisions (with the noticeable exception of those concerning the water management) seem not yet to be really in line with these guidelines.

• For political and pedagogical reasons, the process for setting up local governments started off in urban areas. It was only subsequently and by virtue of the lessons learnt from the experience of urban councils that council administration was extended to rural areas. This change however led to problems, inasmuch as the social and cultural reality of the rural milieu is much more complex, thereby involving many traditional institutions (landownership chieftaincies, political chieftaincies, family solidarity networks). In some regions of Burkina Faso, these institutions are still very lively and absolutely unavoidable (especially in relation to local natural resource management, access to land and water, and land ownership management in particular). In addition, within this decentralized diagram, traditional elites seem to have benefited more from the situation, having been able to blend legality to their customary legitimacy. Thus creating some sort of confusion at the level of duties.45

4.2 AT NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM LEVEL

Some organizational analyses46 have highlighted several dysfunctions within the MATD. This particularly concerns the following aspects:

• The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD) is one of the most devolved ministries (with relays in all regions and districts). This does not prevent that its devolved agents should be confronted to the same problems concerning the entire public administration of Burkina Faso (lack of adequate means of action, skilled human resources and financial resources to carry out supervisory and supportive work as well as the lack of professional motivation – positions within the

45 See: H. Ouédraogo, 2001
46 See, in particular, a study funded by the ‘Administration’s Capacity Building Program: Department of Economic and Financial Affairs, 2004.
MATD should not be considered otherwise than a ‘passageway’). Moreover, within the MATD, the definition of roles and responsibilities of some departments is not quite clear (this sometimes leads to overlapping and lack of cohesion).

- The principle of transfer of powers has been confirmed by current provisions (for example, with emphasis being laid on project ownership by local governments, or ‘legality checks’ by State representatives). Nevertheless, this leads to several dysfunctions. Practically, the principle of ‘à priori supervision’ continues to be applied to several areas which constitute the substance of local autonomy. Many of the powers transferred by law to local authorities remain under the responsibility of private enterprises or State corporations (this is notably the case with water and electricity). More so, technical ministries intervening in sectoral public policy areas (education, health, etc.), continue to exercise a good chunk of duties falling under the responsibility of local governments. Besides this, there is however the good practice of coordination. Thus, for example, within the Ministry of Animal Resources, the DGAEP works in collaboration with several ministries: MECV (for better tolerance of pastoral activity); MAHRH for taking into account the concerns of livestock in improving the bottomland for irrigated cultivation, and for cleaning up (watering places around potable water point); MATD for cross-border transhumance and with several MAHRH and MRA projects/programs for investments to the benefit of pastoralists. This consultation and collaboration is an element of prime importance against the backdrop of the combat against the multidimensional impact of climate change.47

4.3 AT THE LEVEL OF COMMUNAL PROJECT OWNERSHIP

The principle of project ownership of local governments in relation to local development is now clearly highlighted by rules and regulations. However, its implementation is hampered by lots of problems.48 An official document lists out several categories of councils in relation to their operational capacities:

(i) A category of big councils having a municipal technical service at their disposal and being capable to conveniently ensure project ownership.

(ii) A category of medium-sized councils having embryonic technical services at their disposal, capable of partially assuming the duties of project ownership;

(iii) A category of emergent councils, not having resources at their disposal that will enable them to be involved in the exercise of project ownership.49

A few years ago, the conclusions of a workshop that brought together a given number of elected representatives (but which still seems to be current) point to some difficulties likely to impede the exercise of local government project ownership. Generally, in the infrastructural development process, councils are positioned as default project owners. But the truth is that they have no mastery of their role and responsibilities in relation to this duty, nor are they represented within the framework for the

---

47 In accordance with a document prepared by the MARP Network of Burkina Faso, 2009.
48 In the area of local development, the legal notion of ‘project ownership’ (a notion originally used mostly within the construction industry context) defines planning, organization, management and monitoring responsibilities. Thus, project ownership is the promising entity of development actions which defines their objectives, calendar and budget. The joint notion of project management refers to the entity selected by the project owner to carry out one or several aspects of development actions; it is responsible for inherent technical choices in accordance to the requirements of the project ownership.
conduct of work during the infrastructural development process. The most serious difficulties seem to center on the following factors:

- Despite efforts made, local and regional authorities are still in dire need of human resources and logistic means. Indeed, they lack skilled human resources, and have inadequate financial and logistic resources (including the lack of activity monitoring dashboards, procedural manuals and operational objectives).

- Reduction of municipal units in charge of lending technical support to councils.

- As concerns project ownership, relations between secondary project managers and project owners are not clear enough. At local level, very few service providers and operators are effectively capable of ensuring contract execution for service provision. Yet, most often, there are secondary service providers who exercise total control over these projects to the detriment of project managers.

- Low representation of devolved State services at communal level, notably key technical ministries likely to support municipalities in project ownership.

- Unavailability of technical files pertaining to projects to be realized (service providers tend to keep the mat their own level without placing the mat the disposal of project owners) or the discretion observed on the contents of contracts with enterprises and planning departments.

- Frequent disrespect of service providers (contractors) for municipal authorities once the contracts are concluded with the secondary project owners (as it is the case for delegated project ownership): several companies therefore start off work when the council authorities are not even aware.

- Lack of synergy between the various instruments intervening in favor of local authorities (FICOM, FODECOM, SAGEDECOM, and CND/GTZ). However, this situation should be redressed thanks to the adoption of new decisions relating to the financial dispensation. In fact, as already mentioned, the Support Fund for the Launching and Development of Councils’ (FODECOM) became in 2002 the Fund for Local Governments’ Development (FDCT) (from inception, it was a technical and financial support instrument to urban councils developed by the National Decentralization Commission in 1996).

- Lastly, most donors often seem to impose their vision and supporting structures to municipalities within the framework of project ownership (each project putting in place its own technical structure at the level of municipalities instead of strengthening already existing structures).

From MATD analysis, very few beneficiaries of local investments (notably, decentralized entities and socio-professional groups) possess capacities enabling them to really assume their responsibilities in the area of project ownership and conveniently manage the realization of projects already acquired. One of the reasons seems to be linked to the fact that financial partners are not generally ready to take into account recurrent expenses and needs for renovation, reinvestment and maintenance of infrastructure.

---

50 See the analysis of MATD on its Internet Website; log on to [http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/ministere/projet/default.html](http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/ministere/projet/default.html)
At the level of achievements, it should however be recalled that FODECOM’s approach gave considerable importance to backing communal capacity building initiatives. In fact, it laid emphasis on defining fundamental stages of the project ownership chain by distinguishing, amongst others: the definition and production of tools likely to favor ownership by councils and their partners of the content of the various stages of project ownership; support to the setting up and consolidation of local planning structures; management or supervision of local infrastructural management; putting technical staff at the disposal of councils; definition of major stakeholders and their roles in the exercise of council project ownership.51

4.4 AT THE LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Through Village Development Commissions (CVD) which have taken over from former Village Territorial Management Commissions (CVGT) and Inter-Village Territorial Management Commissions (CIVGT), the legal and institutional framework of decentralization in Burkina Faso places village institutions within the same institutional decentralization structure. More than other countries of the sub-region, Burkina Faso has chosen a form of decentralization descending right to grassroots communities (union of collective action, at the level of village residential entities and based on local mutual aid, solidarity and confidence networks).

Moreover, the territorial division of CVDs took into account criteria as varied as authority’s attachment to the same customary chieftaincy, kinship ties, peaceful co-existence, joint use and co-management of the same productive natural resources, and co-use of the same social services and infrastructure. As such, CVD’s structure is based on local social capital, a crucial factor in applying adaptive strategies as a response to climate change.

Nevertheless, there are ambiguities surrounding CVDs (as well as CVGTs which existed before the latter). In fact:

- On the one hand, the population tends to consider CVDs solely as necessary steps enabling them to have access to financial resources of development programs.

- On the other hand, inasmuch as CVDs are part and parcel of the institutional structure of local governance, their members will be increasingly chosen by political parties and no longer by village members (these members run the risk of no longer representing the interests of their villages, but simply those of the parties).

The main weaknesses of customary institutions, and partly producer community organizations, relate to inclusion parameters – these institutions being inevitably linked to tribal, clannish, restricted family groups within specific socio-linguistic structures. Thus, for example, within the Mossi community, the invitation to participate in community work referred to as susooaga is generally not extended to other socio-linguistic groups of a given region. Decision-making models, especially within customary institutions, are characterized by a lack of any form of presentation of accounts for audit, even if they do not totally exclude some forms of participation. These customary institutions are however subject to quite radical transformation under the pressure of internal and external factors (such as the changing

relations between generations, the breaking up of extended families into nuclear units, market forces, migration phenomena and the return of migrants as well as the influence of political parties in local affairs). However, institutions based on collective management of assets and production means are much more inclusive and tend to extend to all users. They do not seem to depend on tribal, clannish, cultural or linguistic affiliation of their members and are built on solidarity and equity principles. However, it is the consensual principle which characterizes the decision-making process (for example, in functioning, we have ‘land management conventions’ between villages). The objectives of these institutions pertain to economic growth, wealth creation, improvement of security (either financial or food), and poverty alleviation (in all its dimensions). Beyond ideological parameters, these institutions attempt to strike balance between community interest and individual interest. Committees or councils and assemblies aim to ensure some transparency and presentation of accounts for audit.

As it is the case in most Sahel countries, households in Burkina Faso apply a range of strategies for their livelihoods:

- Very few households can adopt real investment strategies in order to step up their income-generating possibilities and financial capital.

- There are many more households applying adaptive strategies, including choices likely to lead to important socio-economic changes (these strategies include diversification of non-agricultural activities, herding cattle for town-living owners, exodus of the entire household towards less marginal land, and so on).

- Other households faced with more acute shortage should rather adopt true survival strategies to seasonal or recurrent crises (for example by reducing feeding expenses or diversifying productive activities).

- At the bottom of the ladder, poorer households are left with no other option than applying restrictive strategies (or withdrawal strategies) which mainly aim at reducing expenditure to a minimum (food, education, health, etc.) and/or to sell essential productive assets (land, livestock or equipment).

4.5 LOCAL DEVELOPMENT CONSTRAINTS

Local development in Burkina Faso is facing several constraints. Some of these stumbling blocks recently identified by an official document already mentioned include:

- Increased competition and conflict between stakeholders for land control and development.

- Persistence and even intensification of agricultural migration and pastoral transhumance in some regions.

---

53 See Figure 10 above. For this section, see: A. Bonfiglioli, (2004).
54 The document on the ‘national rural land security Policy’.
• Multiplication and aggravation of conflicts between rural stakeholders (within the same production system and between different production systems) during land and human resource developments.

• Development of a land concentration process in the hands of rural entrepreneurs referred to as agro-businessmen or ‘new stakeholders’.

• Low efficiency of legal and institutional land and conflict management mechanisms in rural areas.

It is very likely that climate-related crises will only exacerbate these factors and their impact on livelihoods.

Another lesson learnt from past experiences is the difficulty inherent in targeting vulnerable groups. The identification of vulnerable and poorly-fed groups and the targeting of the pockets of food vulnerability represented a major problem for food security programs. It is very likely that it will also hinder adoption of sound climate change policies and interventions. In fact, the information system is quite fragmentary and the rural population’s geographical instability is quite great.55

4.6 DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING CYCLE

In principle, the distribution of tasks between the State and local governments is quite clear: the State is in charge of formulating and implementing national sectoral policies; applying national rules and regulations as well as standards for building, repairing and maintaining infrastructure and equipment of national and regional interest; remunerating the technical (supervisory) staff, etc. Local authorities on their part are in charge of implementing promotion and development activities in their areas of jurisdiction in accordance with standards set by the State; developing infrastructure; managing and maintaining equipment (repairs, management of personnel, salaries and fringe benefits for support staff, etc.).56

In reality, the process is far more complex. In fact:

• Many sectoral ministries have a very critical opinion about decentralization and the transfer of powers and resources to local and regional authorities (they are even openly opposed to it), and sectoral policies are not yet generally focused on decentralization.

• Sectoral policies do not always take into account the project ownership of local governments. For example, the ‘participatory’ methodology described in the NAPA document brings up consultations with ‘representatives of major stakeholders (administrative and technical services, NGOs, producer projects and organizations)’, but fails to talk about local council and community structures. In addition, it takes into account ‘policies, plans and programs being implemented or devised’, and does not make reference to local development plans.

• The value of communal development plans is at times strongly put in perspective by the parallel existence of territorial development plans at council, provincial, regional and national levels, prepared by sectoral ministries with support from technical and financial partners.

55 Log on to: www.ird.bf.
56 See the graph on Annex 4.
At local level, sectoral ministries do not have the capacities to support councils as they ought to. Besides, relations between these services and councils are thorny, insofar as the new local authorities attempt to make decisions that were hitherto the privilege of devolved services.

The local development planning process was explained with the publication of two national local planning guides (councils and regions). These guides build on lessons learnt from planning systems devised by various development programs and projects over the pre-decentralization period. However, mention has already been made on how the key steps of council project ownership were well-defined within the framework the procedure for allocating investment funds to local governments (as part of the former FODECOM). In particular, they concern the following aspects: drawing up a local development plan (which should constitute the basis for the action of council partners); identifying projects shortlisted in the local development plan; mounting project files; mounting files to look for funding; pooling resources; drafting files for invitations to tender; launching tenders; opening and analyzing tenders; procurement of contracts; monitoring project execution; assessing and receiving works; using and managing structures. The strategy devised largely integrated the production of pedagogical tools designed in the form of thematic guides. Nevertheless, the translation of these procedures into practice and behaviors is still very cumbersome, and even defaulting. In fact, to date, there seems to be no harmonized or unified planning system existing (among the various institutional levels; for each ministry adopts its own parameters, each project or program chooses its own procedures).

Some assessment reports underscore a number of specific problems facing the planning cycle and realization of local development initiatives:

- Poor mobilization of financial resources by local governments;
- Illiteracy, functional or not, of some elected representatives;
- Inadequacy of development and planning tools;
- Low involvement of political parties in the training of their councilors;
- Poor management of public the funds of local governments; incoherence of instruments;
- Lack of awareness of elected representatives on their roles.

The introduction of new legal and financial provisions may pave the way for adopting suitable conditions in relation to perennial decentralization funding system, including a fungibility fund system to guarantee financing within the framework of sustainable local development.

Moreover, reforms at the level of public treasuries have made provisions for the security of local governments’ financing and for attaining some credibility vis-à-vis financial development partners through constant liquidity over the past two years, this contributed in reducing treasury liquidity problems and delays in payments. Concerning the ‘traceability’ of external financial support, each technical and financial partner may henceforth find the traces of his financing, with specifications on the objects of financing as well as the geographical allocation of resources.

4.7 WORLD BANK PROGRAMS ACHIEVEMENTS

4.7.1 National Decentralized Rural Development Program (PNDRD)
- During Phase I, PNDRD supported the local development process in Burkina Faso. Its main objective was to alleviate poverty and foster sustainable development through a decentralized and
participatory rural development strategy based mainly on the provision of services and socioeconomic infrastructure, and on building the capacities of the civil society and decentralized institutions. The financial mechanism of Phase I provided for two tellers, the first for basic rural organizations and the funding of socioeconomic initiatives consistent with local priorities, and the second teller within the framework of greater investments singled out by the local or regional authorities and carried out at provincial level. Moreover, PNDRD carried out test activities relating to land tenure. From a quantitative perspective, Phase I results and achievements are rather noticeable. Some of them include the setting up of CGVTs in about 4,000 villages; CVGT training programs for local development planning, management and follow up; conduct of about 12,000 micro-projects (for an estimated total cost of US$ 39 million), including 40% for water supply, 30% for social infrastructure and 16% for environmental management.

An internal assessment at the end of 2006 had also revealed the main qualitative lessons from the program, as follows:

- Effective accountability of local governments with regards to identification, assessment, co-financing and conduct of development initiatives ensures harmonization and ownership.
- Effective local capacity building, which enabled CVGTs to coordinate development activities at village level.
- The sustainability of development activities is ensured by the involvement of the entire community in their conduct.
- Valorization of community leaders and forms of partnership as the key to success for the various initiatives.
- Social cohesion among villages was strengthened by a transparent fund management system.

Phase II is bent on consolidating Phase I achievements, while taking into account recent development policy changes which accelerated the process of ‘integral communalization’ of the national territory. Henceforth, it is all the 302 rural councils which benefit from program initiatives as concerns both local capacity-building and area-based development planning and financing. To take into account the different levels and respective local government skills, the program shall apply the ‘subsidiarity’ principle in which local development planning, programming and funding activities take place at the competent institutional level closest to the grassroots. If Phase I provided precious assistance to the Government in implementing its decentralized rural development vision, Phase II is even more centered on harmonizing and coordinating approaches at local level depending on the powers of local authorities.

In a country like Burkina Faso where 80% of the rural population lives on productive activities, Phase II should lay more emphasis on applying the most sustainable natural resource management practices. Consequently, council development plans should reflect environmental and land governance, and communal investment plans should focus on initiatives to protect and sustainably manage resources. In a country like Burkina Faso where 80% of the rural population lives on productive activities, Phase II should lay more emphasis on applying the most sustainable natural resource management practices. Consequently, council development plans should reflect environmental and land governance, and communal investment plans should focus on initiatives to protect and sustainably manage resources.

57 As concerns funding of local development initiatives, Phase II provided for an estimated US$ 68.3 million funding.
58 The land governance aspect is managed by the Directorate General for Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations (DGFROP).
4.7.2 Other World Bank Projects

The aim of the **Sahel Integrated Lowland Ecosystem Management Project** (SILEM) is sustainable improvement on the productive capacity of rural area resources (natural resources, but also physical, human and financial resources) in some lowland areas. Working closely with PNDRD, the project seeks to build the capacities of local authorities for planning, implementing and monitoring an ‘integrated ecosystem management’ (IEM) system.

5. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY PROSPECTS

5.1 GENERAL PROSPECTS

In Burkina Faso, as elsewhere, the strategic main line of any local development policy integrating climate change should protect and valorize the capital at the disposal of basic rural communities and households. Thus, they include the following initiatives:

- **In relation to natural capital**: build resilience and productivity of natural resources (through sustainable management of land), so as to be able to bear vulnerable household livelihoods and underpin local adaptive strategies to climate change.

- **In relation to physical capital**: put up and manage collective social and economic infrastructures in relation to an appropriate technology (by laying more explicit emphasis on building resilience of this infrastructure to climate change).

- **In relation to economic capital**: identify extra-agricultural productive activities in rural zones enabling poor and particularly vulnerable households to climate change to earn subsistence revenue. Likewise, improve on synergies between rural and urban economies, from the hypothesis of improving on trade transactions between rural and urban zones (especially in average rural towns) may contribute in reducing rural household vulnerability.

- **In relation to social capital**: consolidate solidarity networks and local mutual aid patterns, and strengthen role of civil society associations in rising above the adverse effects of climate change.

- **In relation to human capital**: setting up adequate sensitization, information and training programs on climate change – policies and strategies may not produce concrete results if there is no prior awareness at the level of the population and decision-makers on the effectiveness of climate change and its impact on local livelihoods.

- **In relation to financial capital**: improve on the provision of appropriate financial services (microfinance) in favor of poor households particularly vulnerable to climate change (which would normally be left on the sidelines in any conventional approach).

---

59 *Livelihoods of households* refers to a series of potentials, assets (both material and social resources) and activities necessary to ensure means of support (reserves, foodstuffs and monetary goods to address basic population needs).
In the definition and implementation of this policy, the role of local authorities is crucial by virtue of the principle of their ownership of the local development project and their comparative advantages. Due to their very nature (both local and regional), climate-related crises should enable to better specify the significance of this project ownership as well as statutory powers which local authorities exercise within their jurisdictions as well as dialogue mechanisms necessary between local authorities on the one hand, and between local authorities and technical services on the other.

5.2 SPECIFIC INITIATIVES

The strategic main lines should be translated into a set of specific initiatives, a real political, institutional and financial ‘road map’ aimed at integrating climate change in local development discourse and practices. The following recommendations are meant for current World Bank operations in Burkina Faso (see the graphic representation of these initiatives in Annex 3).

I. UPDATING POLICY FRAMEWORKS AND OPERATIONAL STRATEGIES: Mainstreaming process of ‘climate change’ in development policies and practices

I.1 Integrate the perspective of climate change in CSLP and NAPA

The Strategic Framework for Poverty Alleviation (CSLP), as a reference framework of any social and economic development policy in Burkina Faso should be able to integrate climate change (especially in relation to appropriate initiatives designed to build adaptation of vulnerable populations). Just like responses to food crises, it will entail including in CSLP itself a set of appropriate ‘safety nets’. Similarly, NAPA’s discussion on climate change as well as responses pertaining thereto should increasingly take into account the indispensable role of local authorities.

I.2 Deepen the methodology concerning diagnostic studies on risk assessment and vulnerability assessment as well as social effects of climate change

Social parameters concerning the impact of climate change in Burkina Faso are known, especially through a discussion on drought and famine. According to experts, climate change makes drought still more likely and will even increase its severity and impact on household livelihoods.

Adequate socio-economic diagnostic studies should lead to better identification of the dimensions of household vulnerability to climate change and local adaptive measures.

Action: Consultation with ‘monitoring and studies’ units of the main programs currently under way.

---

60 Some of the recommendations were taken from the document prepared by the MARP/Burkina Network (2009)
61 See the list of impacts expected of climate change in: MARP/Burkina Network (2009).
62 THE NAPA/Burkina Faso document clarifies the meaning of the two terms ‘vulnerability’ and ‘adaptation’. Vulnerability is defined as the likelihood of a natural or human system to be affected by the adverse effects of climate change, variability or extreme weather conditions. Adaptation on its part refers to any adjustment in the natural or human activities, in response to the real or expected impacts of climate change and adjustment likely to mitigate the adverse effects or develop beneficial possibilities.
Box 9: Adaptation of agriculture to climate change.63

From April 27 to 30, 2009, an International Workshop on the adaptation of West African agriculture to climate change was held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. This workshop brought together more than 70 experts and decision-makers to discuss and make recommendations in relation to climate change adaptive strategies in the agricultural, livestock, forestry and fishery sectors in West Africa.64

The workshop identified several recommendations designed to minimize the vulnerability of the West African region in the short and long terms in relation to climate change. Among these recommendations, the following are of particular importance:

- Integrate adaptation and mitigation strategies to climate change in national and regional development programs;
- Highlight in national development policies the primordial role of meteorological and weather services and products in the search for adaptation solutions to climate change in West African agriculture;
- Improve on the management of water resources and mainly centre the latter on strengthening the region’s food security;
- Set up a comprehensive data base oriented towards action, documenting and disseminating information to small-scale producers on adaptation options concerning different systems of agriculture, household livelihoods and agro-ecological zones, including measures and policies;
- Mobilize resources necessary for furthering research on the impact of climate change on agriculture in different agro-ecological zones of West Africa as empirical proof inasmuch as research findings in this domain remain largely insufficient;
- Enhance access to credit and agricultural inputs to intensify integrated production systems such as agriculture-livestock and aquaculture-agriculture, through an improved management of natural resources and the use of adapted varieties and animal species;
- Initiate and strengthen cooperation between university and research institutions, international and regional organizations, and NGOs to provide opportunities for institutional and human resource development, and capacity building to surmount the impacts of climate change.

64 This workshop was jointly organized by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the Meteorological Agency of the Spanish State (AEMET), the African Development Bank (ADB), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the International Cropping Research Institute in Semi-arid Tropical Zones (ICRISAT), and the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) and the Directorate General of Civil Aviation and Meteorology of the Government of Burkina Faso.
II. CONSOLIDATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE: at the level of local governments and horizontal links within inter-council public cooperation institutions (EPCI) measures can contribute to application of essential good governance principles (transparency, participation and reporting on financial accounts for audit)

II.1  Accelerate the process of applying horizontal links among local authorities and among Village Development Commissions (CVDs)
From a legal and institutional perspective, this could ease the definition of global measures to fight against climate change (with appropriate financial incentives) going beyond the council’s administrative boundaries.
Action: PNDRD

II.2  Speed up the application of horizontal links among councils within the framework of the EPI (with the identification of all appropriate financial incentives).
Action: PNDRD

II.3  Contribute in strengthening the mandate of the Rural Land Service within each council in relation to the impact of climate change on land (land security being an essential element of community and household adaptive strategies. Action: PNDRD

II.4  Defining terms and conditions for ‘a true early warning system on climate change’ and creating a network of early warning units on climate change (within each council and village development commission).
Concerted action: development programs/projects current early warning systems.
Existing early warning systems operating especially in the area of food crises should be used especially for the institutional dispensation (see CNSA below, section 4 appendix). This necessitates building analytical capacities of governmental institutions (such as SAP and SISA) and creating synergies with specialized services (such as the Department of Meteorology). Another element concerns mechanisms for rapidly reassembling information.
Concerted action: SISA with CNSA

III. BUILDING STAKEHOLDER CAPACITIES: Information, training, early warning networks ‘menu’ of appropriate initiatives (adaptive measures) depending on the agro-ecological zones and production systems.

III.1  Organizing outreach campaigns
These campaigns should focus on general problems linked to climate change and its effects on household livelihoods as well as rural and urban communities. Action: support to inter-ministerial committees.

III.2  Implementation of an adequate information program for national and local stakeholders (both elected and community leaders) on the issue of climate change
The concept of ‘climate change’ is yet to enter into local policy speeches. Whereas the heartbreaking experience of the floods of June-July 2007 and more recently that of September 1, 2009, have contributed in giving it the importance it deserves. This information campaign would be of crucial importance, to respond to the important needs felt at the level of stakeholders in terms of information on climate change (origin, manifestations, consequences, etc.). This aspect could trigger, among other things, the organization of workshops or seminars for improved collaboration between experts (climatologists, environmentalists, meteorologists, hydrologists, etc.) and national and local decision-makers.

Action: PNDRD and MEVC.

III.3 Training community organizers and enumerators
Community organizers should be capable of managing the implementation of suitable community practices to combat the impact of climate change (most often through ‘High Labor Intensity (HLI) methods). Enumerators should be able to collect appropriate weather information while working in real ‘early warning units’ on climate change’ within each local community (or homogenous set of local authorities).

Action: PNDRD, MEVC and MAHRH

III.4 Building local community capacities to maintain collective socio-economic infrastructure
Given that some socio-economic infrastructure of particularly vulnerable zones to climate change may require some forms of specific maintenance, it would be advisable to build local capacities in this area.

We could think, among other things, of the following infrastructures: cemented boreholes and wells (equipment, drinking troughs, access to water); markets and slaughter houses; wind and solar pumps; small dams, water tanks and reservoirs; buildings and fences of primary schools; buildings and fences of health units, etc.

Concerted action in several sectoral ministries with development programs/projects is underway.

IV. UPGRADING THE PLANNING PROCESS: Integration of levels of planning and responsibility of stakeholders (in relation to the principle of subsidiarity)

IV.1 Creating synergies between various institutional stakeholders and various institutional levels
This entails better mobilization of all national institutions in charge of local development planning on the subject of the fight against climate change. This will only happen thanks to an adequate population outreach drive as well as training of senior executive officials and ‘decision-makers’.

Concerted action should be taken with relevant technical ministries

IV.2 Integrating the climate dimension into local council development plans
Thanks once more to an adequate population awareness campaign and training of local authority officials, it will be necessary to better integrate climate change and its impacts on

65 For example, it should be recalled that on September 1, 2009, in the space of about two hours the town of Ouagadougou received close to 263 mm of rainfall, thus corresponding to approximately 35% of its annual rainfall (which stands at about 750 mm).
household livelihoods in council development plans (with identification of various adaptive strategies). This will require an integrated and efficient planning method which includes public and private dimensions.

Action: Support to local authorities by MISP.D.
Figure 10: **Recommended initiatives to support adaptation to climate change (CC)**

**POLICIES & STRATEGIES**
- Integration of the climate change perspective in the CSLP and NAPA
- Diagnostic methodology for risks and vulnerabilities

**INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**
- Better horizontal links between councils and CVDs
- Effective set up of inter-municipality (EPI)
- Reinforcement of the mandate of the SFR within councils
- Definition of an early warning system of crises linked to CC

**CAPACITY BUILDING OF INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS**
- Sensitization campaigns of the population on CC
- Information programs for decision-makers, elected community representative and leaders
- Training of community organizers and enumerators on CC
- Improve local capacities in the maintenance of collective infrastructures (affected by CC)

**FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK**
- Line on ‘Support and adaptation to CC within the PNDRD
- Dedicated budget line within the FPDCT
- Micro-finance targeting vulnerable households to climate change

**PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING ADAPTIVE MEASURES TO CC**
- Improve synergies between various institutions and various institutional levels
- Integrate the theme of CC in communal development plans
- Establish a *menu* of initiatives for communal and inter communal investment plans
- Define operational procedures and models to combat CC at inter communal level
- Make community institutions responsible in relation to the planning and implementation of adaptive measures to CC
IV.3 Establish a ‘menu’ of initiatives in the short term to mitigate the negative impact of climate change (specific actions for combating climate change in communal investment plans)

At the level of homogenous agro-ecological zones with their own weather features and specific production systems or sub-systems, it will be necessary to define a set of measures geared towards mitigating the socio-economic impact of climate change (thus pursuing the work already initiated within the framework of the preparation of NAPA). These measures to address climate change-related risks should be part and parcel of poverty alleviation policies and should consequently avoid extending social inequalities (between groups and/or geographical zones). In this light, there is also need to better integrate local environmental knowledge and best practices in devising adaptive strategies.

Action: Support to sectoral ministries in collaboration with other regional and provincial institutions and programs/projects currently involved in sustainable land management.

Box 11: Elements concerning the implementation of adaptation initiatives to climate change

The planning and implementation cycle of adaptation initiatives to climate-related risks should operate in accordance with a gradual and sequential process which respects essential local development principles:

i) Conduct of referential studies on poverty/disaster vulnerability patterns, determinants of poverty, heterogeneity of the poor as well as environmental know-how and traditional adaptive strategies.

ii) Setting up institutions for envisaged initiatives (role of various stakeholders, responsibility-sharing principles, codes of ethics or ‘rules of the game’ enabling stakeholders to respond individually and collectively);

iii) Devising appropriate financial mechanisms (at central and local levels) by laying emphasis on coordination and consistency;

iv) Setting up an efficient support/counseling system capable of providing technical assistance needed by local authorities;

v) Definition and implementation of a coherent monitoring and evaluation system (to ensure the achievement of expected results and evaluate the general impact of initiatives on the reduction of vulnerability to climate change).

IV.4 Predicting the planning/implementation of inter communal actions to combat climate change.

Applying the principle of inter-municipal understanding (within the framework of Inter-municipal Public Institutional Cooperation - EPCI) to launch initiatives of a wider scope to combat the effects of climate change in several local authorities sharing the same agro-weather constraints.

Action: PNDRD

IV.5 Increased accountability for community organizations

Devise efficient mechanisms enabling Decentralized Village Communities (CVDs) to better participate in climate change diagnosis at local level and lend their environmental know-how and knowledge in defining appropriate adaptive measures.
V. CONSOLIDATION AND WIDENING OF THE FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK: financial instruments

V.1  In the short term, create at the level of the PNDRD a budget line on ‘CC investments’

Create within PNDRD a new budget line on experimental investment (‘Climate Change investments’), through a ‘local investment fund’. This budget line could enable rural communities to plan and program investments explicitly designed to mitigate the negative impact of climate change on producer groups, especially the most vulnerable groups (this will entail additional investments in relation to those already provided for, but which should also be included in annual communal investment plans).

Action: PNDRD

V.2  In the long term, set up a discretionary fund (block grant) on ‘climate change’ at the level the Standing Fund for the Development of Local and Regional Authorities (FPDCL)

Study the possibility of setting up a distinct specialized financial instrument with FPDCT officials and financial partners supporting the fund to enable local authorities to carry out investments in addressing adverse effects of climate change on society.

Action: PNDRD, FPDCT and main donors of local development funds.

V.3  Assist Government in reinforcing the micro-finance system in favor of poor and vulnerable households. This will make it possible to help these households to adopt adaptive strategies against climate change.

Action: Consultation with specialized micro-financing institutions, including support of current development programs/projects.

5.3 OVERVIEW

The ‘road map’ just presented above identifies five key components in any policy aimed at consolidating adaptation to climate change:

- Consolidating the appropriate institutional structure;
- Clarification of articulate institutional provisions, thereby paving the way for collective actions based on the subsidiarity principle;
- Underpinning efforts institutional stakeholders are capable of generating (especially in relation to initiatives from vulnerable groups);
- Generating more financial resources to allow for appropriate investments;
- Implementation, management, and follow-up of varied and coordinated initiatives

6. CONCLUSION
This report identified the main institutional stakeholders of local development in Burkina Faso – thereby giving the notion of institution a dual meaning: institutions/organizations (organizational structure) and institutions/standards (standards, mechanism and ‘rules of the game’ affecting the individual and collective’ behavior of stakeholders).

It analyzed the various local development policy frameworks and even the strategic main lines, highlighted the principal lessons learnt from the implementation of these policies. At practical level, the report attempted to see how this institutional dispensation supports communities and households in Burkina Faso in applying the most appropriate strategies in relation to their livelihoods.

Lastly, the report formulated a set of recommendations based on the institutional dispensation pertaining to climate change, a new element in the local development paradigm.

Beyond the results ensuing from the analytical part, this report lays emphasis on a given number of general elements, which are worth recalling here in a synthetic manner.

**The existence a local development and poverty reduction policy framework**

Burkina Faso has a quite vast, heterogeneous and complex sectoral development policy framework, but which is lacking internal consistency. Nevertheless, with the definition of strategic framework for poverty alleviation (revised in 2003), supported by Strategic Framework for Implementing Decentralization (CSMOD) in 2006, the country now has a strategic homogeneous social and economic development vision.

- Any initiative aimed at reducing the impact of climate change on the livelihoods of the population of Burkina Faso should necessarily fall within the existing local development vision and build on the already existing decentralized institutional structure.

Nevertheless, it should not be conceived as an alternative to measures geared towards reducing atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations. Thus, adaptation constitutes only one dimension of a comprehensive solution, which falls under the jurisdiction of energy policies executed by Government and the international community.

**Increased awareness of the gravity of climate change**

Even if the consequences of climate change are already tangible though different, depending on the country’s agro-ecological zones and production systems, ‘climate change’ does not yet seem to have any direct influence either on political debate or on community behavior. Yet, there is an embryonic discussion on the main ecological, weather, meteorological, social and economic parameters of climate change and identification of adequate remedial measures.

- Greater awareness of the reality and threat of climate change should lead to integration of appropriate adaptive measures and responses in the fight against poverty and local development strategy to ensure efficiency.

Any policy aimed at improving the adaptation of the vulnerable population to climate change should be considered as a priority intended to ensure, in the long run, the efficiency of any initiative geared towards poverty alleviation and sustainable development. The negative impact of climate change on the population’s livelihoods may be exacerbated by the fact that productive natural resources are increasingly being sought by unscrupulous private farmers. The virulence and severity of the current and potential impact of climate change on the livelihoods of the population of Burkina Faso makes
integration of new approaches and tools in the present local development paradigm compulsory. It mainly entails encouraging conciliation between new weather challenges and general objectives of poverty reduction.

**High social capital**

One of the strengths of Burkina Faso seems to be the power of its social capital (especially the density of the community fabric within these villages). By reducing the probability of being poor, this social capital may also reduce household and community vulnerability to crises linked to climate change.

**An operational institutional framework at all levels**

The emergence of local authorities had a direct impact on a decentralized model of natural resource management, including environmental protection. This constitutes a strong institutional asset in defining and implementing measures to avert adverse impacts of climate change at local level. This is all the more so as legal frameworks of Burkina Faso have placed village institutions at the center of local governance institutional structure.

Within the framework of the decentralized governance pattern adopted by the Government of Burkina Faso, area-based development is carried out by local authorities. But these local authorities should be considered as *all-inclusive institutions*, having obvious comparative advantages in relation to local socio-economic development, in general, and in relation to combating climate change impact, in particular.

- The vulnerability of Burkina Faso’s communities and households to climate-related perils is a local issue which requires a local approach managed by local institutions. However, these solutions cannot be *solely local*, but should be the result of a consultation process established among several institutional levels (or several ‘spheres of governance’).

Progress already made in the area of sustainable management of productive natural resources (thanks to CVGTs, now taken over by CVDs), on the one hand, and food crises prevention and management systems, on the other, constitute ‘a gateway’ for discussion particularly centered on climate change. In fact, vulnerability to climate change only comes to add to existing vulnerabilities and even compounds them. At all levels (national, regional, communal and community), many governmental and non-governmental institutional stakeholders are involved in local development implementation and management. Most often, their interventions are not coordinated and apply different approaches, methodologies and procedures. Recent decisions on institutional and financial frameworks for local development can however contribute to harmonizing these approaches and building synergies.

As part of local development initiatives, in general, and the fight against adverse effects of climate change, in particular, local government officials, while having ownership of local development, are compelled to establish and support *extended networks of interdependence relationships and collective action* involving CVDs, local administrative and technical services, traditional rulers and civil society organizations. Moreover, they also have to stimulate horizontal forms of cooperation with other local governments.
Local and regional authorities are a key element in the local development and poverty alleviation dispensation. In addition, they are useful for stakeholder identification. In Burkina Faso, they have been able to usher in a new local dynamics likely to boost the poorest members within community-based organizations. They may also benefit from the work of the numerous active community institutions. They can also play an indispensable role in initiatives geared towards combating the effects of climate change on local livelihoods.
MAIN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES


ANNEXES

Annex 1: Institutional Structure of local development in Burkina Faso

Annex 2: Local development policies in Burkina Faso

Annex 3: Major World Bank-sponsored Programs in Burkina Faso

Annex 4: The United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF)
ANNEX 1
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN BURKINA FASO

I. MAJOR MINISTERIAL BODIES
Local development in Burkina Faso is under the responsibility of a set of public institutional stakeholders. These stakeholders operate at local, regional or national level amid a varied and complex institutional dispensation.

I.1 The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD)
Since 2000, The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD) is in charge of conducting the decentralization process (previously referred to as the ‘Ministry of Territorial Administration and Security’ (MATS), but today the Ministry of Security is a separate entity). MATD is currently in charge of the following: (i) territorial administration through the coordination territorial affairs; (ii) border management issues; (iii) support to local development through the development of local authorities; and (iv) execution and promotion give of government’s decentralization policy. MATD organization is laid down by Decree No 2007-306 /PRES/PM/MATD which indicates, amongst other things, that devolved structures of MATD are made up of the Governor’s Office, High Commissions and District Offices. In 2006, the appointment of a minister delegate in the Ministry of Territorial Administration in charge of local governments came in to give dynamic impetus to the consolidation of the process underway.

Within the MATD, three departments are of particular importance to local development, notably:

• The **Directorate General for Local and Regional Authorities** (DGCT) assumes several responsibilities, especially in relation to the following aspects: monitoring and coordination of the implementation of rules and regulations on decentralization; exercise of supervisory authority over local governments; monitoring land ownership affairs; monitoring the management of the property of local governments; and local government development and good governance promotion.

• The **Department of Local Finances** (DFL) is competent on the subject of the finance and budget of local governments and inter-municipal public institutional cooperation (EPCI). It deals, amongst other things, with the following aspects: fiscal revenue levied by local governments and inter-municipal public institutional cooperation; allocation for functioning, equipment and investment as well as subsidies granted to local governments and EPCIs; allocations granted by the State in compensation for the transfer of authority to local governments; issues concerning the budgetary control, loans contracted by local governments, financial aspects of public purchases made by local governments; and drafting and approval budgets, administrative and management accounts of local governments as well as periodic financial analysis.

---

66 Log on to the Ministry’s Internet website: http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/index.jsp/. In November 2000 the former Ministry of Territorial Administration and Security (MATS) became the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MATD) having as mission the coordination of the implementation of the decentralization process.
67 In the 1990s, it was the ‘National Decentralization Commission (CND), set up in 1993 by Decree N°93-350/PRES/PM played a key role in conducting the decentralization process, until the adoption of Instruments to lay down guidelines on Decentralization (TOD). The CND, an independent commission attached to the Prime Minister’s Office, had the mission to design, pilot and give impetus to decentralization. Today, it is attached to the MATD
68 This Decree is available at:http://www.inforoutecommunale.gov.bf/docs_23.04.07/organigramme.pdf/
The Skills and Legality Department (DCL) deals with all issues pertaining to the transfer of powers to local governments, local democracy, legality checks and legal counseling.

It ensures, amongst other things, effective implementation of the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of the ‘General Code on Local and Regional Authorities’ (see below); carries out legality checks on non-financial acts and deliberations of local governments; ensures legality checks of sanctions meted out to locally elected representatives as well as their resignations; monitors the activities related to civil status; monitors the organization and functioning of the deliberative and executive organs of local governments; draft rules and regulations to ensure legality checks of acts taken by local government organs; provides legal counseling to local governments; ensures coordination of local government activities; ensures monitoring and observance of procedural manuals and practical guides on local government management.

I.2 The Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF)
Within this Ministry it is the Directorate General of Territorial Development, Regional and Local Development which is in charge of the territorial, regional and local development policy formulation as well as the translation of these policy frameworks into project/programs. This directorate general is, amongst others, in charge of the following: (i) coordinate the drawing up and updating of the territory’s national and regional development plans; (ii) lend support to the drawing up of sector-based territorial development plans; (iii) promote legislative and statutory techniques and methods in favor of the formulation and implementation of territorial development policies; (iv) ensure the space coherence of infrastructural and structuring equipment programs, development plans and programs and territorial development as well as their conformity with the national territorial development policy, and (v) promote the economic development of regions within the decentralization context.

Regional Economy and Planning Departments (DREP) are devolved structures of the ministry: at regional and local levels, they have the mission of implementing the national economic, financial and budgetary policy. Development projects and programs placed under the supervisory authority of the ministry are considered as ‘attached structures’.

The Ministry of Economy and Finance has a particularly important role to play in the level of operational decentralization, especially in relation to the management and functioning of the fiscal chain in local governments.

I.3 Major Sectoral Ministries
Other sectoral ministries involved in area-based development provision include:

- The Ministry of Agriculture, Hydraulics and Fishery Resources (MAHRH) is responsible for implementing Government’s agricultural policy. Among its main duties, there is analysis, planning, orientation and monitoring/evaluation of the performance of State agricultural services by taking into account capacities of the non-governmental sector (farmer organizations, private transactions and NGOs), analysis and monitoring of producers and plant sectors and their plant health protection.

---

69 Log on to the ministry’s internet website (for more on its mandate and organization chart): http://www.finances.gov.bf/SiteFinances/archive.jsp?num=20/
70 Placed under the authority of a Director General, the Directorate of Territorial, Regional and Local Development includes: the Department of Spatial Studies and Territorial Development (DESAT); the Department of Land Policy and Legislation (DPLF); the Department of Local and Regional Development promotion (DPDLR); the Department of Geomantics and Territorial Observation (DGOT).
71 Log on to the website of the ministry: http://www.agriculture.gov.bf/SiteAgriculture/index.jsp.
as well as support and counseling needed by producers in order to (i) step up technical and management levels, (ii) improve upon farm productivity and (iii) grant them through their organizations greater responsibilities in agricultural development. Within this ministry, what is particularly relevant to local development is the mandate of the following two structures:

- The ‘Directorate General for Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations’ (DGFROP), particularly charged with implementing the new provisions on rural land tenure (see below);
- The National Food Security Council (see below).

The main duties of the Ministry of Animal Resources (MRA) include the reorganization of traditional livestock through training and monitoring of pastoralists as well as cooperation between them and range management zones, promotion of animal feed industries increase in fodder production to better contribute to intensive stock-raising. The Ministry is subdivided into the following departments:

- The Department of Studies and Planning (DEP) in charge, among others of coordinating the formulation of sectoral policies, programs and projects; monitoring and supervision of the Ministry’s projects whether they are included or not in development plans and programs and ensure the perennial nature of the achievements of sectoral projects and programs.
- The Department of Pastoral and Land Management (DGAEP) consists of the Support service to Pastoral Management (SAAP) and Legal Affairs and Land Legislation Service (SAJLF). The DGAEP is in charge of designing and ensuring the implementation the national policy on identification, management, enhancement and security of pastoral land.

The Ministry of the Environment and Livelihoods (MECV) ensures implementation and monitoring of Government’s policy on the environment and the improvement of livelihoods. In this capacity, it is charged, amongst others, with environmental protection and monitoring international conventions on the environment that have been ratified by the country; working out and monitoring environmental educational programs; and coordinating activities to combat desertification and other causes of environmental degradation.

The Ministry of Social Action and National Solidarity is responsible for implementing Government’s social policy. As such, it initiates and accounts for the following actions: social protection of the family, infancy, youths, the handicapped, maladjusted and underprivileged persons; social advancement of individuals, populations, families and family groups; proposal of social measures in favor of the needy; and organization of aid during disasters and natural catastrophes within the limits of their powers.

II. NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

II.1 GOVERNMENT ENTITIES

---

73 Log on to the following Internet website: http://www.environnement.gov.bf/SiteEnvironnement/ministere/attributions.html.
Among the Government structures that come in to lend support to decentralized local development, the new *Standing Fund for Local and Regional Authorities* (FPDCT) is of particular importance. It is meant to replace the *Local Governments’ Management and Development Support Agency* (AGEDECOL) and the *Local Governments’ Development Fund* (FODECOL). In fact, until now, these two entities implemented equipment and investment programs in support of urban councils. But, within the new context of fiscal decentralization (see the ‘Code’ below), these two funds are called upon to evolve towards an intergovernamental transfer system to finance the recurrent expenditure of local and regional authorities, and also towards a larger fund (the FPDCT for that matter) geared towards lending support to local development investments of local governments.

**II.2 ENTITIES EMANATING FROM LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

Among the entities stemming from local and regional authorities, the *Association of Municipalities of Burkina Faso (AMBF)* could be of crucial importance. In fact, this association of all elected local representatives is aimed at offering services to its members as well as to easing and ensuring political dialogue between elected representatives and the State on decentralization policies and local development procedures.

**III. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS**

**III.1 DEVOLUTION STRUCTURES**

Since 2004, Burkina Faso has three levels of devolution structures, notably:

- *Regions* (13), headed by Regional Governors, including the Regional Consultation Framework;
- *Provinces* (45), headed by High commissioners and including a Provincial Consultation Framework;
- *Districts* (350), headed by Districts Officers.

All these devolved services are in charge of coordinating the action of State services at these various administrative levels as well as implementing and managing local development action, while ensuring close supervision of respective organs of local authorities (see the graphs on devolved and decentralized public structures in Burkina Faso in Annex 2).
Annex 1, Figure 1: Presentation of the diagram of Institutional Framework for Support to Local development in Burkina Faso
III.2 DECENTRALIZATION STRUCTURES: LOCAL AND REGIONAL AUTHORITIES

The laws of Burkina Faso have instituted two levels of local governments:

- The **Council**, a grassroots local authority can be subdivided into urban and rural councils (overall, there are 351 Councils, including 49 urban and 302 rural councils). Each council is managed by an **elected Mayor**. According to the law, an agglomeration with “a resident population of at least 5,000 inhabitants and sufficient economic activity to be able to possess its own resources” (with the drafting of an annual budget balanced in revenue and expenditure at CFAF 5 million) can be erected into a council. Burkina Faso has a total of 17,956 locally elected representatives (including 22 female mayors out of 351 mayors). Eleven areas of competence have been transferred to local governments, notably: (i) land, (ii) territorial development, management of landed property; (iii) environment and natural resource management; (iv) economic development and planning; (v) health and hygiene; (vi) education, professional training and literacy; (vi) culture, sports and leisure; (vii) civil protection, assistance and aid; (viii) undertakers and cemeteries; (ix) water and electricity; (x) markets, slaughter houses and fairs. These are areas which can potentially protect, consolidate and strengthen local communities and build their resilience and adaptive strategies to climate change.

- The **Region**, an intermediary local authority between Councils and the Central State (there is a total of 13 regional authorities).

In accordance with the Constitution and decentralization laws, local governments freely exercise the right to administer and manage their own affairs with a view to promoting area-based development and strengthen local governance. Technical supervision of local governments is ensured by the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization whereas financial supervision is guaranteed by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. ‘Legality checks’ are carried out by State representatives (the Governor for the Chairman of the Regional Council and the Senior District Officer for the Mayor).

Local authorities, especially councils, have specialized committees at their disposal (budget and finance, women’s advancement, etc.). The land security policy provided for the setting up of a **Rural Land Tenure Service (SFR)** within councils, which is in charge of working in partnership with village and inter-village land management institutions, for efficient management of the landed estate of local governments. SFRs will amongst other missions take a census and register council resources, implement the procedure for issuing land titles in relation to individual or collective rights of rural producers, supervise the entire local regulation process and collect and repay rural land taxes.

III.3 VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS (CVDs)

**Village Development Commissions (CVDs)** started emerging in 2007, following the 2006 local elections and the implementation of local government organs (councils). Previously, within the framework of the Agrarian and Land Ownership Reforms (RAF) and support to the role of farmer organizations within the perspective of community development, there was the Village Territorial Management Commissions (CVGT), coupled with Inter-Village Territorial Management Commissions (CIVGT) in charge of community infrastructure and natural resource management as well as local land tenure. More than 3,000 CVGTs were thus set up with support from local administrative authorities and external institutions (projects,
NGOs). In general, establishing CVGTs was deemed a prerequisite for village community members in order to attract badly-needed investments for village projects.

From now onwards, especially with Decree No 2007-032 provisions, CVDs can acquire a real legal status and a corporate personality, inasmuch as by dint of the law they are involved in drawing up communal plans, they may develop their own annual investment plans and are entitled to financial transfers from their relevant council executives.

III.4 COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS
For centuries, most socio-linguistic groups in Burkina Faso established a much decentralized type of society, but they were able to maintain informal and very developed solidarity mechanisms and mutual aid systems at local level. This primarily concerns the numerous forms of mutual aid, community labor, invitation for agricultural work (based on the susoaaga system in force among the Mossi groups), mutual aid associations (such as the yewole or songtaab among the young Bissa). This equally concerns the traditional chieftaincy system, insofar as ‘village chiefs’ (in charge of resolving all sorts of local conflicts and administrative affairs), and ‘landlords’ (in charge of performing religious and agrarian rites and regulating relations between communities and the nourishing earth) continue to wield enormous moral power in their communities.

In spite of these strong cultural variations existing among socio-linguistic groups and geographical zones, indicator of social capital in Burkina Faso seem to be very high all over, the variation being less based on cultural and economic differences than on institutional models. Community life is rife in villages (each having between 1 and 8 associations).

77 See: C. Grootaert, 1999.
Annex 1, Figure 2: Institutional Structure of Decentralization and Devolution in Burkina Faso

**DEVOLUTION**
- **Administrative Units**
  - REGION
    - Governor (appointed)
    - Regional Consultative Council
  - PROVINCE
    - High Commissioner (appointed)
    - Conference of Provincial Senior Officers
  - DISTRICT
    - District Officer (appointed)
    - District Council

**DECENTRALIZATION**
- **Local Governments**
  - REGIONAL AUTHORITY
    - Chairman of the Regional Council (elected)
  - COUNCIL (urban and rural)
    - Mayor (elected)
    - Council Executive (elected)
  - VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
    - Chairman (elected)

**Numbers**
- 13 Regional Councils
- 45 Provinces
- 350 Districts
- About 8,000 Villages
- 49 urban
- 302 rural
ANNEX 2

HISTORY OF THE MAJOR INSTRUMENTS OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND STATUTORY FRAMEWORK IN BURKINA FASO

I. BASIC POLICY FRAMEWORK

Over the past few years, the Government of Burkina Faso drafted and approved various laws and statutory instruments in favor of administrative and political decentralization. It is a long difficult and at times very tedious process with some progress but also some backpedaling down the road. During this process, the conceptual framework and social and economic development as well as poverty alleviation strategies were defined, amended and spelt out. Rural development, poverty reduction, support to local production, survival and adaptive strategies to crises become topical issues alongside social democratic reforms (see graph on Annex 2). Apart from the 1991 Constitution, the following documents are worth mentioning:

➢ **The Agrarian and Land Reforms (RAF):** it is through Ordinance n° 84-050 of August 4, 1984 that the Government of Burkina Faso historically zeroed in on the agrarian and land ownership reforms (RAF). The reforms were quite radical concerning land ownership. The reforms were quite radical concerning the land ownership aspect, given that it provided for the outright disappearance of the right to ‘property’ (and by so doing the role of customary authorities), replaced by the right of ‘possession’ (this in a bid to ease the participation of a great segment of the rural population in land management). Burkina Faso had thus instituted the concept of *national land*, which includes the public property of the State and local governments, the private property of the State and secondary local authorities, land on which land titles have been issued to individual and legal entities and customary land. This represents the exclusive property of the State. As such, it is inalienable. Its assignment is issuing land titles to those in real social need. In particular, ‘occupancy permits’ and ‘farming permits’ were issued to groups or individuals who wish to embark on cash cropping for them to be recognized as users. 78

➢ **Orientation Instruments on Decentralization (TOD):** in 1998, the adoption of ‘Orientation Instruments on Decentralization’ (TOD) encouraged the democratic decentralization process, with a distribution of powers between the State and local governments. The groundwork for TODs was laid down by the discussion and sensitization work carried out by the National Decentralization Commission (CND), as well as by many other laws. 79 TODs contributed to the implementation of good governance, insofar as they recognized the principle according to which promising social

78 It should be recalled that the Council of Ministers which met on June 24, 2009 adopted a decree on the setting up, duties, composition and functioning of the inter-ministerial technical committee in charge of rereading instruments on Agrarian and Land Reorganization (RAF) in Burkina Faso.

79 In particular, the following: (i) Law n° 040/98 of August 3, 1998 to lay down the major Guidelines on Decentralization in Burkina Faso, decentralization constitutes a central main line for giving an impetus to local development and democratic practice (With the State expressing its wish to share some powers by defining the role of State services within the Regions; (ii) Law n° 041/98 of August, 1998 on territorial organization and spells out the territorial representation of the State and devolution of State administration as well as the powers and means of local governments; (iii) Law n° 041.98 August 6, 1998 on the organization and functioning of local governments (by determining the organs in charge of the administration of provinces and councils; (iv) Law n° 041/98 August 6, 1998 on the programming of the implementation of decentralization (setting the calendar for the gradual setting up of local governments); (v) A new Law (N° 013-2001) of 2001 gradually introduced the region as the third type of local government, in addition to the council and province (this law instituted a maximum deadline of 10 years after the adoption of the new law, for the deliberative organs of regions to be set up). For instruments on decentralization, log on to : [http://www.inforoute-communale.gov.bf/ta_cadre1.htm](http://www.inforoute-communale.gov.bf/ta_cadre1.htm)
groups, by grouping themselves into recognized common interest communities, could thus benefit from the principle of ‘subsidiarity’ to assume duties which the State is unable to carry out. Historically, from the opinion of MATD officials, these instruments had ‘injected particular dynamism in the decentralization process of Burkina Faso’, (MATD Minister, Florence 2005) by notably enabling the renewal of the term of office of councilors elected in February 1995. Since December 2004, TODs were replaced by the Local Governments Code General (See below).

- The Decentralized Rural Development Policy Letter (LPDRD): Prepared in 2000 and published in the Official Gazette in 2002 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, this Letter contributed in defining the main principles of the new local development in Burkina Faso, notably:
  - Project ownership entrusted to beneficiaries;
  - Widening the scope of investments;
  - Involvement of the population in all the development stages (principle of co-financing of projects with local contributions under various forms);
  - Adopting modular approaches for taking various intervention levels into consideration.

From a historical perspective, this Letter served as reference framework for designing, implementing, coordinating, monitoring and evaluating a whole range of rural development projects and programs (such as the one partly funded by the World Bank) and for describing mechanisms for coordination, monitoring and evaluation of decentralized rural development actions. By falling in line with the community development vision which gives the populations a crucial role in all decisions pertaining to local investments (natural resource management being the basis for productive activities), the Letter constitutes an indispensable reference point in all local development aspects (including implementation, coordination and monitoring of programs), by laying emphasis on harmonization between programs. The Letter was first supplemented by the Strategic Orientation Document (DOS) by 2010 and then by the Operational Strategic Plan (PSO), which includes a set of broad-based programs and promising sectors.

- The Rural Development Strategy of Burkina Faso (SDR) by 2015 which was adopted by Government in 2003 falls in line with the national poverty reduction strategy. In fact, it has the general objective of ensuring sustainable growth of the rural sector in order to contribute in the fight against poverty, food security and promotion of sustainable development. Its vision is to curb rural poverty rates, to ascertain that rural areas are less vulnerable to crises of any kind, and have sustainable food safety. The strategy also aims at increasing agricultural, pastoral, fishery, forestry and fauna production based on improved productivity, increased revenue as a result of greater integration into the market economy and diversification of economic activity in rural areas. Lastly, SDR advocates the modernization of agriculture, diversification and regional specialization in production and sustainable management of natural resources and ecosystems. It is therefore a strategy which stems from a very clear analysis of the vulnerability of rural communities.
Annex 2, Figure 1: Historical Evolution of Legal Provisions on Rural Development and Decentralized Democratization in Burkina Faso

Agrarian and Land Reforms (RAF) 1984

Orientation Instruments

Development Policy Letter


General Code for Local and Regional Authorities (2004)


Inter-ministerial Commission on the Rereading of the RAF (2009)

Law on the Rural Land System (2009)

Institutional Framework of Devolution: Region, Province et District

Institutional Framework of Decentralization: Region and Council with CVDs

Financial Dispensation of Local Governments: Permanent Fund for Council Development
Alongside the SDR, the Government worked out a program covering a fifteen-year period (from 2001 to 2015), referred to as the **National Rural Decentralized Development Program (PNDRD)** aimed at making the decentralized development vision operational. The Program lends support to institutional reforms aimed, amongst others at making local communities and farmer organizations accountable in relation to the definition and implementation of local development priorities. The strategy is closely linked to land security and environmental protection, by laying emphasis on the promotion of production systems which guarantee the durability and perpetuity of ecosystems as well as the Generalization of anti-erosive land measures and restoration of soil fertility.

Henceforth, however, the reading of all the legislative and statutory instruments mentioned above should be done alongside that of the document on **Poverty Alleviation Strategic Framework (CSLP)** (adopted by Government in 2000 and revised in 2003/2004 to add a regional dimension). This framework, by taking into account all sectoral policies defines the sole framework for the intervention of Government and partners involved in local social and economic development and poverty reduction. This document which contains several immediate objectives (including accelerated implementation of the decentralization process) is organized around four main lines: (i) to accelerate growth based on equity; (ii) to guarantee access of the poor to basic social services; (iii) to widen the employment opportunities and income-generating activities available to the poor (this aspect comprises vulnerabilities resulting from agricultural activities); and (iv) to promote good governance, especially local governance (to this effect, CSLP strongly advocates the sharing of responsibilities between the State and local authorities). Through the aspect on **good governance promotion**, CSLP deals with political, administrative, economic and local governance issues – local governance being a key aspect of the national good governance policy. However, it should also be added that CSLP establishes a close link between poverty and sustainable management of the environment and natural resources, and underscores the importance of land security within the prospect of efficient poverty alleviation. Land insecurity is presented as a factor increasing poverty, especially for the socially underprivileged segments of the population such as women and youths. 80 CSLP will be revised in order to more specifically take into account the environmental dimension, through the document on the **accelerated growth strategy for sustainable development**.

In 2004, Law No 055-2004 on the **General Code for Local and Regional Authorities** (CGCT) was a major step forward in the legal and institutional framework of decentralization. In fact, on account of previous legal and institutional principles and lessons learnt during Phase I of decentralization, this law enshrined what is conveniently referred to as the ‘extension of local administration to the whole territory’, because decentralization has become a reality across the national territory pursuant to the provisions of articles 143 and 145 of the Constitution of June 2, 1991. This law contains a good number of innovations. It is the only document subdivided into four books covering all the areas dealt with by law (Main Guidelines on Decentralization, powers and means of action, organs and local government management, councils with special status). At local level, the Code institutes **Village Development Commissions (CVDs)**. Lastly, it settles in favor of two levels of local governments, namely the Region and the Council (urban and rural) – going beyond an orientation which provided for two levels, notably the Council and Province. CGCT defines, among others, the following:

80 On CSLP, see also UNDESA, 2003.
• **The status of common resources**: article 79 provides that ‘Local governments contribute along with the State to the administration and management of the territory, economic, social, educational, health, cultural and scientific development as well as the protection and enhancement of natural resources and the improvement of livelihoods. Local governments can pool their resources on local or general interest lines to carry out developmental activities’.

• **The modalities for water management**, by specifying the various powers of the Region (the participation in the protection of waterways, the protection of fauna and fishery resources of regional interest and participation in the management and farming of the aquacultural perimeter of economic interest, and the Council (participation in, protection and management of groundwater, surface water and fishery resources, participation in the conservation and management of natural resources of regional interest, production and distribution of potable water and digging and management of wells, tube-wells and street-fountains.  

➢ The **Strategic Framework for Implementing Decentralization** (CSMOD) was adopted by the Government of Burkina Faso in June 2006. This framework determines the major guidelines for implementing the reforms over the 2006 to 2015 period. Decentralization now occupies pride of place in the Strategic Framework for Poverty Alleviation and in the National Good governance Policy. CSMOD is in fact the new national reference framework for all stakeholders involved in decentralization. Concerning the financial framework, this policy leans on a new tool, the **Permanent Fund for Council Development (FPDC)**, which is meant to replace all exiting financial instruments such as FODECOL, AGEDECOL and FICOM. In fact, FPDC will now pool resources from bilateral and multilateral cooperation having as sole objective/ council development (and notably the implementation of their PDCs).

II. OTHER SECTORAL POLICIES

II.1 LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The legal framework is supplemented by a plethora of sectoral planning mechanisms. In fact, between 1995 and 2004, more than a dozen of sectoral policies and strategies were drafted by ministries. Apart from instruments already mentioned above, the following are equally important:

• The National Desertification Control plan (PNLCD);
• The National Environmental Policy;
• The Sustainable Environmental Development Plan (PEDD);
• The National Forestry Policy;
• Strategies and action plans for implementing the Rio Conventions which include the National Action Plan for Desertification Control (PAN/LCD), the national strategy and action plan for biodiversity and the national strategy for implementing the convention on climate change;
• The national water policy of Burkina Faso;

---

81 For the legal and institutional water management framework, see Burkina Decentralization Network, 2008.
• The Action Plan for Integrated Management of Water Resources (PAGIRE);
• The energy policy of Burkina Faso;
• The action plan for the integrated management of soil fertility (PAGIFS);
• The legislative and statutory instruments built-up, besides the ‘RAF’ Law already mentioned, by:
  - the Law on the Environmental Code;
  - the Law on the Forestry Code;
  - the law to lay down the major guidelines on pastoralism;
  - the General Code for Local and Regional Authorities;
  - the Mining Code;
  - the law to lay down major guidelines on water management.

It should also be noted that a great number of programs were worked out to render these policies and strategies operational. They include the National Partnership Program for Sustainable Land Management (CPP), the second phase of the National Land Management Program (PNGT 2) and the Community Investment in Agricultural Fertility Program (PICOFA).

These policies and strategies are still to be integrated into each other. However, they have somehow been neatly taken over into the global vision of the Strategic Framework for Poverty Alleviation. Generally speaking, the main concerns taken into account in various national strategies are: the search for food self-sufficiency and safety; the protection and safeguarding of the environment in terms of rational and sustainable management of natural resources; increasing the population’s revenue; and the integrated, rational and sustainable management of water resources. Given that it is the result of protracted consultations involving all stakeholders, this strategic framework finds expression in the quite reasonable perceptions of local actors on the multidimensional aspects of local poverty as well as their opinions in terms of priority initiatives. Only some of the more relevant policy documents were presented and analyzed here.

II.2 IN THE AREA OF AGRICULTURE AND WATER
The National Policy on Land Security in Rural Areas is of particular importance. Promulgated in 2007 by the National Committee on Land Security in Rural Areas.83 This policy essentially stemmed from the reports on the successive and technical rereading of the land legislation in force (RAF) which did not pave the way for appropriate solutions to the issue of rural land security. It thus has as objective to set up a land administration likely to manage land ownership and resolve conflict resulting thereto.84
Among other aspects, this policy strongly underscores the notion of local ownership on resources of their land by local authorities and communities, and this for an equitable use of the said resources.85

The recognition of local ownership aims at setting the local rules for access to natural resources and

83 This recently led to the adoption of Law N° 0034/2009/AN on the Rural Land Tenure (adopted in June 2009). See the law in its entirety by logging on to: http://www.agriculture.gov.bf/SiteAgriculture/plans/psdmr.pdf. The law contains many innovations amongst which is the setting up of land management institutions and a national land security fund for policy implementation. This law is the result of more than two years of consultation initiated by the Directorate General for Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations (DGROP), with producer organizations (OP), women, customary and religious authorities, mayors, devolved and decentralized structures, and the private agricultural sector. See M. Zongo, 2009. Also consult general information on the law at: http://www.inter-reseaux.org/revue-grain-de-sel/41-42-l-agriculture-en-quete-de-sel/41-42-l-agriculture-en-quete-de/article/la-politique-fonciere-au-burkina
84 The policy document gives a wider meaning to the notion of ‘land security’. In fact, it refers to ‘the entire process, actions and measures of all sorts, aimed at enabling the user or holders of rural land to efficiently carry out their productive activities, by protecting him from any contestation or disturbance of possession of his rights’.
85 ‘Local ownership’ refers to the control exercised by local authorities and village or inter-village communities have on the development and management of the common resources of their land.
their sustainable management. Local ownership should be exercised at local level through various mechanisms adapted to the accountability of area-based communities such as, delegation of management powers local protocol of agreements or even consultative mechanisms. To be exercised, local ownership needs representative, legitimate and recognized local institutions represented by elected grassroots representatives and endowed with powers necessary to enable them to act validly.

II.3 IN THE AREA OF LIVESTOCK

The Action Plan and Investment Program in the Livestock Sector (PAPISE) adopted in 2000 stems from other strategic documents of the Ministry of Animal Resources, notably the Memorandum of Guidelines for the Action Plan of the Livestock Development Policy (1997) and the Document to lay down Major Strategic Guidelines (DOS) of the Agriculture and Livestock Sectors by 2010 (starting from 1998). The PAPISE identified a set of livestock technical, human, financial and institutional constraints in Burkina Faso. The most promising PAPISE completion points include: (i) adoption by Government of a law to lay down the major guidelines on pastoralism which will pave the way for the development of pastoral space and a less conflicting and more efficient use of pastoral resources; and (ii) the tendency for operators of various sectors to organize themselves into cooperative or federative associations. As for its prospects, PAPISE identifies the ‘improvement of the involvement of stock-breeders in devolved structures at local, district, provincial, regional and national levels and increased support to organization of stakeholders of various sectors;

II.4 AT TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT LEVEL

The National Territorial Development Policy was only recently adopted by decree in 2007. Territorial development refers to a space organization policy aimed at ensuring harmonious development of the national territory notably through better distribution of human resources and activities. The major challenge of the national territorial development policy is to contribute to economic growth and poverty alleviation. Area-based development is at the crossroads of other development policies insofar as it organizes the deployment of a whole range of economic, social and cultural activities on the national territorial space.

Burkina Faso’s territorial development policy is based on three pillars: (i) economic development, that is the efficient realization of activities generating wealth; (ii) social integration which consists in integrating human, cultural and historical factors into development activities; and (iii) sustainable management of the natural habitat which entails ensuring better living conditions for the population without jeopardizing the living conditions of future generations.

The national territorial development policy clarifies the roles of various stakeholders, while clearly highlighting the primordial role of the State in territorial development. The territorial development policy indicates in crystal clear terms that territorial development cannot be under the sole responsibility of the State. Local and regional authorities, the civil society and the private sector also have an important role to play not only in participating in the definition of development plans, but also in their implementation.

II.5 AT ENVIRONMENTAL LEVEL

---

86 Decree No 2006-362/PRES/PM/MEDEV/MATD/MFB/MAHRH/MUD/MECV of 20 July 2006 on the adoption of national territorial development (See the text online: http://www.agriculture.gov.bf/SiteAgriculture/plans/pnsdmr.pdf)
On the environment, Burkina Faso has devised an array of plans, strategies, conventions and action plans. But it is the Sustainable Environmental Development Plan (PEDD) which further defines the main guiding principles and indicators for concerted sustainable development in all sectors. PEDD somehow determines the strategy around which the poverty alleviation framework and sustainable development can be built taking into account all environmental dimensions. In fact, PEDD is a revision of the National Environmental Action Plan (PANE), with the integration of all environmental factors. To this end, by defining the links with other planning tools, it determines the powers, socio-economic, ecological and legal information for each sector; defines the terms and conditions for the participation of all stakeholders and partners in sustainable development (powers and public and private institutions, the civil society, NGOs). Lastly, it identifies the stakes, actions and instruments to be set up to achieve the global objective of sustainable development.

II.6 AT FORESTRY LEVEL
The National Forestry Resource Management Program expatiates on the common and specific objectives and options of the National Forestry Policy (PFN) adopted by the Government in 1995 (and taken into account in devising the SDR by 2015). At the sector-based level, this program is a negotiation tool and reference framework for consultation with development partners, for the coordination and harmonization of actions carried out in the forestry sector. The PFN has set for itself common options in the forest, fauna and fishery sub-sectors as well as specific options to this effect. The common options of the three sub-sectors are as follows: (i) enhancement of resources using rational development and farming methods; (ii) initiation of stable income-generating employment in rural areas; (iii) biodiversity conservation; (iv) improvement on the living standards; and (v) continuous improvement of knowledge and information on natural resources, especially the use of appropriate modern technology.

II.7 IN THE AREA OF CLIMATE CHANGE
Placed under the responsibility of the Ministry of Environment and Livelihoods, the National Adaptation Program of Action to Variability and Climate Change (NAPA) was devised in November 2007 by a multi-field team using and an inclusive and participatory approach. The global vision of NAPA is in line with sustainable development strategies in Burkina Faso such as CSLP and takes up the Millennium Development Goals. The priority objectives of NAPA for the country are as follows:

- Identify urgent and immediate needs, activities and projects likely to help communities respond to the adverse effects of climate change;
- Search of synergy and complementarity with exiting means and development activities, while prioritizing aspects dealing with climate change impacts;
- Favor the integration and consideration of risks linked to climate change in the national planning process.

NAPA also carries out a quite exhaustive inventory of the basic needs in adapting to climate change and identifies criteria for selecting actions considered as priorities.

III. ASPECTS OF THE DECENTRALIZATION POLICY

87 See the text online: http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/bfa01f.pdf
Decentralization in Burkina Faso was enshrined in the Constitution of June 2, 1991, which provides, amongst others, that: Burkina Faso is organized into local and regional authorities (Article 143), local and regional authorities are created by law (Article 144) and the law organizes the democratic participation of the population in the free management of local governments (Article 145).88

But, the difference with a country such as Senegal or Mali for instance is that in Burkina Faso, decentralization has taken the form of a *changing, gradual and cautious and even meticulous process*. This characteristic is variously interpreted by many observers: sustainable policy guarantee for some or policy attitude limiting the citizen’s democratic rights for others.

Launched on Government’s initiative after the adoption of the Constitution of June 2, 1991 which put an end to a long period of exceptional rule, the decentralization process enabled the publication of five laws which nonetheless restricted the process to a simple administrative territorial reorganization. It is only when in 1994 the Government set up the *National Decentralization Commission* charged with brainstorming on the shape and characteristics of ‘Burkina Faso-styled decentralization’ that many research works, studies and communication actions led to the gradual adoption of instruments to lay down the major guidelines on decentralization. From the opinion of officials, this ‘structure is based on the consolidation of the rule of law, from which is induced not only the widening of the scope of exercise of collective and individual freedoms but also and most especially new spaces for organizing community life’.89

With the promulgation of the *General Code for Local and Regional Authorities* (mentioned above), followed by the 2006 municipal elections, the decentralization process in Burkina Faso embarked on an important turning point as regards its implementation. Thus, council administration, which initially concerned only a handful of urban councils, now affects all the national territory – a process which was commonly referred to as the ‘extension of local administration to the whole territory’. The last elections of April 23, 2006 enshrined this form of local government across Burkina Faso, with the creation of 302 rural councils as well as 13 regional executives in addition to the already existing 49 urban councils. The decentralization policy of Burkina Faso is effective on the ground since the very first local government elections on February 12, 1995, which enabled the creation of 33 urban councils vested with full powers. In 2000, during the second municipal elections, 16 new councils were added to the list, thereby taking the total number of urban councils to 49.

---

88 Although the current decentralization is based on a series of recent law, it is part and parcel of a historic move and should take into account the preexisting institutional background (T. Hilhorst and G. Baltissen, 2003).

89 See a communication of the Minister of the MATD (Florence, 2006) : http://www.euroafricanpartnership.org/contributi/15_03_06/EXPOSE_MATD.pdf
Annex 3: Planning cycle of local development initiatives at council level

- **Mayor** (authorizing officer of budget)
- **Council Board**
- **Communal Commissions**
- **CVD**
- **Community Institutions**
- **Support/advice to devolved technical services**
- **Drafting of Communal Budget** (Approved by the supervisory authority)
- **Validation and prioritization of projects based on the Communal Development Plan**
- **Project approval and Preparation of the Communal Investment Annual Plan**
- **Preparation of the Investment Plan** (depending on budget allocations in the Council)
- **Calls for tender, Signing of Contracts**
- **Fund disbursements (from FPDCT)**
- **Operators / service providers / project owners**
- **Performance of works**
- **Project submission**
ANNEX 4: Distribution of a few skills between the different levels of decentralization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA OF EXPERTISE</th>
<th>COUNCIL</th>
<th>REGION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Territorial development, land tenure</td>
<td>• Opinion on the urban development scheme</td>
<td>• Preparation of the provincial territorial development scheme with the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and town planning</td>
<td>• Drafting and implementation of subdivision plans</td>
<td>• Building and maintenance of country roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Participation in the management of the national estate in land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment and natural resource</td>
<td>• Preparation of action plans on the environment</td>
<td>• Creation of woods and forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>management</td>
<td>• Participation in the protection of water and fishery resources</td>
<td>• Management and protection of classified and protected forests, and water courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Creation of woods and forests</td>
<td>• Defining cultivation areas and building cattle paths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Opinion on the setting up of polluting industries</td>
<td>• Protection of the fauna and fishery resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic development and planning</td>
<td>• Formulation of the communal development plan consistent with the national development plan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hygiene</td>
<td>• Pre-emptive medicine and pharmaceutical supply</td>
<td>• Building and management of primary health centers in non-communalized localities, and developed health centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Hygiene, sanitation and quality of water</td>
<td>• Organization of pharmaceutical supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Hygiene, sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, vocational training and</td>
<td>• Literacy, pre-school and primary school teaching, building and</td>
<td>• Literacy, pre-school and primary school teaching in non-communalized areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>literacy</td>
<td>management of secondary schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Vocational training</td>
<td>• Building and management of non-national secondary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, sports and leisure</td>
<td>• Equipment, management and promotion at council level</td>
<td>• Equipment, management and promotion at regional level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Civil protection, assistance and rescue | Promotion and social protection  
| | Prevention, disaster control and emergency relief to victims and the  
| | underprivileged  
| | Promotion and social protection  
| | Prevention, disaster control and emergency relief to victims and the  
| | underprivileged  

*Source:* Law 055-2004/AN to define a General Code for regional and local authorities in Burkina Faso (December 2004)
ANNEX 5       KEY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

I.   WORLD BANK PROGRAMS ACHIEVEMENTS

I.1 THE NATIONAL DECENTRALIZED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (PNDRD)

Phase I lessons and achievements

During Phase I, PNDRD supported the local development process in Burkina Faso. Its main objective was to alleviate poverty and foster sustainable development through a decentralized and participatory rural development strategy based mainly on the provision of services and socioeconomic infrastructure, and on building the capacities of the civil society and decentralized institutions. The financial mechanism of Phase I provided for two cash desks, the first for basic rural organizations and the funding of socioeconomic initiatives consistent with local priorities, and the second within the framework of greater investments identified by local or regional authorities and carried out at provincial level. Moreover, PNDRD carried out test activities relating to land tenure.

From a quantitative perspective, Phase I results and achievements are rather noticeable. Some of them include:

- Setting up of CGVTs in about 4,000 villages;
- Training programs of CVGTs for local development planning, management and follow up
- Conduct of about 12,000 micro-projects (for an estimated total cost of US$ 39 million), including 40% for water supply, 30% for social infrastructure and 16% for environmental management

An internal assessment at the end of 2006 had also revealed the main qualitative lessons from the program, as follows:

- Effective accountability of local governments with regards to identification, assessment, co-financing and conduct of development initiatives ensures harmonization and ownership.
- Effective local capacity building, which enabled CVGTs to coordinate development activities at village level.
- The sustainability of development activities is ensured by the involvement of the entire community in their conduct.
- Valorization of community leaders and forms of partnership as the key to success for the various initiatives.
- Social cohesion among villages was strengthened by a transparent management system for funds.

From a general policy perspective, Phase I of PNDRD was a vital contribution to the preparation and implementation of the revised version of the General Code for Local and Regional Authorities (already mentioned as the benchmark for Burkina Faso’s decentralized governance vision) and the institution of Rural Councils (after the first local elections held in April 2006).
Prospects of Phase II

Phase II is bent on consolidating Phase I achievements, while taking into account recent development policy changes which accelerated the process of ‘integral communalization’ of the national territory.

Henceforth, it is all the 302 rural councils which benefit from program initiatives as concerns both local capacity-building and area-based development planning and financing. To take into account the different levels and respective local government skills, the program shall apply the ‘subsidiarity’ principle in which local development planning, programming and funding activities take place at the competent institutional level closest to the grassroots.

As concerns the financial mechanism, the major challenge is to integrate World Bank financial instruments into the new Standing Fund for the Development of Local and Regional Authorities (FPDCT), which supersedes all previous instruments. The appointment of executive bodies in all rural councils (especially the Permanent Secretary) and the holding of free and fair elections in 2012 to renew the term of municipal councilors are two key elements prompting the Bank to consider a third and last phase for PNDRD.

Lessons learnt

The formulation of Phase II took into account a number of achievements and lessons, drawn not only from Phase I, but also generally from the political situation in Burkina Faso and outcomes of Bank-sponsored programs to support decentralized governance in other sub-regional countries.

- If Phase I was vital for Government which could apply the decentralized vision of rural development, Phase II lays more emphasis on harmonizing and coordinating approaches at local level, depending on the skills of council authorities.

- In a country like Burkina Faso where 80% of the rural population lives on productive activities, Phase II should lay more emphasis on applying the most sustainable natural resource management practices. Consequently, council development plans should reflect environmental and land governance, and communal investment plans should focus on initiatives to protect and sustainably manage resources.

- Finally, the new phase of PNDRD also seeks to usher in a free, democratic and decentralized society in Burkina Faso, given the political prospects of recent legislative instruments (especially the General Code for Local and Regional Authorities (CGCT), which is a key aspect of the legal and institutional framework of decentralization).

- It should also be recalled that the second National Land Management Program (PNGT2) is one of the implementing tools for PNDRD.

90 The land governance aspect is managed by the Directorate General for Rural Land Tenure and Farmer Organizations (DGFROP).
I.2 OTHER BANK-SPONSORED PROJECTS

- Sahel Integrated Lowland Ecosystem Management Project (SILEM) -
The aim of this project (which was approved in 2004) is sustainable improvement in the productive capacity of rural area resources (natural resources, but also physical, human and financial resources) in a few lowlands. Working closely with PNDRD, the project seeks to build the capacities of local authorities for planning, implementing and monitoring an ‘integrated ecosystem management’ (IEM) system. The rationale of this project is that in Sahel countries, water is a scarce and poorly tapped resource. The project also seeks to provide local governments and village organizations with financial incentives, i.e., a two-cash desk fund. The first cash desk is earmarked for funding watershed management sub-projects at the level of villages or village groups whereas the second ‘cash desk’ is earmarked for provinces (or regions) for bigger projects or works.
ANNEX 4

OTHER POLICY FRAMEWORKS, PROGRAMS AND APPROACHES

I. THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FRAMEWORK (UNDAF)

The ‘United Nations Development Assistance Framework’ (generally called by its acronym UNDAF)\(^\text{91}\) covers the period ranging between 2006 and 2010. Consistent with CSLP, the common UNDAF programming process as a participatory initiative carried out under Government leadership led to the identification of five priority areas, namely: (i) providing more job opportunities and income-generating activities; (ii) ensuring poor populations’ access to basic social services and income-generating activities; (iii) promoting good governance; (iv) reducing rural economy vulnerability and food insecurity in vulnerable groups and promoting sustainable management of the environment; and (v) reversing the trend of HIV prevalence.

While recognizing that Burkina Faso’s economy is heavily dependent on the development of the agricultural sector and that agricultural activities are confronted with climate-related hazards, insufficient arable land, low productivity, poor revenue diversification, and poor producer training, UNDAF considers the food insecurity in the country as one of the root causes for abject poverty in rural areas. Specific UNDAF objectives are as follows:

- to improve upon agro-sylvo-pastoral, fauna and forestry products in upcoming years;
- to generate more income for farmers and breeders with a view to improving their living standards and reducing the incidence of poverty in rural areas through diversified activities;
- to promote and enhance sustainable management of natural resources by rural communities;
- to build rural population capacities and give them responsibility as development stakeholders.

Among its areas of intervention, UNDAF provides for a crisis prevention and management mechanism for climate-related hazards and disasters. UNDAF particularly recommends mapping out vulnerability to food insecurity and formulating a crisis management projected plan in order to support implementation of an action plan for the agricultural sector information system and activities to prevent and manage food crises.

II. SUPPORT PROJECTS TO DECENTRALIZED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

According to MATD observations,\(^\text{92}\) most funding earmarked for decentralization in Burkina Faso is confronted with the weakness of local authorities and their dependence to external funding. This involves:

---

\(^{91}\) United Nations Development Assistance Framework

\(^{92}\) See MATD analysis on its website. Log on to: [http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/ministere/projet/default.html](http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/ministere/projet/default.html)
A poor project mastery capacity which obliges local authorities to hinge on assistance and outsource project implementation;
A poor self-financing capacity by local authorities;
The importance of external assistance (which accounts for more than 70% of investments by local authorities);
Existence of several procedures and intervention mechanisms, with each donor applying their own procedures. Except for the abovementioned donor union, no attempt at coordinating initiatives has been made either by the State or by local governments and technical and financial partners of decentralization.

Lots of inconsistencies could be addressed in the short term if a lasting system to fund local government investments were implemented.

Decentralization is supported by a host of bilateral and multilateral technical and financial partners\(^93\). The following key project aspects are worth recalling: (i) building the institutional capacities of local governments and supporting administrations; (ii) supporting local development through various infrastructures: public (roads, bridges, etc.), social (schools, youth centers, wells, etc.) and commercial (road stations, markets, parks and cattle markets, etc.); building rural roads; supplying various equipments; and training of elected officials and local communal staff.

All donors tend to prefer privileged areas of intervention (for instance, Dori and Dédougou for German Cooperation, Bobo for the French, Dori and Sebba for Denmark, Fada N’gourma, Ouahigouya Koudougou for Swiss Cooperation, and so on). There is also a tendency for sectoral concentration (intervention sectors) along with this geographical concentration (East and South-West zones for German Cooperation, ongoing identification of regions for Canada, etc.).

**APPENDIX:**

**Information systems and crisis prevention: food products and water resources**

\(a\) **The National Food Security Council (CNSA)**\(^94\)

The *National Food Security Council* (CNSA) was established in 2000 to oversee the implementation of the food security strategy. It is an avenue for reflection and guidelines in charge of overseeing the establishment of the *National Food Security Strategy*. CNSA seeks to actively involve all stakeholders and gives responsibility to local authorities and the civil society in the management of food security at structural and economic level.

Missions of the National Food Security Council include:

- Providing a permanent forum for dialogue on the National Food Security Strategy in accordance with relevant Burkina Faso Government’s policies;
- Providing guidelines to inform all decisions on the conduct of the strategy, especially to support ongoing or expected actions.

Accordingly, a Food Security Support Fund (FASA) was launched to fund CNSA activities, with the constitution of a 35,000 ton local cereal food stock, of a financial stock worth 25,000 tons of cereals, and an intervention stock funded entirely by the Government of Burkina Faso to alleviate rural poverty.

\(^93\) For a list of these partners and projects, log on to: \[http://www.matd.gov.bf/SiteMatd/ministere/projet/projet.pdf\]

\(^94\) ‘Accord Cadre général des coopération état-partenaires en matière de sécurité alimentaire. Log on to: \[http://www.membres.lycos.fr/.../burkina/cadre%20general%20cooperation.doc\].
The National Food Security Council is made up of the following bodies:

- The **Technical Committee** (CT-CNSA), a technical body responsible for reviewing files submitted to CBSA
- The **Executive Secretariat** (S/E CNSA) is made up of a small team whose duty is to prepare and disseminate files submitted to CNSA review
- **Devolved structures** of CNSA at local level (region, province, district, council and village) whose attributions, organization and functioning is governed by an inter-ministerial Order and which is consistent with bodies provided for within the framework of decentralization.

Related structures to CNSA include the National Committee for Emergencies and Rehabilitation (CONASUR) which is a structure responsible for carrying out emergency relief and rehabilitations.

**b) The Information System on Food Security (SISA)**

In parallel, the **Information System on Food Security (SISA)** is a common initiative by Government and its technical and financial partners to build and put up structures to feed in the Information System on Food Security. SISA seeks to provide Government with reliable and relevant information from which political and technical decisions will be made within the National Food Security Strategy (SNSA).

The National Coordination of the Information System on Food Security (CN-SISA) is a coordination, discussion and facilitation tool between mechanisms and between food security stakeholders. To translate stakes set by the action plan of the Information System on Food Security into reality, CN-SISA formulated a road map whose mandate is to activate the following four coordination tools: the technical forum, the information exchange, the early warning (CAP) and structural analysis (CAS).

**c) Water resources**

Issues related to information on and knowledge of water resources are managed by the **Directorate General for Hydraulic Resource Inventory** (DGIRH) which was endowed accordingly with a number of technical means for its smooth running. All this data and information is kept more or less elaborately on various computer tools (databanks) such as BEWACO. As concerns food security, DGIRH has institutional relationships with the Department for National Meteorology and DG-PSA.

The data collection and processing tool on water resources is confronted with institutional, financial, material and human difficulties, including: a poor data quality, a poor collection mechanism, difficult relations between central and decentralized services, compartmentalization between data-producing structures, and a lack of ascertained risk-aversion model, poor use of water resource information to analyze and manage food crises.

---

95 Go to: [http://www.sisa.bf/sisa/spip.php?article52](http://www.sisa.bf/sisa/spip.php?article52)