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Sahel Social Cohesion Research in Burkina Faso and Niger

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Disclaimer

Acronyms

3PA	Three-pronged approach
CBPP	Community-based participatory planning
CP	Cooperating partner
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FDCA	Field data collection agent
FFA	Food Assistance for Assets
FGD	Focus group discussion
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
HEA	Household economy approach
ICA	Integrated context analysis
ICT	Information and communication technology
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IHD	Integral human development framework
IMCG	International Marketing Management Consulting Group
INTES	Innovations et Nouvelles Technologies au services des Etudes Socioéconomiques
IR	Inception report
KII	Key informant interview
LR	Land rehabilitation
MoDA	Mobile operational data acquisition
NRM	Natural resource management
OH	Outcome harvesting
PDM	Post-distribution monitoring
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLP	Seasonal livelihoods planning
ToR	Terms of reference
WFP	World Food Programme

French language acronyms and their meanings in English

AG	Assemblée Générale	General assembly
BC	Banque Céréalière	Cereal banks
BCERS	Basin de Conservation des Eaux et Ruissellement	Water conservation basin and runoff
BI	Banque d'Intrants	Bank inputs
CCA	Cellule Crise Alimentaire	Food Crisis Unit
CES/DRS	Conservation des Eaux et des Sols/ Défenses et Restauration des Sols	Water and soil conservation/ Soil defense and restoration
COFOB	Commission Foncière de Base	Local Land Commission
COFOCOM	Commission Foncière Communale	Municipal Land Commission
COGES	Comite de Gestion	Management Committee
CVD	Comités Villageois de Développement	Village Development Committee
CVPE	Comités Villageois pour la protection de l'enfant	Village Committee for Child Protection
GASPA	Groupe d'Apprentissage et Suivi des Pratiques d'Allaitement du nourrisson et du jeune enfant	Group for Learning and Monitoring of Infant and Young Child Breastfeeding Practices

FARN	Fortification Alimentaire et Réhabilitation Nutritionnelle	Food Fortification and Nutritional Rehabilitation
JDC	Journée de la Défense et Citoyenneté	Defense and Citizenship Day
OP	Organisations Paysannes	Peasant organizations
PCP	Planification Communautaires Participatives	Participatory Communities Planning
PDI	Personnes Déplacées Internes	Internally displaced persons
RNA	Régénération Naturelle Assistée	Assisted natural regeneration
STD	Service Technique de Développement	Development technical service

Executive Summary

Intervention Context: WFP's activities in Burkina Faso and Niger focus on fragile agrarian communities in the Sahel, where cyclical floods and droughts combine with decreasing soil fertility and increasing desertification, among other challenges, to aggravate food and livelihood insecurity. Increased competition for land for food crops and pastures as well as water for domestic, productive, and livestock use, intensify conflicts over ownership and usage rights for land and the commons such as forests. in particular, this competition has heightened conflicts between farmers and herders. Layered on these localized conflicts are recent increases in human safety and security concerns related to the spread of attacks by violent extremist groups across the eastern flanks of both countries. The increasing frequency and intensity of these attacks have led to the loss of lives, property, and the displacement of large groups of people. The attendant deepening of food, livelihood, and human insecurities has contributed to a rural exodus of men and women to cities and other economic enclaves in search of alternate sources of food and income. The arrival of displaced persons fleeing the attacks has increased pressure on already limited food stocks and other assets of host communities. COVID-19 added another layer of vulnerability. In addition to the disease burden, lockdowns and restrictions on the movement of persons affected the ability of communities to travel to engage in nonfarm economic activities for supplementary income and food. This greatly affected the food and livelihood security systems of the populations in these already impoverished and fragile communities.

WFP's Response: WFP's interventions in Burkina Faso and Niger have aimed to support affected communities to rebuild their assets through collective rehabilitation of lands, water resources, soil fertility improvement, and reforestation of barren lands. These asset creation activities are part of an integrated package of resilience activities that also include school feeding, nutrition interventions, support for smallholder farmers to access markets, and capacity strengthening of government partners. By expanding availability and access to quantitatively and qualitatively improved natural resources through land reclamation and soil fertility improvement initiatives, it was hoped that WFP's assets creation initiatives would ease competition, tensions, and conflicts over natural resources in the participating communities. It was also hoped that the initiatives would contribute to improved equity in the allocation of and access to natural resources. In addition, WFP's supply of improved seeds and support for the development of off-season gardening expanded opportunities for increased food production and supplementary income-generating capacities for the participating households. Beyond these goals, WFP received anecdotal evidence of social cohesion building beginning to take place in its project communities. However, no hard evidence existed to either validate or rebut these anecdotes.

Purpose and Objectives of Research: This research was commissioned to "…investigate and identify the exact programming nuances and conditions under which social cohesion within communities is likely to be strengthened while unintended tensions and new sources of conflict can be avoided" (WFP, 2021, ToR, p. 2). Specific lines of inquiry were: How do WFP's activities i) increase the availability of and more equitable access to natural resources across socioeconomic and demographic identity lines; ii) facilitate intra- and intercommunity dialogues that improve communal management of natural resources; iii) improve equity in the distribution and use of rehabilitated and created assets; and iv) contribute to the development of good practices that can be replicated in other settings?

Data Sources and Collection Methods: Desk review of relevant literature and reports provided the framework for the design of the study and the protocols. Primary data collection was carried out in 28 provinces in the two countries between February and March 2020, using key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and a mini-survey. Section 2.2 below provides the detailed distribution of study participants by data collection methods and by country.

Data Collation and Analysis: The qualitative data from the different sources were blended and analyzed using an open coding process, while the data from the mini-survey were analyzed using SPSS and Excel.

Limitations: For logistical, safety, and other reasons, data collection was restricted to communities in which WFP has interventions and to persons involved in some way in the implementation of the activities. This excluded external (nonparticipant) perspectives on how WFP's activities may or may not have contributed to social cohesion building, which limits the interpretation and generalizability of the findings. These limitations notwithstanding, the findings in this study point to important contributions that the activities of WFP and partners have made to (re)building social cohesion in communities that participated in their activities.

Summary of Findings

Respondents' Assessment of Intervention Context: Respondents largely corroborated the cumulative effects of climate change and agro-climatic factors that contribute to their vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity, and the exacerbation of internal conflicts resulting from the competition for ownership, access to, and use of natural resources, especially land and vegetative cover. Respondents also recalled and emphasized the impact of food insecurity on household insecurity and the social destabilization of families, especially when young people have to migrate to cities and goldmines in search of supplementary food and income. Communities that suffered frequent attacks from violent extremist groups and/or those who hosted internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees had another layer of vulnerability to contend with – sharing what they had with the new arrivals. These stretched the limits of their coping mechanisms. WFP's arrival was therefore very welcome.

Contribution of WFP Interventions to Asset Creation and Distribution: The land reclamation, water conservation, and soil fertility techniques that WFP introduced enabled members of participating communities to expand the assets base of their natural resources and increase agricultural production and productivity. For example, farmers previously used raw animal and household refuse as manure on their farms. Introduction of composting techniques and the use of zaïs enabled them to produce more and better manure, as well as apply it more appropriately to maximize returns. These activities also created opportunities for enhanced symbiotic relationships and cohesive living between different identity groups, such as farmers and herders. Support for the construction of other infrastructure such as roads leveraged the shared interests of community members to develop such infrastructure.

Participants also acknowledged that market gardening and other economic activities enhanced their income-earning capacities, supported personal and family asset accumulation, and promoted longer-term human asset building through investment in education and healthcare for their family members. They also noted that the increased income-earning opportunities in their communities stemmed the exodus of young people (men and women) in search of alternate sources of food and income. In addition to stabilizing marital relationships, respondents said the retention of the youth in the communities has enhanced their ability to defend themselves against attacks from armed groups.

Role of WFP in Facilitating Intra and Intercommunity Dialogue: WFP's activities facilitated intra- and intercommunity dialogue directly and indirectly. *Directly*, WFP's community-based participatory planning processes (CBPP) have been instrumental in creating opportunities and spaces for participation that promoted consensus building and the development of shared visions between different groups and communities. Respondents noted that WFP's activities greatly facilitated dialogue and engagements that allowed participating communities to decide what activities are important to them and to self-organize to achieve them. This has contributed to communities rallying around common interests and created spaces of encounter that have improved social cohesion in participating communities. People who worked together built new bonds and bridges that promoted unity, inclusiveness, and a sense of equality among them. This is particularly evident in the improved relationships between herders and farmers, who now work together to develop mutually beneficial grazing and cropping lands, transhumance corridors, and water sources for their different needs. Collaborative work also facilitated the integration of internally displaced persons (IDPs)/refugees in host communities.

Indirectly, WFP's interventions also promoted additional dialogue through the stimulation of symbiotic engagements between the different groups. The promotion of collaborative work and the sharing of benefits from the products of this work reinforced the sense of shared destinies and interconnections of interests across identity groups. It intensified appreciation of the actual and potential synergies and interdependencies between individual and community actions, and of the need for collaborative interactions that serve mutual interests. For instance, the increased production of postharvest biomass from the crop residues of farms and gardens increased the availability of livestock feed in communities. This enabled livestock breeders to keep their animals in the communities instead of travelling far and wide with the animals in search of feed. Keeping the livestock in the community in turn increased the quantity of animal manure within the community, which livestock owners were then able to trade for the farmers' increased production. The symbiotic relationships between herders and farmers extend to the joint development and/or demarcation of lands and livestock corridors that ensure non-invasive herding and farming activities for both sides. For women, the acquisition of enhanced childcare and nutritional skills, as well as their increased ability to contribute to household income from their WFP-supported economic activities, enabled them to demonstrate their value to their families and communities. This earned women respect from their male counterparts, especially traditional leaders, who now invite them to participate in community decision-making processes.

Participation in WFP's activities also created channels of communication and interaction across ethnic and religious lines. Respondents cited increases in intermarriage across ethnic lines, free participation in cultural and social events of other ethnic and religious groups, and their willingness to trust members of previously untrusted groups to take care of their property and children as examples of the social cohesion triggered by WFP activities.

Facilitation of Vertical Social Cohesion Building: Working together on WFP programs created spaces and opportunities for closer encounters between people of different hierarchical groups. Getting to know and work with the "other" reduced mutual suspicions, mistrust, stereotypes, and prejudices. This helped to dissolve preexisting boundaries between groups. Through collaborative work, participants learned to be tolerant, accommodating, and to value the views and practices of people from different identity groups. For example, respondents cited how the CBPP process brought their communities closer to the subnational government agencies and officials who worked with them through the planning process. This helped them to dispel the perception that such offices were beyond their reach.

At the family and community levels, women cited the increased respect that their husbands and the elders of the community accorded them because of their enhanced knowledge in childcare and their ability to contribute to household expenses from the income earned through participation in WFP's activities. Respondents reported that community leaders now invite women to meetings and other decision-making forums because of the increased respect for women's ability to contribute financially and also through their ideas on the welfare of their families and communities. Similarly, young men and women also cited their ability to engage freely with traditional leaders and elders of their community in deciding on activities and how to implement them.

Role of WFP Activities in Promoting Equitable Access to Resources: Through working together on WFP activities, participating communities have developed networks and created institutional structures, systems, and relationships that are critical for sustaining the benefits of the program. Community natural resource management structures ensure equitable access to the rehabilitated and created communal assets, and provide avenues for resolving disagreements on the ownership and use of such resources, among other issues. The cross-identity composition of natural resource management committees has enabled participating communities to ensure equitable access to and use of communal resources, including those created on private lands; establish rules and regulations for fair use of resources and sanctions for errant behaviors; and resolve conflicts between members of different ethnic groups. All these functions have improved relationships between identity groups, and the cross-ethnic conflict management mechanisms enable communities to deal with conflicts before they escalate into violence.

Replicability of WFP Interventions: Respondents identified several interventions as candidates for replication in other WFP programming. They recommended the expansion, enhancement, and/or intensification of activities that promote agricultural production and productivity, with particular emphasis on agricultural inputs such as motor pumps and fertilizers. They also recommended the expansion of opportunities for off-farm food processing and income-generation activities to reduce the exposure of households to the risk of food shortages. They note that food security is the main source of social cohesion, as it enables communities to minimize conflicts over common resources. They, therefore, recommend intensification of community capacity building interventions that train community actors on the transparent management of collective assets in order to advance collective food and income security objectives.

What Made Change Happen – the Catalytic and Trigger Contributions of WFP's Activities to Social Cohesion Building: The study findings show clearly that the activities of WFP and partners contributed to building social cohesion in participating communities through *catalytic* and *trigger* processes. The participating communities were not passive victims of the agro-climatic and conflict traumas they suffered. Within their technological and local resources limitations, they did what they could to address the impacts of droughts, floods, soil erosion, and their impact on food and livelihood security within their communities. Respondents attributed the observed changes in their food and income security, the improved intra- and inter-identity relationships, and the overall changes in their livelihood systems to the technical, material, and financial support they received from WFP.

The distribution of food, cash, seeds, and other resources helped to mobilize and sustain the engagement of people in the activities. Catalytically, therefore, WFP's activities stimulated community organization, provided resources and technical know-how, and introduced the communities to appropriate and affordable technologies to expand their scope of action. The rapid uptake of WFP's activities speaks to how the interventions leveraged the preexisting will of communities to engage in actions that address the challenges that confront them. In particular, the catalytic processes leveraged preexisting socio-cultural predispositions of altruism, empathy, and willingness of persons in distressed situations to help each other as a result of their shared experiences of trauma. Participating communities were already open to helping more vulnerable community members, especially those displaced by violence and other disasters.

The trigger effects occurred largely within the context of collaborative work. In both countries, respondents consistently pointed out how effective the different activities of WFP and partners were in bringing different groups in their communities together for collective action to advance their common interests and promote togetherness. The demonstrable shared interests in the activities had convening and mobilizing powers that brought people of different groups together to select and work on common projects that addressed their needs both jointly and separately. By creating the space for different groups or communities to jointly chose the activities that best address their needs, the CBPP processes allowed the participating communities to envision alternative ways of living and working together for their mutual benefit.

Respondents' Recommendations for Improving Social Cohesion: Respondents also advocated for the intensification of peace education that emphasizes beneficial social cohesion and the implementation of activities that allow for more collaboration between different groups. In their view, activities that bring together many people strengthen social cohesion among communities. Respondents also recommended that WFP and partners focus on agribusiness capacity development for young people, and suggested training in commercial livestock development and in agricultural techniques to increase young people's job creation and income-earning capacities and engage them in joint activities. This should include the creation of an exchange or "…a learning center for in-school and out-of-school youth" to enable all young people to meet, share ideas, and collaborate on the development of businesses along identified value chains. Respondents also want to see increased investment in the development of complementary infrastructure such as roads to make their villages accessible to everyone during the rainy season, "because during the rainy season, we are a little disconnected from the neighbors" (BF_KII_01_7965_F).

Research Recommendations: The relief, rehabilitation, development, and social cohesion building needs of communities differ widely, and WFP and its partners may not be in a position to meet the needs of all communities and groups to their satisfaction. In addition to the recommendations and suggestions of respondents, this research recommends that WFP and partners consider the following additional actions:

a)   *Continue, Consolidate, and Spread*: To consolidate and spread the benefits of the Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) interventions for social cohesion building, we recommend continued use and deepening of the CBPP processes to create platforms for collaboration that attract complementary services from other agencies. Through expanded stakeholder participation in the CBPP processes, WFP and the communities can identify which activities are within their power to implement and which ones are better addressed through collaboration with other agencies. We encourage WFP and partners to work with the communities to find opportunities for leveraging the interventions and capacities of other agencies to deepen and spread the reach of their activities that promote social cohesion building.

b)   *Review, Reorient, Retool*: Social cohesion building is not an explicit aim of WFP's current set of interventions. Given the importance of social cohesion to the building of resilient communities, we recommend that WFP and partners review their current set of intervention strategies to more intentionally mainstream social cohesion activities in the intervention mix. This should pave the way for the conscious design and integration of training and other capacity building packages that make social cohesion programming an integral part of WFP's FFA activities. Reorientation of interventions to support social cohesion building also includes recalibrating incentive packages to meet the needs and interests of different categories of participants.

c)   *Recognize, Validate, and Harness Local Capacities and Potentials*: Communities have preexisting values and institutional capacities that are useful as stems on which to graft WFP's interventions. However, the multiplicity and potential overlap of roles and functions risk creating dissonance and conflicts in some cases To address this, we recommend that WFP and partners support a more intentional approach to identifying and strengthening of the capacities of indigenous social safety and resilience networks embedded in the social fabric of communities. In particular, we recommend that WFP and partners more explicitly recognize and use indigenous networks of men's, women's, and youth associations, as well as the joking relationships between different ethnic groups. We also suggest that local capacity assessment and validation processes include recognition of and support for harmonizing local leadership structures and capacities to ensure synergy in the roles played by traditional and customary chiefs, faith leaders (such as imams and pastors), and village development committees among others play in promoting constructive engagements between identity groups. For instance, future initiatives could explore ways to create intercommunity youth engagement opportunities through economic and sporting activities.

d)   *Leverage, Innovate, and Deepen*: Leveraging the emerging social and economic networks to build local capacities for conflict prevention is critical to growing and sustaining the budding social cohesion building efforts. Hence, we recommend that WFP and partners support the collaborative development of community peace and security infrastructure, especially in conflict-affected areas. Such initiatives could include identifying leveraging local knowledge and networks of hunters, itinerant traders, and herdsmen, among others, to develop intercommunity alerts and early response systems. WFP could also explore opportunities for leveraging the capacities of other humanitarian and development organizations, within and outside the UN network, with expertise in this domain to promote the building of local capacities for peace.

Other areas of leverage and innovation include support for the development and institutionalization of market-led extension delivery services that enable trained technicians from communities participating in FFA activities to provide technical services for the construction of half-moons, zaïs, and other infrastructure in nonparticipating communities. Such services may be provided for a fee, and may create the opportunity to expand the outreach of WFP-implemented activities beyond selected project

communities. Similarly, the development of Youth Entrepreneurship for Peace (YE4P) initiatives will not only create capacities for gainful employment, but will also help youth appreciate the need to protect the peace for the growth of their businesses.

Recommendations for Further Research and Learning Opportunities: Due to its limited coverage and sample size, the study leaves room for further research to enhance learning on how WFP and partners can stimulate and sustain social cohesion building through their FFA activities. We recommend, for instance, the expansion of the scope of this study to include the voices of outlier groups who can share additional or alternative views on the contribution of WFP's interventions to social cohesion building. This will include increasing the geographic scope of the study by including more communities, provinces, or even countries (e.g., Mali) to extend the knowledge base on WFP's contribution to social cohesion building. In addition, the research design should include control groups that help to validate the findings.

We also recommend deepening the substance of the research to i) reveal and harness the potential of joking relationships and cousinhood for social cohesion within and across countries; ii) deepen our understanding of the role of religion in social cohesion building, especially in countries like Niger with a nearly homogenous religious composition; and iii) focus on equity and distributional justice in the allocation and use of WFP resources, with increased emphasis on power dynamics, culture, gender, and women's rights in land ownership.

In addition to the above, there are questions about the sustainability, growth, and replicability of WFP's intervention methods without equal or larger injections of resources. For instance, WFP makes cash payments to support the participation of members in some of the activities, including those supporting community-level management structures. Questions arise include: To what extent do community-level structures derive their existence from extrinsic motivations for continued engagement in their functioning? What would sustain the existence and effective operation of these structures beyond the WFP program cycle? Will community members continue to engage and sustain actions on various FFA activities once WFP's cash and food incentives are ended?

Finally, it is anticipated that different FFA activities would elicit different response rates in different settings. For instance, while the construction of zaïs, half-moons, and other soil and water conservation techniques may be appreciated in one community, improving access to water through the construction or dredging of dams, wells, and water ponds or other activities will be more appreciated in other settings. Within the scope of this research, it has not been possible to identify an optimal intervention mix of WFP's FFA activities that would be best suited or have the greatest potential to elicit community engagement for asset creation and social cohesion building in similar contexts. Additionally, this study was not able to isolate the exact elements in each set of WFP's activities that had the greatest catalytic trigger or effects. Therefore, we recommend further work in this area to focus on the development of standard practices for social cohesion building to include in WFP's future intervention protocols..

I.   Introduction

1.1   WFP's Operational Context in West Africa

The World Food Programme (WFP) supports communities to implement activities that provide relief from and build resilience to natural and human-made shocks, cycles, and trends that destabilize livelihoods. Therefore, a major objective for WFP's interventions in trauma-afflicted communities is to mitigate the impact of and build resilience to food insecurity. However, in contexts where violent conflicts contribute to food insecurity, WFP seeks to equip affected communities with the knowledge and skills to manage shocks, such as unanticipated violent attacks on communities; cyclical events including droughts and floods; and recurrent intra- and intercommunity violent conflicts. Interventions also address trends such as land degradation, depletion of water sources, increased migration of people and livestock into better-resourced areas, and other evolving threats to livelihoods. These include threats from climate change and population dynamics that induce conflicts, threaten local and regional peace, or increase vulnerabilities to food insecurity. In line with the above, WFP has been supporting relief, rehabilitation, and resilience-building interventions in the Sahelian countries of West Africa, which are experiencing food insecurity due to recurrent droughts, floods, and more recently violent conflicts instigated from within and outside the participating communities.

Although building social cohesion and peace is not the primary objective of WFP's integrated resilience program in the Sahel, the agency acknowledges that conflict is a leading cause of hunger. It further recognizes that even in providing food relief services "the manner in which food assistance is delivered can exacerbate or lessen tensions in a community" (WFP, 2013, p. 2). Hence, WFP adopted a policy in 2013 to guide its activities in transition settings to ensure that conflict sensitivity is a foundational minimum standard for any activity that WFP undertakes in active conflict or post-conflict settings. The policy ensures that all activities in WFP's programming areas are aligned with the agency's mandate and commitment to fight hunger and food insecurity and create enabling environments that reduce the root causes of hunger and malnutrition. This programmatic precaution notwithstanding, WFP recognizes that some of its activities may have had inadvertent negative and/or positive impacts on social cohesion in some participating communities. In West Africa, for instance, WFP has received anecdotal stories of how its interventions have helped communities participating in its interventions to rebuild strained or broken relationships among themselves.

In the absence of concrete data to validate or negate the anecdotal stories, WFP contracted the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) to carry out research that helps the country teams of WFP and partners in Burkina Faso and Niger to understand better what under conditions the Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) and resilience-building activities they implement stimulate or stall the building of social cohesion within and between participating communities. IFPRI, in turn, brought on board the Institute for Peace and Development (IPD) and LEAD Analytics, Inc., to provide technical and coordination services in the design and conduct of the research. IPD has been responsible for coordinating the design of the study, conducting fieldwork for data collection, and the data analysis, with backstopping from IFPRI and LEAD Analytics, Inc. The study aims to contribute to WFP's efforts to find new ways to deliberately minimize negative effects and maximize opportunities for positive ones by paying attention to social cohesion/peacebuilding initiatives as part of its resilience-building against food insecurity.

1.2   Background to Study

1.2.1   *Operational Context: Human Security, Development Challenges, and Social Cohesion*

WFP operates in the volatile regions of Burkina Faso and Niger, where the confluence of increasing frequency and intensity of climate-change-induced floods and droughts, as well as the rising incidence, intensity, and spread of violent conflicts have disrupted social, political, and economic livelihood systems. The attendant food insecurity has put pressure on limited resources in communities hosting displaced persons. Increased competition for ever-dwindling natural resources contributes to disrupting social relationships. The heightened competition within and between different groups for the ownership of, access to, and usage of communal natural resources such as farmlands, pastureland, forest and foraging parks, and water resources contributes to increasing numbers of intra- and intercommunity conflicts. This further weakens relationships within affected communities and their ability to collectively address the challenges that confront them, as well as individual and communal resilience to the shocks, cycles, and trends they have to grapple with. Together, these challenges have worsened poverty, insecurity, and disruptions to political, economic, and social systems at all levels. One consequence is the migration and displacement of households or entire communities fleeing the effects of droughts, floods, and violent conflicts. In parts of both Burkina Faso and Niger, violent extremists have taken advantage of these weaknesses to infiltrate and spread their influence and activities within the same arenas. The attendant instability deepens the socioeconomic vulnerabilities of the populations, manifested in the increased levels of household food and income insecurity in the affected regions of the two countries.

To address these challenges, WFP implements multisectoral and integrated interventions to build the resilience of the affected communities. The activities aim to strengthen the capacities of vulnerable communities to engage in actions before, during, and after the onset of shocks and stressors in ways that minimize the negative impact of the events. Based on the understanding that conflict is a leading cause of hunger, WFP's interventions also seek to strengthen social cohesion and contribute to improving the prospects of peace, where appropriate. In all cases, WFP observes the do no harm principle in avoiding actions that may exacerbate conflict or tensions in communities participating in its interventions.

Central to WFP's community resilience building strategy is the use of participatory processes to create spaces for dialogue within and between different groups; promote inclusiveness for marginalized groups to have a voice and influence on issues that affect them; and foster collective engagements that address the root causes of the vulnerabilities that afflict participating communities. Hence, WFP's direct short- and medium-term resilience and livelihood interventions include i) community assets creation and enhancement initiatives that include the rehabilitation of depleted lands, water sources, and other natural resource pools to expand availability and access to productive resources; ii) enhancing household financial assets through support for off-farm income-generating opportunities and expansion of access to markets; iii) human asset development focusing on promoting access to quality education through the school feeding programs and health and nutrition interventions; and iv) building social assets of participating communities by strengthening local institutional and communal capacities for service delivery.

Globally, WFP engages with a network of local and international implementing and research partners to ensure collaboration, coherence, and synergy in the delivery of intervention outcomes. While local and international cooperating partners support the implementation of WFP's activities, operational and research partners support the integration and leverage of synergies between WFP's activities and those of other actors. In consultation with these partners, WFP is working on the use of conflict-sensitive and social cohesion indicators to track the performance and outcomes of its interventions and their contribution to social cohesion and peace in the participating communities.

1.2.2   Structure of WFP Intervention and Social Cohesion Building Processes

As of the end of 2021, WFP estimated that its interventions reached 2.5 million people in more than 2,000 villages and almost 700 resilience sites across 5 countries of the Sahel (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger) with different packages of integrated resilience activities.[1] In each country, WFP used the Three-Pronged Approach (3PA) processes that weave together three distinct levels of integrated planning and action processes – the national, subnational (e.g., provincial, regional, and/or municipal levels), and community/household levels. Within communities, interventions may be carried out at the individual household, whole-community, and/or institutional levels.

These multi-tier processes foster collaborative engagements between the national government and other subnational actors. The Integrated Context Analysis (ICA), which takes place at the national level, enables WFP and partners to analyze the operational context (including historical trend analysis of food security, natural shocks, and land degradation) to identify appropriate intervention strategies for specific geographic areas that the partners can pursue. Seasonal Livelihood Programming (SLP) is a subnational level process that allows intervention communities, local government agents, and other "partners to design multi-year, multi-sectoral operational plans using seasonal and gender lenses" (WFP, 2017, p. 1). The third tier of engagement is community-based participatory planning (CBPP) at the local level that WFP and partners use "… to develop multi-sectoral plans tailored to local priorities, ensuring prioritization and ownership by communities" (WFP, 2017, p. 1). These 3PA processes ensure a deeper understanding of the local context and livelihood systems. Together, they bridge the gaps between the community, regional, and national level planning processes and provide the frameworks for developing multisectoral initiatives that have buy-in from partners and actors across different levels. In all cases, WFP and partners use these tools to mobilize the engagement of stakeholders in integrated intervention planning and management processes.[2]

The 3PA process creates opportunities for cross-agency collaboration, as it points out leveraging opportunities for services rendered by different agencies. This allows WFP and partners such as FAO, IFAD, and GIZ among others to determine where they might provide complementary interventions in agriculture, health, water and sanitation, environment, and education, among other things. The local or CBPP processes focus on identifying community needs and means of addressing them. In sum, the 3PA processes allow WFP and the communities to agree on what types of key resilience activities best address local needs, with a strong focus on building productive assets rather than solely on the use of food or cash as an incentive to get communal work done. The FFA activities that emerge from this multi-tier process provide the entry point for the identification of, planning for, and implementation of other activities that enhance the resilience of participating communities to external shocks and stressors related to climate change (floods and droughts), human activity (land degradation), and conflicts. This decentralized process also offers the opportunity for local conflict sensitivity analysis and the incorporation of appropriate mitigation or management initiatives.

1.2.3   Social Cohesion Outcomes of WFP Interventions to date

WFP and partners in both Burkina Faso and Niger have reported significant progress in the rebuilding household and community assets through the various FFA initiatives across different communities. However, WFP and partners understand that community response and uptake of program activities to (re)build communal assets does not come as a given. This is especially so in post-tension environments as well as in environments with active violence from nonstate armed groups, intra- and intercommunal grievances, and in communities bordering conflict-affected areas with high risk of exposure to spillover violence. In addition, WFP and partner staff are keenly aware that interventions that increasing the

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[1] World Food Programme. Scaling up resilience in the G5 Sahel countries BMZ-WFP Partnership 2021, Integrated Resilience in the Sahel, Semi-Annual Report (Sept. 2020-Feb. 2021), available 22/07/2021 /

[2] The engagements need not be serial. Depending on the context, community-level engagements may precede regional- or national-level ones.

quantity, availability, quality, or access to communally owned assets can trigger increased intra- and intergroup competition for and conflicts over ownership, usage, and management rights to such resources. To avert such situations, interventions have to be implemented in a conflict-sensitive manner that actively promotes trust, peace, and social cohesion, in order to create the groundswell for community uptake and effective participation in the achievement of program results.

WFP does not, however, provide specific front-end conflict management, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, or social cohesion interventions to participating communities in the context of the FFA and other resilience activities in the Sahel. Accordingly, WFP and partners do not actively track how their interventions may have contributed, positively or negatively, to social cohesion building in participating communities. Nonetheless, anecdotal information from participating communities suggests that some groups are seizing the spaces of engagement that WFP activities have created through the interventions planning and implementation processes to rebuild relationships and social cohesion within and between them. Instances of increased intermarriages between members of once hostile communities have been cited. WFP, however, has no grounded evidence on the extent of such unplanned positive outcomes within and between communities and across the program sites in Burkina Faso and Niger; how such community-initiated processes started and have evolved; and why such initiatives have come to mark the success of the activities for community members. Given the importance of strengthening peace and social cohesion to the building of strong systems of resilience and sustainability, the findings from this study may enable WFP to root the design and implementation of conflict-sensitive programming in evidence that guides successful intervention planning and implementation.

1.3   Purpose and Main Questions of the Research

Beyond the various anecdotal observations at the field level that suggest FFA and complementary resilience interventions are contributing to social cohesion within and among communities, WFP and partners are also aware that "…creating new or enhanced resources and infrastructures can provoke tension within communities as regards the management, distribution, and accessibility to them" (ToR, p.2). However, WFP and partners have no grounded evidence to support either supposition. Therefore, WFP and partners deem it "…crucial to further investigate and identify the exact programming nuances and conditions under which social cohesion within communities is likely to be strengthened while unintended tensions and new sources of conflict can be avoided" (ToR, p.2). Hence, the **core question** for the study is: *"How do WFP interventions contribute […] to reducing tensions and improving social cohesion?"* (ToR, p.4, italics added). The decision on the core research question is rooted in the belief that, "While past studies like the one conducted by WFP and SIPRI have already explored how WFP interventions may contribute to strengthening social cohesion and conflict sensitivity, the focus of this research effort should be on building more and stronger evidence to test these theoretical considerations" (ToR, p.4). Pursuant to this, the main questions this research sought to find answers to are:

1)   How do WFP interventions contribute to reduced scarcity and more equitable access to natural resources (e.g., by gender, age, religion, citizenship, migrant status) in Niger and Burkina Faso? How do these, in turn, contribute to reducing tensions and improving social cohesion?

2)   What could be WFP's role in facilitating intra- and intercommunity dialogues and support measures related to access to and management of land and water resources in Niger and Burkina Faso? For instance, to what extent and effect are land usage agreements part of current FFA interventions, do these agreements hold, and how do those involved perceive their equity? What could be WFP's involvement in resource-related policy development and implementation, with a specific emphasis on legislation related to land?

3)   How can WFP promote stronger equity in benefits of rehabilitated land and created assets, particularly for the most vulnerable groups such as female-headed households, extremely poor

households, and ethnic minorities (e.g., by supporting the development of common and consensual resource management mechanisms)?

4)   Can good practices observed in Niger and Burkina Faso be extracted to help develop a compendium of possible measures aimed at enhancing access and improved equity in the use of increased natural resources? What are the risks of WFP's role in such issues and how can they be reduced or mitigated? (ToR, pp. 3-4). See Excerpt of Terms of Reference of Study in Appendix 1 for details.

II.   Study Approach and Methodology

2.1   Study Approach

This study is the first part of an anticipated two-prong part research effort on social cohesion in WFP's activity areas in West Africa. Initially, WFP and partners contemplated launching qualitative and quantitative research to unearth the depth and spread of views on how WFP's activities may have contributed to the emergence of social cohesion in participating communities. WFP, IFPRI, and IPD decided to use a largely qualitative approach for this first part of the research in anticipation of using the findings to deepen the design of the quantitative sequel to the study. Accordingly, this phase of the research started with a desk study of existing literature on social cohesion experiences in WFP's work globally and at country and regional levels. It also reviewed reports on the activities of WFP in Burkina Faso and Niger. The desk study also included a review of anecdotal evidence of budding social cohesion experiences in the intervention areas, as well as relevant literature on the building of social cohesion in contexts where participants have experienced the effects of shocks, food insecurity, and conflicts that have current or potential impacts on peace and cohesion in affected communities.

Findings from the desk study informed the sampling of study sites, the choice and design of study protocols, the structure of sampled population categories, and field engagement processes. The key informant interviews (KIIs) focused on three categories of respondents. Community-level participants in the WFP activities were one group (KII_01); The second group comprised government staff, resource managers, and leaders of leaders of WFP collaborating partners and community-based groups and representatives of other (I)NGOs working locally on similar issues (KII-02). The third protocol targeted selected national-level staff of WFP and partners who have been involved with the design and implementation of the programs (KII_03). The focus group discussions (FGDs) had two distinct target pools. FGD-01 targeted members of identifiable of community-level groups (men, women, youth) who have been involved in WFP activities. FGD_02 targeted participants in WFP activities who are refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), or returnees living in camps or within communities participating in WFP interventions.

Though largely a qualitative study, data collection included a mini-survey designed to reinforce the qualitative data collection as well as scope for the eventual quantitative study. It targeted all participants of the KIIs and up to half of participants in the FGDs. In total 278 participants took part in the mini-survey.

2.2   Methodology

The methodology for this study was presented in full in the Inception Report and a reference for detailed methodology is available there. Appendix 2 of this report presents excerpts of the methodology considerations and study approach from the inception report. It recaptures, in brief, the conceptual guide for the design of the study and includes descriptions of the contextual, logistical, and other considerations that informed the choice of study sites, sampling frame, sample size determination, and sampling processes and procedures. It also gives an overview of the data collection, collation, analysis, and reporting processes. Essential components of the methodology are:

Selection of Study Sites: Study sites were purposively selected based on predetermined criteria focusing on i) existence of different types of WFP-implemented activities; ii) even distribution of study sites across provinces/regions participating in WFP's activities; iii) safety and security of data collection teams and the communities during field visits; iv) physical accessibility (e.g., access roads) to the chosen sites; v) presence of refugee camps or IDPs; and vi) other logistical considerations. In all, the sample consisted of 14 community sites per country. Appendix 3 details the selected sites, and Appendix 4 provides sample maps of locations of data collection by the different protocols used.

Sampling and Sample Size: The study aimed to engage persons aged 18 years and older. The first set of KIIs (**KII_01)** targeted community-level participants, including community/traditional leaders (men and women), traditional landowners/custodians, leaders of women's social and economic groups, youth leaders, leaders of herders/migrant pastoralists Groups, leaders of local farmers' associations, and leaders of IDP/refugee camps, where applicable. In all, 214 people participated in the community-level KII, including 110 women, 103 men, and 1 respondent who did not indicate a gender category. **KII_02** targeted non-community members who were closely associated with the design and implementation of the interventions, including staff of government agencies responsible for agriculture and natural resources, water resource management agencies, and land management agencies; leaders of WFP collaborating partners; leadership of nonparticipant community-based groups; and representatives of other (I)NGOs working on similar issues in the area. **KII_03** participants comprised WFP program implementers, such as WFP's provincial and regional field-level staff and national-level staff, as well as leaders of WFP collaborating partners. **FGD_01** participants included members of community-level men's, women's, and youth groups engaged in identifiable communal activities. such as dry season gardening and women's income generation activities, among others. **FDG_02** focused on participants in community activities who are living in refugee/IDP camps near the participating communities. The table below presents the distribution of participants in the study by data collection tool and by country.

Table 1: Distribution of Participants across Data Collection Protocols

Country	Key Informant Interviews			FGD_01		FGD_02		Mini-Survey
	KII_01	KII_02	KII_03	Sessions	Participants	Sessions	Participants	
Burkina Faso	105	7	5	12	95	2	16	106
Niger	109	21	16	9	107	0	0	172
Total	**214**	**28**	**21**	**21**	**202**	**2**	**16**	**278**

Identification and Training of Data Collectors: IPD trained and coordinated the work of 24 field agents in the two countries with the support of local institutional research partners in both countries. The criteria for the selection of data collectors included familiarity with the regions/provinces and communities; strong competency in French and the local language of the assigned study sites; and prior experience with collecting qualitative data using electronic support systems.

Data Collection Fieldwork: The training of field agents and data collection in both Burkina Faso and Niger took place between February 15 and March 11, 2022. The training of data collectors in Burkina Faso ran February 15-16. Data collection in that country started on February 17. In Niger, the training ran

Focus Group Discussion in session in Nessemtenga, Burkina Faso, during field work

February 22-23. While some field agents were able to launch data collection the next day, others needed up to two days post-training to travel back to their assigned data collection sites. Data collection was designed to take place over five days in both countries. However, due to travel and other logistical

challenges encountered in the field, data collection agents extended their fieldwork at no cost to enable them to complete their assigned tasks. All field data were uploaded by March 11.

Data Collection Process: Data collection agencies were trained in the use of the different protocols (3 KII protocols, 2 FGD protocols, and 1 mini-survey); the decision criteria for selecting protocols for use with KII respondents and FGD participants; and the community entry and engagement protocols. Data collectors were also trained on COVID-19 protocols (appropriate seating arrangements for social distancing, hygiene protocols, and safe social engagements such as greeting procedures). Each data collector was also equipped with adequate hand sanitizers and nose masks for their personal use as well as sharing with all persons they engaged in interviews or discussions in the field.

All questions were uploaded on and administered from hand-held devices – smartphones or tablets. Data collectors worked in pairs and alternated roles in leading interviews and taking notes. This was to ensure comprehensive capture of the notes. Responses were uploaded to WFP's Mobile Operational Data Acquisition (MoDA) system and subsequently downloaded, cleaned, and analyzed.

Data Download and Analysis: The qualitative data were analyzed using manual and computer-assisted open coding techniques. The data from the mini-survey were downloaded, collated, and cleaned in Excel before being exported into SPSS for analysis. Some results were re-imported into Excel for graphic displays and appropriate formatting for the report.

2.3   Challenges and Limitations of the Study

Absence of Baseline Data or Counterfactual Information: The study seeks to establish whether WFP's FFA activities have contributed to promoting social cohesion in participating communities. However, there is no baseline data to indicate the state of social cohesion before WFP's interventions, and no comparison with sites without WFP programs. Although the study included before and after recalls by respondents to provide some basis for comparative assessment of the contribution of WFP's activities, the availability of prior and independent baseline data would have provided a stronger basis for assessing the contributions of WFP's intervention to social cohesion.

Sample Size Limitations: For reasons of context, logistics, and resource limitations, the study scaled down the much larger sample size envisioned for the study. Some of the participating communities are located in active conflict zones. Hence, safety and security concerns for the data collectors and the communities led to the removal of such participating communities from the sample pool. Ease of access to study sites was an important criterion in the selection of study sites, which depends on the distance to and availability of transport networks to reach the respondents. In addition, funding and time budget limitations influenced the duration of the fieldwork, and by extension, how many respondents could be included in the study.

Active Conflict Environments and Safety and Security Issues in the Field: Violent extremists in both Burkina Faso and Niger remained active during the period of the fieldwork. Although the research team and local partners took care to ensure the safety and security of the data collectors, some fieldworkers still encountered situations where the communities they visited had armed state security personnel stationed within them. Some interviews had to be carried out outside of the communities, to protect both the data collectors and the participants from the communities.

Challenges from Multilingual Translation of Protocols: English is the language used for the inception engagement, the design of protocols, IRB approval processes, and reporting for the research. For the field data collection, all the protocols were translated into French. To ensure a high level of fidelity to the original English versions of the protocols, researchers used a multiple translation regime in which the initial French language translations were submitted to independent French speakers for review and correction. The outcome was then translated back into English to check the fidelity of the French translations to the original English versions. The final versions were shared with the research

institutions supporting the training of data collectors and the fieldwork in the two countries. The final French language texts were used for the training of data collectors. During the training, the field agents and supervisors from the partner institutions were encouraged to review and adapt the language of the protocol to conform with local parlance and styles of communication. In Niger, for instance, data collectors and the supervisors developed and used the local scheme of prioritization that involved the use of values placed on different kinds of livestock in lieu of the ranking of responses using the scale of 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest), as the mini-survey had anticipated. See Appendix 5 for a summary and sample of tool used.

From the planning stage, it was evident that enumerators would have to engage some interviewees in their native languages, using direct and spot translation of the questions. Hence, the criteria for the selection of data collectors mapped and assigned them in accordance with their native language competencies and the dominant local languages of each site. Data collectors were trained to work in pairs – as one interviewed, the other took notes. The training ensured that each pair had drills in translating the questions into the local languages. Each pair developed a dictionary of key words and concepts in the respective local languages to ensure consistency in the translation of words and concepts throughout the study.

During data collation and analysis, IPD team reached out to field supervisors' agents for explanation or translation of field notes that included local language words, unexplained acronyms, or unclear or incomplete phrases in the notes. They also revisited the original French versions of the notes to clarify and re-translate phrases considered important in the findings, but which may not have been clear from the English translations.

Despite these efforts to ensure consistency and fidelity to the questions in the protocols and the notes from the fieldwork, slips may have occurred in the multiple translation processes, especially in regard to the spot translation of questions to respondents and the recording of their responses in the notes. Finding ways to further reduce such limitations will be important to ensuring the fidelity of the questions and responses to the intent of the research.

Internet Connectivity Challenges: The data collection phase anticipated the instant or at the most daily upload of data collected to WFP's MoDA system to allow for quality checks by IPD's team. However, due to challenges with internet connectivity in most of the data collection sites, field teams were unable to meet this requirement. Most of them had to travel more than 50 kilometers from data collection sites to district/regional/provincial capitals to access reliable internet for data uploads. In Niger, it meant that some field teams had to travel long distances back to the study sites to address data quality issues detected after they had returned to the capital cities. This cost them time and money, and prolonged the fieldwork.

Limited External Validation of Intervention Outcomes: By choice, the study targeted persons participating in WFP FFA activities, either as community-level participants/beneficiaries; district/regional-level state and nonstate actors who have participated in the collaborative planning processes leading to the design of interventions; staff of WFP and partners who have supervisory responsibilities for the interventions in the targeted provinces/regions; or staff of other development agencies operating in the same areas as WFP who are also familiar with the intervention contexts and outcomes. Despite the advantages of collecting and working with data that is grounded in the lived experiences of respondents, the sample frame raised some limitations worth noting.

While this purposive sampling allowed for assessing the direct experiences of those most familiar with how WFP's activities may or may not have contributed to the building of social cohesion in participating communities, it excluded outsider perspectives that would have enhanced the findings through the inclusion of multidimensional viewpoints. A lone KII_01 respondent, who self-identified as priest in one of the study sites in Burkina Faso, consistently indicated in his responses to questions that he does not know much about the program or is not aware of its contributions to outcomes for any line of

enquiry. This highlights the need for broader "external" perspectives in providing a wider view of how and why WFP's interventions may or may not have contributed to the building of social cohesion.

2.4 Structure and Style of Reporting

Composition and Structure of Report: This report is a composite one. Therefore, it does not present separate reports for the study countries, that is, Burkina Faso and Niger, nor does it provide separate reports on the different study protocols. Rather, it combines the data from the two countries as well as the different study protocols to present a holistic view of the findings. However, as indicated under Reporting Style below, adequate provision is made in the report to allow for the disaggregation of views expressed by country, data source, and gender.

Structurally, the report follows the lines of inquiry used in the study protocols. This is to ensure adequate coverage of the various themes the study set out to explore. Rather than blend the findings of the mini-survey into the various sections of the lines of inquiry, a separate section is devoted to reporting on the outcomes of the mini-survey. This is intended to support the scoping exercise in anticipation of a full-blown quantitative study as a sequel to the qualitative one.

Reporting Style and Format: Given the focus of this study on generating "more and stronger evidence to test [the] theoretical considerations" (WFP, 2021, ToR, p.4) that social cohesion building may be occurring in WFP's intervention communities, this report uses a *viva voce* format to allow the voices of respondents to speak to the findings. Accordingly, the coding, categorization, and clustering of the views the respondents expressed into the themes and findings of the report use direct quotes from the respondents as much as possible to show the depth and spread of respondents' views on the issues raised. To protect the identity of the referenced respondents, an anonymized citation style is used. This style does allow for differentiation of the sources of views expressed by country, data collection method, unique tracer data code, and the gender of the participant. The latter is particularly useful in the disaggregation of the findings along gender lines. It is expected that, once reviewed, and accepted, WFP and partners can adopt a less referenced version of the report for dissemination to the public.

III. Findings

3.1 Respondents' Assessment of Intervention Context

Social cohesion does not happen in a vacuum. It is the product of contextual factors and lived experiences that drive individuals and groups to collaboratively engage in actions to change or improve conditions that underpin their conditions of life. The lived experiences are, in turn, the products of the shocks, trends, and cycles of external and internal events that affect the lives and livelihood systems of the community. They increase, reduce, or create new conditions that shape the vulnerabilities of members of the community. The need for collaborative engagements across identity lines derives from perceived shared interests, recognition of interdependencies, and the need to work together to achieve individual and collective objectives. In sum, context drives the need for collaborative engagements, drives the nature and direction of engagements, and defines the eventual outcomes of the engagements. Context, therefore, determines how cohesive the groups emerge from such engagements.

The community-level data collection protocols began with questions focused on understanding the food, livelihood, safety, and security contexts that communities participating in WFP activities faced prior to the interventions of WFP and partners. Accordingly, respondents were asked to indicate how the natural events or conflicts they mentioned affected i) the types, quantity, and quality of natural assets such as land, forest cover, and water resources of the community; ii) the food and livelihood security of different types of families (farmers, herders, migrants) in the community; iii) the life of women and children in the community; iv) the education, development, and employment opportunities for youth in the community; v) relationships between different ethnic/religious groups in the community; and vi) relationships between this community and others, including those in IDP/refugee camps.

The subsidiary questions in the protocols explored the nature and impact of the various natural and human-made shocks, cycles, and trends that defined the vulnerability contexts in which communities found themselves. In addition to the agro-climatic factors that affected their food and livelihood security, the questions explored the existence, nature, and impact of internal and external conflicts on the survival and livelihood strategies that the different population groups in the community adopted to manage their challenges. Care was taken to ensure voices representing different gender, age, and primary livelihood systems, among others, were adequately captured. Findings from the context assessment and how they influenced social cohesion building before and after WFP interventions are presented below and in other sections of the report.

3.1.1 Contextual Vulnerabilities Communities Faced from Shocks, Cycles, and Trends

Types and Nature of Triggers of Vulnerability

To establish the preexisting context in which WFP launched its activities from the perspective of community-level participants, respondents were asked to recall what kinds of natural and human-made shocks affected their lives over the three years prior to the study. Respondents cited a numerous complex, overlapping, and compounding natural and human-made factors arising from climate-induced natural events and human-induced conflicts and other forms of violence. With respect to natural events, Appendix 6 captures Dauda Sidibe's [3] recollection of the shocks his community had to deal with over the past three years, illustrating the experience of many other communities. Participating communities have had to deal with droughts, floods, and invasions by crop pests such as crickets, armyworms, and locusts.

> **Box 1: Shocks Experienced**
>
> "Yes, there was drought last year, in 2019 we had some flooding. This year we are facing an invasion of locusts" (BF_KII_01_5236_M).
>
> -------------- ------------------------------
>
> "Droughts are a chronic phenomenon in our country. They occur almost every three years. In recent years, they have arisen with a certain acuity" (NR_FGD1_4886).

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[3] Not real name. See recap of the lived experiences in Appendix 6.

Specifically, respondents in all data collection sources – KIIs and FGDs – bemoaned the late onset, early cessation, and poor intra-seasonal distribution of rain, often punctuated by sudden, short and heavy downpours and the resulting crop losses. The droughts and floods caused damage to farms and led to poor harvests, soil erosion, and the destruction of other family assets. One respondent summed up the views of other participants by noting that, "Over the past three years the natural events that our community has experienced include poor rainfall, drought" (BF_KII_01_7065_F) and floods. The alternation of droughts and flooding also meant a poor collection of postharvest biomass as livestock feed. Droughts also led to insufficient water resources for animals and for other domestic and productive uses – (see BF_FGD_01_9501; BF_FGD_01_8260; NR_FGD_01_6882 NR_KII_03_6760_M; NR_KII_03_1644_F; BF_KII_03_1939_M; BF_FGD_01_7953, among others). The alternations between floods and droughts within and between agricultural seasons have meant that communities are "…unable to make a good harvest despite [investing] a lot in agricultural activities" (BF_KII_02_9096_F; BF_KII_02_9236_M).

Figure 1
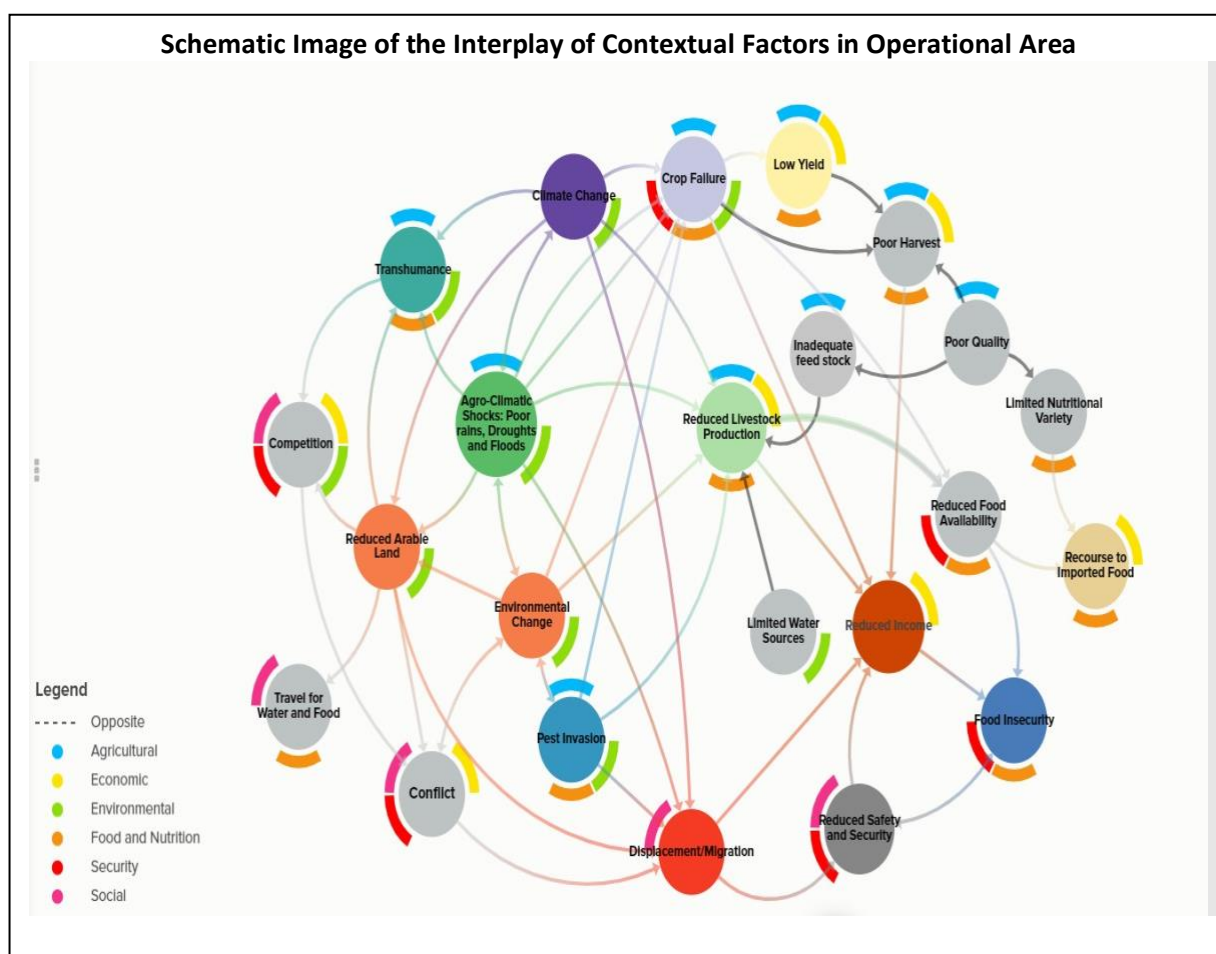
Respondents noted that these destabilizing agro-climatic shocks have become recurrent, more frequent in their occurrences, and more intense in their effects on their lives and livelihoods. As one respondent captured the recurrence and frequency concerns, "In the last three years we have had natural events. For example, last year there was drought. There was also flooding in 2019 in some areas in our community" (NR_KII_03_1549_M). In the view of another, the community's experience of drought as "a chronic phenomenon [that occurred] almost every three years [has] in recent years increased in frequency and intensified in its severity" (NR_FGD_01_4886). The droughts occur at both ends of the cropping season as they are "… marked by a late onset and early cessation of rain" (NR_KII_02_6888 _M). For instance, in the 2021 farming season, "… drought [was] marked by two major characteristics, including: the delay in the onset of rain, and the early cessation of rain. Farmers did not sow until mid-July, and the rains stopped in late August" (NR_KII_03_6886_M) – before crop maturation.

In addition, sudden and heavy downpours in the region trigger flash floods, which have often "… wreaked havoc, spoiling the goals we had set for the garden in which we intended to sow potatoes. The [flood] water has ravaged the crops" [BF_KII_01_6923_M; NR_KII_03_0499_M] or "caused houses to fall and destroyed some crops" (NR_KII_03_0499_M). On the other hand, the frequent "stopping of the rains just before harvest" (NR_KII_03_5438_M) resulted "…in poor harvests, rising prices of basic necessities, famine, the early drying up of wells, which impacted dry season market gardening and the massive exodus of populations" (BF_KII_03_3931_M). Hence, whether through the floods or droughts, the destruction of crops often leads to "drop in cereal production" (NR_FGD_01_1631), which in turn has often "…caused a lot of food insecurity in our community [such that] we struggle to feed our children" (BF_FGD_01_1414).

Figure 2

Assessment of Vulnerability Triggers, Impacts and Effects
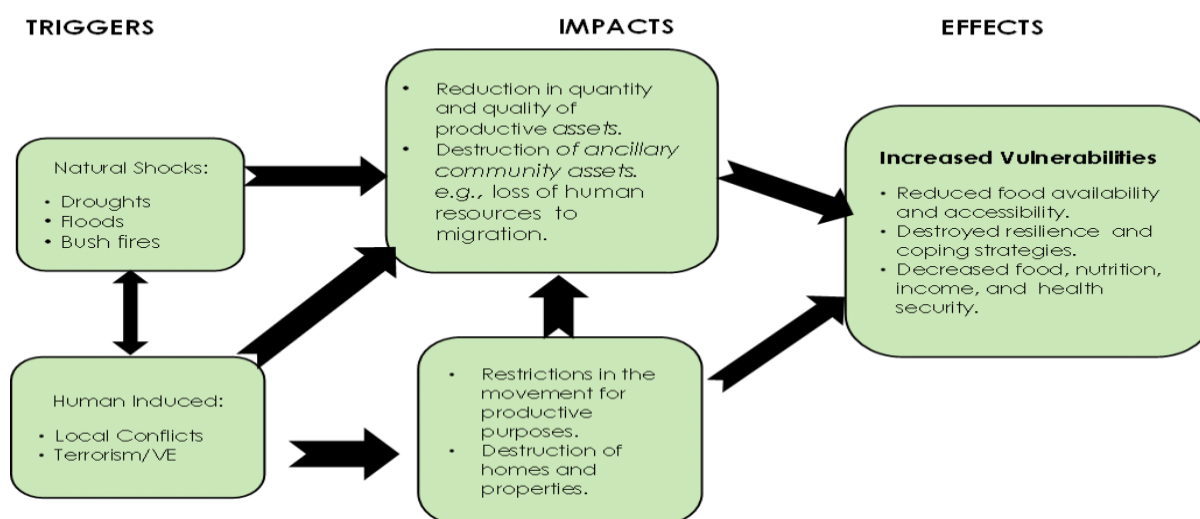
To a lesser extent, respondents also cited the incidence of violent conflicts as a destabilizing factor in their lives and livelihood system. Probed on the sources and key issues or factors driving or sustaining the conflicts, respondents cited a range of issues among which poverty dominates either as a driver of local conflict on its own, or in combination with other factors such as religion; the lack of civic, moral, and religious education; or the lack of employment for young people, which creates space for radicalization, as emphasized in interviews in Burkina Faso (BF_KII_01_5067_F; BF_KII_01_5076_M; BF_KII_01_7632_M). The last, in turn, is based on the misunderstanding and/or misinterpretation of religion, and the limited tolerance for diversity in some cultures, as well as interethnic rivalries. Respondents blamed the acts of violence on delinquent or unemployed youth, radical Islamic groups, and politicians in the case of political conflicts. For externally triggered conflicts, respondents blamed the acts of "terrorism [that] has caused many internally displaced persons" (BF_KII_01_9238_F; also, BF_KII_01_8310_F; BF_KII_01_8325_F; BF_KII_01_8327_M; NR_KII_02_4122_M; BF_KII_03_1939_M; BF_FGD_01_5303_R1; and BF_FGD_02_1327_R1).

Complexity and Compounding Nature of Shocks, Cycles, and Trends Events

Respondents also observed other vulnerabilities beyond erratic rainfall and the compounding nature of concurrent shocks and stressors. They noted, for instance, the ravaging effects of other shocks that included the invasion of farms by insects and birds (BF_FGD_01_7953; NR_KII_01_9007_F), worms and caterpillars (mentioned 75 times in KII_01 and in 16 of 20 interviews in KII_03) and bushfires that destroyed their crops. KII_02 respondents, on the other hand, cited the combined effects of droughts, floods, pests, and bushfires on the already fragile food security situation in the communities. In some communities, these natural events compounded local challenges such as conflicts between farming and

herder communities competing for dwindling forage and water resources. One FGD participant summed up the feeling by saying that, "In the last three years, we had a flood which destroyed a lot of houses, also terrorism happened; so all of this means that the last three years have not been easy for us" (BF_FGD_01_5303).

Other shocks often compounded the agro-climatic challenges that have led to drops in harvests and food shortages in the communities. As one respondent summed it up, "The drought meant that the community had no crops; the flood also caused a lot of damage as houses fell. Terrorism has caused many internally displaced persons" (BF_KII_01_8173_M; also, NR_FGD_01_8780). In other contexts, "The drought [caused by] the delay of the rain and its stoppage during the period of productivity, [and] then the attack of the locusts during that of filling of the seeds" (NR_FGD_01_6887) all contribute to reductions in the quantity and quality of food produced. Respondents also noted that the invasion of insects, worms, and other pests "… destroyed all the fields in their path, [hence] there were

> **Box 2: Compounded Effects of Shocks**
>
> "The various shocks highlighted have had serious repercussions on food security and family security. They empty the villages of the valid arms [able-bodied young men] toward the rural exodus. Animals such as small ruminants are decimated [even though] the latter represent the help of the populations in the event of bad seasons. Due to the lack of water, part of the flora [uncultivated trees and plants] did not produce anything; [this is], without forgetting the bushfires recorded more than once, destroying [many] hectares" of land (NR_KII_01_0531_F).

great losses at the time of the harvests and [because of] the early stop of the rain, the situation deteriorated and, in the end, [affected] the harvests" (NR_KII_01_9007_F). As for bushfires, they caused losses in straw and certain things useful for household needs such as firewood" (NR_KII_01_3784_M; also, BF_FGD_01_0092).

For herder and mixed farming communities already grappling with the challenges of finding feed and water for their animals, the loss of livestock to diseases adds a layer of shock that directly affects their food and income security. For communities dependent on cereals from cropping and milk from livestock as their principal sources of food, the loss of livestock to diseases, in addition to the poor harvests of cereals, deals a double blow to their food security resilience. An FGD participant's detailed recollection of the onset and progression of devastating livestock disease in Box 3 expresses the depth of feeling of loss and helplessness that community members experience in the face of such shocks.

> **Box 3: The Pain of Witnessing Loss of Livelihood**
>
> "Cattle disease […] affects all animals without distinction. It is a disease whose manifestation begins with the legs, then progresses to the tongue of the animal which develops reddish pimples. At an advanced stage it ends in death because it deprives the animal of the ability to eat" (NR_FGD_01_6887_F).

3.1.2 *Effects of Vulnerabilities on Community Assets and Productive Capacities*

Respondents were asked what effects these shocks, cycles, and trends of the natural and human-made events had on their lives and livelihoods systems. The responses are categorized below:

Effects on Quantity and Quality of Productive Assets of Communities

Since participating communities rely on rainfed agrarian livelihood systems (cropping and rearing of livestock), the greatest effects that they felt came from the degradation of their productive capacities as a result of the destructive floods, droughts, conflicts, pests, and other agro-related shocks. As respondents summed it up, "The natural and manmade events that have affected our community over the past three years are: poor rainfall for the past year, flooding (BF_FGD_01_9501_F__R1) [and] there is also drought and insecurity" (BF_FGD_01_9501_F_R2).

These natural and human-induced shocks have affected the quantity and quality of natural resources that communities rely on for their livelihoods. They noted that "the reduction in soil fertility, the reduction of areas suitable for breeding, the destruction of certain trees, and the lack of water retention"

(BF_KII_01_5943_M) as the most noticeable effects of the shocks. For instance, as a result of the droughts, "The *land has suffered degradation*; the forest cover has been affected because there has not been enough rain; [and] there has been a decrease in water because the water points have dried up" (BF_KII_01_7065_F; BF_KII_01_5943_M).In addition, the destruction of certain trees has reduced water retention in soils (BF_KII_01_5943_M). The drying up of water points (BF_KII_01_5947_M) has affected the raising of livestock and access to drinking water for domestic use. "The decrease in soil fertility [leads to] the reduction in cultivable areas" (BF_KII_01_5070_F).

Effects on Ancillary Community Assets

The droughts and floods contributed, in different ways, to the loss of forest and fauna in most communities. The effects of floods on soil erosion have been mentioned above. Due to prolonged droughts, areas that were used as "…grazing spaces for animals […] started to deteriorate (NR_KII_03_6756_M) due to overgrazing or as "…families in the community relied on the sale of firewood" (NR_KII_01_9025_F; NR_KII_01_8679_M; NR_KII_01_7761_F;) that entailed cutting down trees. The recurrent droughts also contribute to the "lack of water, which creates the food deficit when the rainy season passes" (BF_KII_02_5238_M) as opportunities for off-season farming are lost.

Respondents also noted the loss of human resources in participating communities to cyclical or permanent rural-urban migration as a result of the food shortages. They noted that the frequent crop failures triggered the outmigration of men, especially the younger and able-bodied men who could have supported community rehabilitation efforts. They noted in particular that it is the "drought that displaced people from villages to cities" (NR_KII_02_0347_M). The security implications of the migration of the youth are highlighted in other sections of this report.

In Burkina Faso, most young people leaving their homes headed to small-scale gold mining areas in the hope of earning income to buy food or send cash back home to their families (BF_KII_01_8327_M; BF_KII_01_6921_F; BF_FGD_01_1414; BF_FGD_01_0581). As mining activities take place around water sources (rivers, streams, dams, etc.), they contribute to "water pollution and harmful substances, with gold panning [and the degradation of lands for gold means that] there is no more arable land. The water basins are contaminated because of the products (mercury) they use and also the destruction of our forests for the installation of gold mine sites" (BF_KII_01_7061_M).

3.1.3 Effects of Vulnerability Context on Food and Livelihood Securities of Communities

Effect on Food Availability in Households

Respondents were asked about the effects of the natural shocks and conflicts on the food security situation of farmers, herders, and IDPs/refugees, as well as the youth and women in their respective communities. In answer to the question, respondents highlighted the combined effects of droughts, floods, and pest invasions on food production and productivity, namely the poor harvests that community members endured prior to the arrival of WFP interventions. The most frequently mentioned impacts of the climate-induced shocks were the reduction in agricultural production and productivity and the resulting increase in household food shortages, leading to situations bordering on famine in many communities. For instance, respondents in KII_01

> **Box 4: Effect of Shocks**
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> "These events really influenced [our lives]; they were at the origin of important deaths of animals, of famine, and caused poverty in the village" (BF_KII_01_3577_M).
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>
> This limited amount of rainfall affected the livelihood of communities as it "...has caused a lot of food insecurity in our community. We struggle to feed our children" (BF_FGD1_1414).

mentioned poor harvests deriving from the combined effects of all the natural shocks 82 times. In the words of respondents, the "poor rainfall has destroyed crops such as maize, beans, and millet" (BF_KII_01_8446_M). Together, the floods, droughts, and pests contributed to inadequate household food stocks; creating conditions of household food insecurity (NR_KII_03_9183_M; BF_KII_03_ 2181_M; NR_FGD_01_8780).

The shortage of food in many households had multiple ripple effects on lives and livelihoods in the participating communities. The shocks also led to the loss of personal and communal physical assets. While the floods led to the "…destruction of houses, fields, and property of certain people […] the poor rainfall (drought) led to a shortage of water in the village [making life] difficult during the hot period [from] March to April (BF_KII_01_8327_M).

Overall, respondents singled out the effects that of droughts more frequently than floods, indicating that the droughts had more devasting consequences for food and livelihood security. As one respondent put it, "The drought also meant that the few seeds that had sprung [after planting] did not produce so as a result there was famine"[4] (BF_KII_01_7065_F). As another respondent observed, "The drought has caused difficulties such as food shortages, poor harvests [even though] soil destruction, earthworms and locusts have [also] destroyed the crops…" (NR_KII_03_1644_F). As a result of the insufficient rain, the farms did not produce, hence "…. someone who used to have 50 headloads of millet[5] but now ends up with 15 headloads" (NR_KII_01_1544_M). The net effect of the shocks was that most families "did not have enough harvest to be able to survive until the next season [and] as the rain did not end well, even the grasses were not well-watered, which meant that the animals could not graze either" (BF_KII_01_1127_M). "The herders lost herds for lack of food and water for the animals" (BF_KII_01_7644_F) as herder families were confronted with "...dead cattle due to lack of hay" (NR_KII_01_1538_M). Hence, both farmer and herder households faced acute food insecurity because "the granaries are empty, the cattle do not produce milk, so the absence of milk among the herders results in a multiplication of malnourished" children (BF_KII_01_5943_M9; also, NR_KII_01_1538_M). Those practicing mixed farming methods also faced "really difficult [situations] because we don't have animals to sell" (BF_KII_01_8325_F).

Box 5: State of Food Insecurity

"There is nothing to eat because the flood has destroyed everything and also the drought has meant that our crops have not given well and also the animals have nothing to eat like in the past or when we finished the harvest [there was] too much to eat for our animals and this allowed us to have milk and also a high number of our animals" (BF_KII_01_7064_F).

Box 6: Crop Failure from Natural Shocks

"On the agriculture side, without lying, the families cried because they couldn't have 2/5 of what they were earning before. On the breeding side, we didn't have any food for the animals, so we didn't earn the milk and also other animals died" (BF_KII_01_1378_M).

Box 7: Compounding Effects of Natural Disasters

"Insufficient rain leads to food insecurity, and this food insecurity affects the education of children because they drop out of school. It also affects the economy because people don't have money to invest. When the money doesn't come in you only eat what you have saved. It also affects animals because there is no pasture for them to eat properly. The animals are hungry and very vulnerable to disease, which makes them cheaper in the markets. A well-fed sheep cost around 70,000 fcfa, whereas when it is hungry it does not cost 30,000 fcfa. An ox that had a good season cost around 150,000 fcfa but when it is hungry it does not exceed 80,000 fcfa or 70,000 fcfa. Invasion of birds prevents us from producing even millet. Imagine what it does if we have to buy some things that we produce before, available from us; it's expensive, today the 100 kg bag costs 25,000 fcfa. This forced us to turn to sesame cultivation because the birds don't like it. If we have to go buy, it's expensive 100kg for 25,000 fcfa. In sum, no spaces to build, invaded crop fields, reduced soil fertility. If before you harvested 50 or 60 bags but now it's only 20 bags of harvest we can expect; before you can count 50 bags of gum Arabic on the market, now nothing because the trees have been swallowed up totally by the situation" (NR_KII_01_4126_M).

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[4] Respondents frequently used the word "famine" in apparent reference to general food shortages or hunger. The research team is aware respondents' use of the word famine may not correlate with the understanding of the word in official WFP language. However, the report retains the respondents' use of the word in fidelity to our commitment to report what they said, not our interpretations. Readers are therefore alerted to the possible confusion in the use of the word.

[5] A headload of millet is a traditional load of millet tied together at harvest. There is no specific weight assigned.

Effect on Households' Access to Food

For most households, the reduced production and *availability* of food translated into challenges with *accessibility* to what food is available in the local markets. This is because the poor harvests led to hikes in the prices of staples such as millet, sorghum, and maize (BF_KII_01_6810_F; also, NR_KII_03_4117_M; NR_KII_01_1546_M) in the market. "This caused a lot of food insecurity in our community" (BF_FGD_01_1414; also NR_KII_01_0887_M; NR_KII_01_7761_F). For some families, the poor harvests "…meant that we did not have enough food to feed the family until the new harvest. We had to resort to gold panning to have money to buy food" (BF_KII_01_9794_M). For those unable to access alternative sources of food or income, the low food production often "…caused many families to fall into starvation [especially when the price] of corn, which was at 10000 or 15000f became 23000f" (BF_KII_01_7063_M; also BF_KII_03_3931_M; also NR_KII_01_1538_M; NR_KII_01_6870_F; NR_KII_01_0889_M). The rollover effect was the "degradation of health due to the source of food [and] the acceleration of poverty because there were not enough cash crops to take advantage of them" (BF_KII_01_5067_F). One respondent summarized the net effect as follows: "The major shock suffered by the population of the North region over the past three years is more often climatic with poor rainfall (drought), especially in 2021, resulting in poor harvests, rising prices of basic necessities, famine, the early drying-up of wells, which impacted dry season market gardening and the massive exodus of populations" (BF_KII_03_1939_M). Box 7 sums up the compounding and multidimensional ripple effects of the agro-climatic shocks and trends on the lives and livelihood systems of the participating communities.

Effects on Food Utilization, Nutrition, Health Security, and Well-Being of Communities

The food security challenge that communities face is not only about the availability and accessibility of food (BF_KII_01_1286_M6; BF_KII_01_1286_M8; BF_KII_01_5065_N[6]; NR_KII_01_9027_F); it is also about the utilization of what food is available, as a result of cultural and dietary preferences of the participating communities. Respondents also noted that the combined effects of the shocks have impacted not only the quantity of and access to food produced (*food security*), but also the intake of food considered to be of higher quality (*nutrition security*) (BF_KII_01_7065_F9; BF_KII_01_1285_M0; BF_KII_01_1285_M3; and BF_KII_01_1285_M). They raised several concerns about the forced dietary adaptations (NR_KII_01_4290_M; NR_KII_02_8777_M; BF_KII_01_7065_F1; BF_KII_01_7065_F) that they

Box 8: Impact on Food and Nutrition Security
"The quality of the harvest was no longer the same, the quantity also decreased because what we used to harvest was not harvested, this was a big problem for the community because the men considered the exodus as it was the issue that will allow them to compensate" (BF_KII_01_1285_M1).

had to make which, they believed, have had negative impacts on their health and well-being. Some respondents found the rice to be nutritionally inferior to millet and other locally grown cereals and legumes, which are unavailable or have become too expensive to buy (BF_KII_01_1285_M8, BF_KII_01_1286_M). As one respondent noted, "The quantity [of the harvest] was very reduced as well as the quality because with the rarity of the rains […] the quantity which we are used to harvesting was no longer the same; [in addition] with regard to the qualities, the worm destroyed the quality because the millet had lost its appearance" (BF_KII_01_1285_M0; also NR_KII_01_2542_F). Another adds that the millet harvests were of poor quality "… because the locusts […] destroyed a good part of the seeds and for the beans it is insects [that caused the havoc especially at] the flowering phase" (BF_KII_01_1286_M6). As a result, "…the quality of our harvest is weakened" (BF_KII_01_5065_N; also NR_KII_01_0531_F). Hence, in addition to families finding themselves with "harvests [that] are insufficient for family consumption" (BF_KII_01_1286_M4; BF_KII_01_5065_N), they also found themselves with produce "… deprived of certain nutrients [due to] bad rains" (BF_KII_01_1286_M3).

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[6] The N in the reference stands for None and signifies the respondent preferred not to indicate their gender.

The shortage of food "…affected community members as the decline in productivity due to poor rainfall has led to starvation in our community" (BF_KII_01_1127_M; see also BF_KII_01_7650_M; BF_KII_01_5947_M, among others). This compelled households to change their dietary practices (NR_KII_01_7761_F), as most households had to resort to the "consumption of low-quality products [such as] rice which seems to be more accessible [instead of] millet and sorghum" (BF_KII_01_7065_F; NR_KII_01_0889_M; NR_KII_01_2268_M). Others resorted to the consumption of leaves that they would not usually consider as food (NR_KII_01_9007_F; NR_KII_01_3544_M; NR_KII_01_1646_F).

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Box 9: Differential Effects of Food Insecurity

Food insecurity "affected the women [more] because the men abandon the women to go on an exodus and leave the women with the children. They are forced to fend for themselves to feed her children. Also affects the education of children by attending school less. Leads young people to indulge in theft, go on an exodus, and can become delinquents" (BF_KII_01_7061_M8).

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The reduced frequency, quantity, and quality of daily meals "…caused health problems related to diet [especially] among young people due to the poor quality and quantity of meals" (BF_KII_01_7951_M; also, BF_KII_01_3403_F, BF_KII_01_5943_M, BF_KII_01_5947_M; NR_KII_01_2958_M). As explained by the first respondent, "The surge in [prices of] basic necessities and the low quantity of cereals available, […] has led to a reduction in the number of meals taken per day by men and women and often even young children, this has also caused health problems related to diet among young people due to the poor quality and quantity of meals" (BF_KII_01_7951_M). Another respondent clarified that this situation has also contributed to increased "…food-related diseases [and] mortality among children linked to diseases caused by poor diet" (BF_KII_01_1647_F; NR_KII_01_8785_F). In several communities, the changes in diets led to widespread "…undernourishment, malnutrition among the children [such that] we were vulnerable to diseases" (BF_KII_01_7644_F; also see BF_KII_01_7646_M; BF_KII_01_5305_M; NR_KII_01_8775_F; NR_KII_01_8781_F; NR_KII_01_8788_F). As a result, "women and children no longer find what they are used to consuming nutritional supplements or specific foods" (BF_KII_01_7065_F0). They argue that this is "…often the cause of malnutrition because the diet is totally disrupted and becomes very unstable because no one eats enough or according to their nutritional needs" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). In particular, women are affected, especially pregnant ones, and they fall into difficult situations. When they go to the health center, they are told that they are malnourished, but if there is no food, what will they eat?" (NR_KII_01_4130_M).

Effect on Household Resilience and Coping Strategies

Resilience to shocks and stressors resides in three abilities: i) the ability to bounce back from/absorb a shock or the eroding effects of a stressor; ii) the ability to adapt or readjust lifestyles and subsistence strategies to fit new conditions and realities of life; and iii) the ability to transform or change the set of available choices. Bouncing back and building resilience entails the capacity of affected communities to i) self-organize to absorb or mitigate the effects of the shocks; ii) evolve and adapt strategies and capacities that enable them to proactively anticipate, engage, and manage risks associated with the shocks and stressors that cause, facilitate, or sustain the damaging effects on their communities; and/or iii) transform existing and potential governance and operational structures, systems, policies, and other factors in the operating environment to create new or better knowledge systems, institutional/organizational capacities, and/or resources that enable them to avert or easily contain the recurrence of the external forces that affect their livelihood systems and to continuously improve on previous livelihood systems.

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Box 10: Weakened Resilience

"Under the effect of the above-mentioned elements [of vulnerabilities] there has been a weakness in the means of subsistence. The diet then narrows around the consumption of consumable tree leaves. The [low] supply in some measure of millet, the change in the types of products consumed such as rice, which becomes the main food for all groups of actors [become] diet… for the adult class - a form imposed by nature" (NR_KII_01_9007_F).

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Asked about the ability of community members to rebound from the effects of these shocks and stressors, respondents noted that the increased frequency and intensity of the events

give them little room to recover from one event before the impact of the next. This has greatly *reduced their resilience*. For instance, participants in an FGD in Burkina Faso observed that the alternation between floods and droughts over the years, as well as the human-induced events of conflicts have affected every community and by extension, the "…different ethnic, religious or minority groups […] because it sent famine to our different families (BF_FGD_01_9501). The experience of cyclical food insecurity has become chronic with several decades of historical roots. As one respondent in Niger recalled the history of food insecurity over the last 49 years, "There is the great famine of 1973 and 1974, there is the famine of 1984 because of the drought. In addition, there is the famine of 2005 (at the municipal level). There are floods in the village of Tabalak in 1988, 1993, 1996, and 2020" (NR_KII_02_0244_M).

To cope with deepening food insecurity and other forms of poverty, families turned to the consumption of unconventional foods such as leaves from trees or other plants, as explained in Box 10. Others turned to the "sale of livestock" [for food procurement], [or] rural exodus in the event that there is nothing to sell (NR_KII_01_3784_M). This "lack of food […] pushed us to go do other activities to be able to pay for food" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). The limited food stocks "accelerate the migratory departure of men and young people both internally and abroad"

> **Box 11: Food Insecurity, Migration and Social Strains and Stresses**
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> "All of these things impact livelihoods. They make people indecisive and very vulnerable. For women, it is often divorce when there is a lack of food in the household, for young people it is above all rural exodus and petty theft that solicit them in the event of poor agricultural results" (NR_KII_01_3784_M).

(BF_KII_01_5065_N). In particular, the youth often leave their communities to seek income through small-scale mining. It led to increased outmigration of people, especially young men as "our children have to go back to the gold sites so that we can have food" (BF_KII_01_9662_F; BF_KII_01_8177_F). As a result, "many young people and women are heading to the gold panning sites in order to be able to support their families" (BF_KII_01_8446_M) and many "young people have indulged in the exodus, to avoid the risks of poverty and lack of sufficient food" (NR_KII_01_1522_F). This was not a choice they would have made otherwise. However, the youth "…were forced to resort to gold panning to be able to pay for cereal for the family" (BF_KII_01_9801_M). Even women sometimes joined this exodus to the mining sites "…to look for the gold so that we can deal with the food problem" (BF_FGD_02_1327_F_R2).

3.1.4 Effects of Conflicts on Community Vulnerability

Since 2018, both Burkina Faso and Niger have experienced political volatility underpinned by increased incidents and threats of violence from armed extremist groups operating in enclaves across their common frontiers as well as that of Mali. These zones of extremist group operations coincide with or are adjacent to WFP's zones of operation. The human safety and insecurity concerns and destabilization of lives and livelihoods from the attacks on communities have direct and extended consequences on their abilities to manage and rebound from the impacts of natural disasters.

> **Box 12: Impact of Conflicts on Social Cohesion**
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> "Conflicts, especially terrorism negatively impact social cohesion between ethnic groups, partial or total loss of livelihoods (livestock, grain stock, means of transport, housing), thus making the population of the area more vulnerable to climatic shocks which are recurring. It should also be noted the loss of human life and the massive displacement of populations from rural areas to cities and as a result strong pressure on the means of existence, which were already scarce" (BF_KII_03_3931_M).

To contextualize the food security and resilience challenges of communities that WFP serves, this study sought to establish the extent to which communities have experienced violent conflicts, and how such conflicts have affected their lives and livelihoods, especially with respect to their ability to cope with the agro-climatic shocks they are already grappling with. Responses captured below provide an overview of the conflict context of WFP's interventions in the participating communities.

Experiences of Living in Violent Conflict Environments

Respondents were asked if they had experienced incidents of violent conflict in their communities. An extraction and analysis of the YES or NO responses of KII_01 respondents show that 75.2% (79/105) of community-level key informants interviewed in Burkina Faso and 85% (103/109) of their peers in Niger said **they have not** experienced incidents of violent conflict in their communities. The remaining 24.8% in Burkina and 15% in Niger said they had. See Table 1.

Table 1: Experience of Conflict by Country Cross-tabulation (KII_01)

Experience of Conflict	Country		Total
	Burkina Faso	Niger	
No	79	103	182
	75.2%	94.5%	85.0%
Yes	26	6	32
	24.8%	5.5%	15.0%
Total	105	109	214
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

WFP's resilience activities are mostly carried out in communities that are not experiencing active conflicts. Hence, the finding in Table 1 should not be surprising, since participating communities are presumably not in active conflict zones. The findings from the perspective of KII_01 participants notwithstanding, participants in FGD_01 nonetheless specified that there are low levels of violent conflict in most participating communities. A respondent's explanation of the low intensity of violence is that, "A hungry person has no energy to fight or engage in futile arguments" (NR_FGD_01_1555_R1). Instead, in communities where people are struggling to make ends meet, community members tend to "…care about each other [in ways that let] disagreement and conflict have no place; [therefore] conflicts are rare, as are disagreements" (NR_FGD_01_1555_R2). In place of conflicts, mutual support systems emerge, allowing community members to show solidarity and share what they have with the most vulnerable. Under such circumstances, "'someone can give you two bunches, others three bunches of millet to support you" '(NR_FGD_01_9172). This is because "…despite the common difficulties [there is a natural tendency for] people [to] support each other especially when they are close relatives [as] they share the philosophy that, "'when an evil affects one, it is de facto an obligation for the brother to bring him support" (NR_FGD_01_6882).

KII_02 respondents, who were largely noncommunity-level respondents, had a broader range of responses related to the incidence of conflicts in participating communities. Their views spanned from statements of no experience of conflicts at all (12/21 respondents) to situations in which they said communities experienced "…just some quarrel," which did not disturb the peace (BF_KII_02_5238_M). It was argued that for "small conflicts, there is no shortage of them, but it is often just small tensions that do not affect the way of life and the subsistence systems of this community" (BF_KII_02_9236_M). Among the minor conflicts are counted "land disputes, farmer and breeder disputes, intervillage disputes" (NR_KII_02_0244_M). For others, their experience of violent conflicts comes from their encounter with IDPs and refugees fleeing the violence from their homes. As one respondent noted in recounting her experience of conflicts, "… we can say that there have been conflicts because we have internally displaced persons who have come because of terrorism" (BF_KII_01_9238_F).

Effect of Violent Conflicts and Extremism on Safety and Security of Communities

Although respondents said most communities have not specifically experienced violent conflicts, they were worried about rising insecurity from activities of violent extremists and other external sources. They were concerned that "…the growing threat of insecurity [from insurgencies] constitutes a real problem by exposing the populations to displacement toward the urban centers [and in the process] abandoning their property in favor of the search for security" (NR_KII_02_6888_M). For instance, respondents of KII_01 prefaced their responses on what types of conflicts they experienced with

concerns about the insecurity they are living through (mentioned 45 times) as a result of different types of conflict. They mentioned political conflicts arising from internal political disputes and instabilities, terrorism, and threats from other armed groups that have created problems of insecurity, displacements of persons from their communities, and restrictions on their mobility for economic activities.

KII_02 respondents and FGD_01 participants corroborated the concerns about safety and security threats to participating communities. As one of them summed it up, the increased "insecurity [has] hampered the smooth running of fieldwork [work on farms]. In the words of a female FGD participant, the "… terrorism [that has] happened … means that the last three years have not been easy for us" (BF_FGD_01_5303_F_R1). Restrictions in the movement of persons for productive purposes were a major source of concern to participants. For example, all the peasants who have their fields 18 kilometers from the village of Tondikiwindi have not sown or harvested because of the bandits who are in this area (NR_KII_02_1534_M). The restriction on movement "… causes difficulties in taking charge [of their families] because the means of subsistence of this population is limited to agriculture. The animals have nothing to graze on. This has had an impact on the fattening [of livestock] practiced by women" (NR_KII_02_1551_M). Also, due to the conflicts, "some community members have been left homeless, others have lost their animals, and some fields have been destroyed (NR_KII_02_0247_M). In other places, the incidence of violent conflicts "…considerably affects life and resources. The Boko Haram conflict affects the life of communities because they can no longer move and the only activity to do is cut wood" (NR_KII_02_4122_M) as part of the "…adaptation strategies were made by the population before the arrival of the WFP" (NR_KII_01_2268_M). For others, fleeing from their communities was the only exit strategy from the threats of violence. As one respondent in an FGD noted of their current condition, "It was terrorism that led us to migrate to this village" (BF_FGD_02_1327_R1).

Groups Most Affected by Violent Conflicts

Asked what categories of persons are most affected by the conflicts where they occur, respondents indicated that the violent conflicts affect the entire community, as they plunge them into fear and panic. In the words of a respondent, "It's the whole village. Women, men, and children were forced to leave the village to reach the security zones" (BF_KII_01_8325_F). This is because the conflicts have often led to the "destruction of land and crops" (NR_KII_02_1658_F; NR_KII_02_8777_M). The

Box 13: Effect of Conflicts
"Without exception, all communities were affected. They say they spare the women, but we have seen in other cases where they beat the women" (BF_KII_01_7061_M).

resultant "decreased production is synonymous with famine, loss of livestock," etc. (NR_KII_02_1542_M), because there is "no straw to feed the animals" (NR_KII_02_1557_M). In Niger, it was pointed out that, "This is a situation that concerns everyone without distinction or ethnicity. We are a community made up of both Tuaregs, Hausas, and Peulhs" (NR_KII_01_3546_F) who all suffer from the conflict. In Burkina Faso, it was noted that the conflicts affect everyone because the movements of all community members are restricted, and they live in anxiety about what will happen next. However, they said men are the most affected group of persons "…because the radical groups attack this category more. The community was very afraid but the men even more" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). Beyond men as a demographic group, respondents also cited subgroups such as the chiefs and elders, persons perceived as rich, teachers, and in one case, members of the Mossi ethnic group. While women are believed to be less affected, this is not always the case, as the perpetrators of violence are known to have assaulted women in some instances.

3.1.5 Effects of Food Insecurity on Different Categories of People

Effects on Different Livelihood Systems

Respondents noted that the food insecurity situation affects different demographic groups differently. Looking at different livelihood systems, for instance, while the "farmers [are] dissatisfied with the yield and [are] aiming only to go to the exodus to look for something to meet the needs of their families, the herders [are] worried about the food for their cattle" (NR_KII_01_2269_M). In general, the sedentary farming households are reported to be the hardest hit because when the harvest is poor or when the crops fail, there is not much left for them to rely on (BF_KII_01_1286_M; also NR_KII_01_2542_F). In contrast, herders "…can sell some of their animals to

> **Box 14: Food Insecurity and the Burden of Women**
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> We have a "food security problem [because of] lack of herbs [fodder] to feed cattle; women are left alone because men and young people are in exodus since the land has not kept its promise; the harvests are of a lesser quantity; women don't have peace of mind because of the amount of food left by men; they don't really know what to do if the food ends [runs out]. [Hence,] young people are sent on an exodus to look for something to supplement their food production" (NR_KII_01_2958_M).

obtain the means of subsistence. However, the livestock doesn't cost much when it doesn't have fats [i.e., when the livestock are malnourished and wasted due to lack of food and water] (BF_KII_01_7064_F; also NR_KII_01_8901_M; NR_KII_01_3206_M; NR_KII_01_9007_F). This significantly limits the extent to which their livestock "…can be converted into [meaningful income]" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). Regarding age groups, respondents said that "young people are the most exposed to the problem because they will be forced to migrate" (BF_KII_01_7064_F; NR_KII_01_6558_F; NR_KII_01_2543_F; NR_KII_01_6969_M). Ethnically, however, the food insecurity situation "is a uniform phenomenon that affects almost everyone even if there are small differences according to the specialization of activities" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). As one respondent summarized, "All these groups were upset because food security is not guaranteed given these scourges they suffered -- farmers dissatisfied with the yield and aiming only to go to the exodus to look for something to meet the needs of their families; the herders worried about the food of their cattle; and women worried about the burden that their spouse will join the exodus and they will, in turn, have to take care of the children (NR_KII_01_2269_M).

Impact of Food Insecurity on Women

Respondents said that even though men face the initial pressures to provide food for their families when the crops fail, it is eventually the women who bear the brunt of providing for the upkeep of their families. As they argued, for men, "…when you are the head of a large family, the situation is harder because of the mouths to feed" (NR_KII_01_2268_M). However, the women are worried because "…it's the woman who takes care of the children" (NR_KII_01_4828_M; also BF_KII_01_7065_F; also BF_KII_01_1285_M) when their husbands leave for the exodus and leave the care of the children to them. Hence, "...women are the […] most affected because they are often abandoned by husbands for migratory motives, and it is they who must, by all means, ensure the food needs of the family" (NR_KII_01_0965_M). Hence, as the men contemplate leaving to search for food and money elsewhere for their families, it is easy to see the "concern […] on the faces of the women because their husbands will move away from them, leaving them in charge of the children" (NR_KII_01_5803_M; see also BF_KII_01_7063_M, BF_KII_01_1286_M, and BF_KII_01_1286_M). Generally, "…women do not have peace of mind because of the amount of food left behind. They don't know what to do when it is finished" (NR_KII_01_5527_M). In particular, pregnant women "…fall into difficult situations [because] when they go to the health center, they are told that they are malnourished, but if there is no food, what will they eat?" (NR_KII_01_4130_M).

This situation forces women to do something "…to help their husbands fill the food gap either by working to earn money or by doing small income-generating activities" (BF_KII_01_1285_M4). As a

result, "they do odd jobs to support themselves" and their children (NR_KII_01_0285_M; also BF_KII_01_7065_F). In other words, the exodus of men offloads the burden of keeping households fed, safe, and secure onto women. "The men go on an exodus and the women stay at home to take care of the family alone" (NR_KII_01_0529_F; BF_KII_01_5065_N). In some cases, the double burden of food insecurity plus human insecurity challenges have led to "the massive movement of women to large centers in search of work" (NR_KII_02_8777_M). Some women "…go to the gold sites to look for the gold so that we can deal with the food problem" (BF_FGD_02_1327_F_R2). For women who stay back in the communities, they work alongside the men in the recovery or rehabilitation of land and "… do small businesses to meet the needs of the family while waiting for the funds to be sent" (NR_KII_01_2541_F; NR_KII_01_6558_F; BF_KII_01_1286_M). In terms of income-generating activities, some "…women sell wood and water to meet certain basic family needs" (BF_KII_01_1286_M) while other "… women sell their goats to help their husbands" (NR_KII_01_4830_F). Other women also "sell our cattle, so we can have food" (BF_FGD_02_1327_F_R1).

Impact of Food Insecurity on Youth

For young people, the alternate livelihood strategy involves "rural exodus and petty theft" ((NR_KII_01_1660_F) as they seek to escape the poor agricultural harvests. Respondents also recognized the impact of household food insecurity on the enrolment, absenteeism, and dropout rates of young people in school (BF_KII_01_7063_M). The implications of food insecurity for the exodus of young people [to find ways] to help their families have been highlighted already. However, respondents noted that increased food insecurity creates another problem, "…the security of the village" (NR_KII_01_2541_F; BF_KII_01_1286_M). Apart from the attacks from terrorist groups, communities are also confronted with the fact that "…because of food insecurity, young people are tempted by banditry to [engage in] theft and to many actions" (NR_KII_01_4130_M; BF_KII_01_7063_M) including highway robberies and other delinquent acts (BF_KII_01_7061_M). As a result of the increased safety and insecurity concerns, "people do not stay cultivating their fields" (NR_KII_01_4128_M); instead, they are forced to abandon their fields at times to go and work in the fields of others as laborers in order to earn a little money to support their families (BF_KII_01_7063_M). This compounds the food insecurity situation for most communities.

Additionally, "insufficient rain leads to food insecurity, and this food insecurity affects the education of children because they drop out of school" (NR_KII_01_4126_M). In Niger, respondents noted that food insecurity "…affects the education of children by attending school less" frequently (NR_KII_01_8866_F). Hence, "young people are affected educationally [because] if they don't eat they won't go to school and [this] can push young people into delinquency [besides, due to the exodus] if the father is not there the child will not go to school. [This leads to] school children dropping out of schools" (NR_KII_01_4132_M). In Burkina Faso, however, the impact of the stressors on education is due to the fact that students in schools are constantly stressed, as they are always "…afraid of being victims [of violent attacks] like other schools" (BF_KII_02_7648_F). Respondents also noted that young people are also susceptible to being "recruited by nonstate armed groups" (BF_KII_03_8834_M; NR_KII_01_1559_M) either forcibly or through enticement with offers of employment and other forms of remuneration.

Effect on the Stability and Cohesion in Communities and Families

In Niger, where the practice of cross-border transhumance goes on for extended periods of time, respondents noted that the migrations and other movements of persons and livestock in search of food, water, and money to meet household needs create social strains and stresses for most families. This affects the stability of social relationships and cohesion within families and communities. In particular, population movements in search of supplementary food and incomes trigger social tensions that have negative repercussions on domestic peace, security, and cohesion. The rural-urban movement of men and, in some cases women, destabilizes marital relationships, as bonds of marriage weaken. The spousal separation due to migration often leads to divorce as "men leave the village leaving the women and children for five [or more] years without anything" (NR_KII_01_1655_F; NR_KII_01_1660_F). In

several cases, such situations often [lead to] divorce when there is a lack of food in the household" (NR_KII_01_3784_M; NR_KII_01_3206_M) or marital infidelities that with high possibilities of pregnancies out of wedlock, which further complicates domestic relationships (NR_FGD_01_6887).

3.1.6   *Food Insecurity and Relationships between Host Communities and IDPs/Refugees*

WFP's activities often take place in areas that have experienced the movement of persons fleeing violent conflicts and other shocks. The influx of IDPs and refugees into communities already struggling to feed themselves has implications for the relationships between the host communities and their guests. Increased pressures on resources such as land, water, and other food sources are flashpoints for conflicts. However, the ability of host communities to accept and incorporate arriving groups has been witnessed across various humanitarian fields of work. This study therefore sought to establish the experiences of host communities in WFP's programming regarding the effect, if any, on social cohesion between them and IDPs, refugees, or returnees living within the community or close to them.

Positives and Negatives of Hosting IDPs/Refugees

In response to the questions, most respondents said they did not have IDPs in their communities (BF_KII_01_1285_M; BF_KII_01_6731_M; NR_KII_01_1538_M; NR_KII_01_0527_M). For such communities, there is "nothing at all like change [in relationships] considering we don't have any IDPs here" (BF_KII_01_8823_F). For communities that hosted IDP/refugee camps, however, the responses to the question suggested that the arrival of the IDPs and refugees had mixed effects. While recognizing the pressures it put on their limited food and productive resources, they also acknowledged that the presence of the IDPs and refugees may have attracted WFP to work with their communities. On the downside, one respondent from the IDP/refugee community noted that their food insecurity situation was compounded because, in addition to crop failure and the lack of pasture for their animals, households that fled the terrorist acts had to leave their food and livestock behind (BF_KII_01_9238_F). Because they arrived with nothing, they had to rely on the host communities for support until the arrival of external help. IDPs/refugees acknowledged the generosity of their hosts, who sacrificed in sharing the little they had in order to tide them over. In particular, they recognized how their arrival in the host communities "increase[d] the expenses of the host families who welcomed the displaced because they do not have enough to give so it was really complicated. They took what they also had to help us who had just arrived" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). Host families, on the other hand, were worried that "…we were not able to take good care of our foreigners as we would have liked" (BF_KII_01_7064_F).

Minimal Effect of Food Insecurity on Host-IDP/Refugee Relationship

Despite these stresses and anxieties, respondents said the food insecurity challenges "…did not affect the relations between the communities including the IDP/refugee camps" (BF_KII_01_0053_F; also BF_KII_01_1114_F). This was because hosts and IDPs/refugees recognized that they had a shared "problem due to a major force which is the drought" (BF_KII_01_8180_M), since "…everyone recognized that it is a natural phenomenon and that it is

> **Box 15: Effect of Food Insecurity on Relationships**
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> "Not affected our relationships because we became one community. The bag you saw me carrying is a gift that we are going to bring to a Fulani who gives his daughter in marriage. Right now, we are sitting with dagra to chat, there is no ethnicity. Num kam... All the groups come together to work; we have become a single community" (BF_KII_01_7063_M).

God who decides. So [there was] no impact on relations with other communities, including displaced people from neighboring communities" (BF_KII_01_8173_M). This is largely because host communities spontaneously welcomed IDPs and refugees without any anticipation of reward from any quarter. Accordingly, before WFP came to their communities, "IDPs were well received, especially at the beginning, it was the host families who housed the displaced and fed them" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). Confirming this, an IDP respondent said, from the start, "…things worked well thanks to the kindness of the villagers, who welcomed us and facilitated our integration (BF_FGD_02_1327_M). For this

reason, "The relations between our community and the IDPs are good because we are together" (BF_FGD_01_5303_ M). In Niger, however, in the only case where the presence of IDPs/Refugees was acknowledged, a respondent indicated that there were boundaries around the extent to which the IDPs/refugees could be equated to local residents in their relationships. As she noted, "the only family of IDPs has access to all the resources but concerning the space for agriculture it is a loan" (NR_KII_01_8785_F). In other words, IDPs/refugees can only have access to land through the loan scheme – they could not have a freehold.

Inclusive Criteria of WFP Activities Reinforced Acceptance and Social Cohesion

Respondents noted that when WFP and its partners came along to support the communities, the "criteria of vulnerability" they used in the selection of communities to participate in their activities emphasized, "…the number of IDPs present in the villages" (BF_KII_03_1939_M). The interventions' requirement that host and IDP/refugee communities work together on "…community fields brings together IDPs and members of the host community to meet the challenges between them" (BF_FGD_01_5303_M). This reinforced "…good relationship [between the] indigenous population and IDPs [that] are involved in WFP activities" (NR_FGD_01_1631). For this reason, a mutually beneficial relationship developed between the IDPs and their host and "…everything worked well on both sides" (BF_FGD_01_1414; see also BF_KII_01_1110_M, and BF_FGD_02_1327_M). In Burkina Faso, the perceptible benefits that have accrued to the host communities through their association with the IDPs and refugees led some community members to recognize that the selection and inclusion of their community in the WFP activities were "because of the IDPs we are working with" (BF_KII_02_9236_M). This observation was largely reported for Burkina Faso, since Niger had fewer reported cases of IDPs in their communities.

Hence, rather than being divisive, the shared experiences of food insecurity has "reinforce[d] social cohesion [between groups], especially since each of the events requires the participation of everyone to find a solution" (NR_KII_01_3784_M). Communities live in harmony with IDP/refugee populations and other communities because they recognize that "we are in complementary relationships" (NR_KII_01_4290_M) and need to work together to overcome their shared challenges (BF_KII_01_1285_M0). Collaboration between host and displaced communities has therefore become stronger and stronger (NR_KII_01_6870_F) to the point where intermarriages (BF_KII_01_7063_M5) and reciprocal attendance of social events have become common.

Distributional Justice Challenges between Host and IDP Communities

These positive relationships notwithstanding, respondents observed a couple of distributional justice and equity issues between members of the host communities and IDP/refugee populations. Although WFP's activities targeted both communities, a respondent was of the view that, "It must be said that the IDPs have benefited most from WFP's activities, while the host families are also in need [all because WFP has supported them] too much" (BF_FGD_01_9501_F). The respondent, nonetheless, accepted that WFP's capacities to meet the needs of both host and IDP/refugee communities equally or even equitably may be overstretched. This is because even within the IDP/refugee communities, there persists "…the challenge that we have not been able to resolve with community members is that at the level of IDPs often when we leave to share food it does not reach all of them" (BF_FGD_01_9501_F). As a colleague explained, "these challenges have remained unresolved because the number of IDPs is high, so WFP cannot satisfy everyone because there are many of us" (BF_FGD_01_9501_M_R1). An IDP respondent asserts that, in respect to the distributional inequities, "…. things didn't work out well because others came late to find the list is already set" (BF_FGD_02_1327).

Though in a minority currently, these dissenting views on the harmonious relationships between host communities and members of IDP/refugee groups require further investigation to better understand what is going on, especially with respect to ensuring equity and distributional justice in the allocation and use of resources and access to services that WFP and partners provide to participating communities.

3.2   Contribution of WFP Interventions to Asset Creation and Distribution

The preceding section outlines the context of vulnerability and resilience in which WFP offered its support to the host and IDP/refugee communities for rebuilding their assets and systems of resilience to natural and human-made disasters. This section reports on study participants' perceptions of how WFP's activities may or may not have achieved this objective.

3.2.1   WFP's Contribution to Land Asset Recovery and Improvement

Asked how WFP's interventions have enabled participating communities to increase the amount of cultivable land, respondents gave very positive testimonies about how WFP's support helped them to recover lost land, rebuild water resources, and/or upgrade other individual, household, and/or community assets (NR_KII_01_0529_F; NR_KII_01_6870_F; NR_KII_01_1536_M; NR_KII_01_ 1538_M). As one respondent recalled, WFP "…suggested the construction of zaïs[7], half-moons and stone bunds to recover the soil" (BF_KII_01_9950_M; NR_KII_02_4548_M; NR_KII_02_8103_M). The implemented activities leading to the construction of half-moons, stone bunds, zaïs, and reforestation led to the recovery of large tracts of previously uncultivable lands (NR_KII_03_6885_M; NR_KII_03_6886_M; NR_KII_03_9170_M; NR_KII_03_9183_M). In the words of respondents, "The construction of zaïs, half-moons, and stone bunds have made it possible to increase the surface area of our land. There were lands that were degraded, so it made it possible to recover these lands and increase its area" (BF_KII_01_9952_F).

Additionally, because "the program allowed us to know how to make the half-moons, the zaï, the stone cord, we have changed the way of cultivating in our fields" (BF_FGD_01_0581, M_R2). This together with other land recovery techniques has allowed community members to restore previously unusable land through the "clearing of spaces to have land to cultivate, for example, the Mounrey site on which we are currently working was an unused space before and now the program has developed it for us" (NR_KII_01_4870_F). According to a KII_03 respondent, WFP's interventions have contributed to "10,000 hectares of land being rehabilitated" (BF_KII_03_8834_M). In sum, these activities enabled participating communities to "develop land such as gardens for the community and other land for grazing and expanding farmers' fields" (BF_KII_01_3403_F). Additionally, because the innovative land reclamation and "…cultivation techniques [were] adapted to our soils so we were inspired by these techniques to improve our way of cultivating, which also allowed us to have more cultivable land" (BF_KII_01_7064_F).

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[7] Zaïs are small rows of holes dug across fields and allowed to accumulate leaves and other organic matter that attract termites. In eating up and degrading the organic matter, the termites create intricate networks of sub-surface tunnels between the holes to increase porosity for soaking up and holding rainwater. Farmers may add animal manure to the holes to increase fertility and subsequently plant crops in the holes for higher yields.

Respondents from Niger provided more specific examples of how WFP's interventions have helped in the recovery of previously unusable land. Regarding the half-moons, one respondent observed that, by "doing half-moons like that, even if the wind picks up, it won't blow the sand away, so in the end the sand will get into the holes and will then allow this part of the field to be used" (NR_KII_01_1515_F). The zaïs in the fields enabled participating households to increase production because "we dug in very hard spaces and where agricultural production was not possible, we produced"[8] (NR_KII_01_4828_M).

The effect is not only in the increase in the size of acreage brought under cultivation, but also increased productivity of the fields. As one respondent noted, "the area of our fields is intact but only the quantity of our production is accentuated by the fact of the construction of the half-moons and zaï" (NR_KII_01_5528_F). Similarly, "…the planting of trees [has helped to]

> **Box 16: Witnesses of Change in Asset Recovery**
> "WFP came to teach us the technique of half-moon and zaï and this allowed us to recover the soils that had been degraded by erosion and now the lands which we had abandoned are now used for cultivation, so this has increased the area" (BF_KII_01_8177_F).
> _____
> "With the half-moon technique we were able to recover our soils which had been degraded by erosion, so suddenly it helped to extend our fields since long before that we no longer cultivated because it was spoiled by erosion" (BF_KII_01_8173_M).
> _____
> "There has been an increase in area now there are people who have doubled the area of cultivated fields thanks to WFP's intervention. Before, many people went to work in other people's fields as labor in order to feed their families" (NR_KII_01_4114_M).
> _____
> "Through the FFA I cultivated more area. Spaces that I haven't cultivated for 20 years I did this year. Before, I went to work to be paid and provide for my family. Availability of food allowed the increase in cultivated area" (NR_KII_01_4119_M).

limit wind erosion and promote the production of straw for livestock feed" (NR_KII_01_3546_F). The new techniques for clearing land were also noted to make the lands more viable for agricultural purposes since the "…zaïs made in personal fields increase agricultural production" (NR_KII_01_4826_M).

In Niger, respondents pointed out the WFP's land recovery activities have impacted "positively [because] before you have to go to Nigeria to make Boudou, i.e., collect herbs; now we have that at home [because] there are trees in the fields where we made zaïs; before we used to pour manure all over the field. Now they have taught us to dig and manure the holes. This has created an increase in production" (NR_KII_01_4794_M). In the view of another, as a result of the "land recovery [activities] we had a classified forest which has deteriorated but by building half-moons we have been able to recover it. The zaïs are beneficial for the land, composting is used almost by all households" (NR_KII_01_0958_M). Indeed, "the half-moons and the zaïs make it possible to enlarge the space by recovering certain degraded land" (NR_KII_01_0527_M). Still, in Niger, asset recovery was not only in respect of improving land quality to increase the size of arable land, it also involved the recovery of lands previously loaned out or pledged to others. One respondent noted that, "Yes, there has been an increase in cultivable area. I was able to take back my land that I had pledged thanks to the activities of WFP" (NR_KII_01_4826_M). Collaborating this, another respondent added that:

> The increase in our surface area of our land is explained as follows: all the villagers having given their fields on loan as a pledge, they have taken them back, the parts of the fields left for years without being used have resumed activities, all this thanks to awareness-raising and activities learned from the program (NR_KII_01_4517_M)

3.2.2 *WFP's Contribution to Soil Fertility Improvement*

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[8] Local language rendition: "An Katere Hago, inda bai bada à abinci ya banda"

Asked how WFP interventions have contributed to improvement in soil fertility, respondents mentioned the training in the use and making of compost manure, organic manure, or organic fertilizers (225 times); the construction of half-moons (203 times); supply of fertilizers (111 times); and the construction of zaïs (88 times). In the words of one respondent, learning how to use the "…half-moon to bring life back to the hard ground, the addition of organic fertilizer, the production and application of compost are all practices that have made it possible to fertilize the soil" (NR_KII_01_3544_M). In addition, the use of stone bunding to hold water and organic matter were cited among WFP's major contributions to improved soil fertility in participating communities. Respondents

WFP supported gardening site in Nessemtenga, showing compost heaps at the far right.
Courtesy: Donatus Zogho, February 2022

recalled that introducing the communities to the use of windbreaks, composting activities, and improved land clearing techniques increased soil fertility (NR_FGD_01_9172; NR_FGD_01_9176; NR_FGD_01_1649). As some respondents summarized it, "WFP came to help us make organic fertilizers ourselves to improve the fertility of our land that our community has for agriculture. The stone barriers serve to enrich our land because they stop the waste" (BF_KII_01_1114_F). Another said, "With the help of WFP, we know how to make organic manure to improve the fertility of the land available to our community" (BF_KII_01_1110_M). As part of the package of WFP's interventions, "We were taught how to make organic manure. With this manure we were able to improve the fertility of the soil and it was good" (BF_KII_01_9794_M). Consequently, "What has improved the fertility of our land is the use of organic manure, the technique of zaï which has favored this because it has restored our soils and fertilized the land" (BF_KII_01_9709_M).

Respondents indicated that although they knew about the use of domestic biomass and animal refuse as organic fertilizers, they did not know about composting and other methods of making large volumes and higher nutrient content fertilizers. In the past, they merely collected raw refuse and animal dung and spread it on their fields. However, WFP's training on "how to use animal waste to make manure" (BF_KII_01_6961_M) "has greatly contributed to fertilizing our lands" (BF_KII_01_8173_M; BF_KII_01_9794_M). "Thanks to the production of organic manures that WFP showed us, we had good harvests" (BF_FGD_01_1414_F; NR_FGD_01_1555).

3.2.3 WFP's Contribution to Improved Access to Water

Respondents acknowledged WFP's assist-ance to participating communities to improve or build new water access points for both productive and domestic use; and training and technical assistance for the construction of water towers, drilling of boreholes, digging of

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Box 17: Witness Statements on Soil Fertility Improvements

"The organic fertilizer that we learned at the site level is a real asset for us because through its application, our fields have become fertile. Even the soil where we couldn't work because it wasn't fertile, we managed to use it and it's really good" (BF_KII_01_6921_F).

"At this level we can say that thanks to the pond dredging technique learned with the WFP our lands have become even more fertile. There is also the use of manure which has greatly contributed to fertilizing our lands" (BF_KII_01_8173_M).

"The land is fertile, and produces good harvests because where they have made the regeneration of the land and where it has not done the harvest is not the same" (BF_KII_01_0053_F).

"Thanks to the zaïs, the fields are fertilized, with this technique we can have 40 to 50 bunches per ha whereas in the screen we do not exceed 20 to 25 bunches" (BF_KII_01_7065_F2).

"Thanks to composting and zaïs we had a surplus of production. I used to produce 30 to 40 bundles on 3 ha, but last year when they made me the zaïs on 1/2 ha, I had 37 bundles. The community was producing before just for 2 to 3 months but now the production can go up to 6 to 7 months" (BF_KII_01_7065_F4).

wells, and building of watering points for livestock. In general, "The rehabilitation of water points has improved the community's access to water for agriculture and animal watering" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). In one instance, it was reported that "the creation of boreholes for gardens and pastoral watering" has increased access to water for both domestic, livestock, and other productive uses. As a result, an average of at least 150 people are able to use any given water point [while] 800 animals drink from [the same] water source (BF_KII_03_ 8834_M).

Additionally, improvement in water points "…has increased the grazing places and today the animals no longer go a few kilometers away [before] they find the pasture" (BF_KII_01_1285_M) and troughs for animals. The construction of ponds and wells "allow(s) animals to water and facilitates the practice of agriculture" (BF_KII_01_6731_M). Community members believe that "… the presence of the pumps will strengthen the community's access to water for agriculture and animal watering" (BF_KII_01_4522_M). In their view, "the activities implemented by WFP and its partners have contributed to strengthening the community's access to water for agriculture and animal watering through the rehabilitation of pumps" (BF_KII_01_4523_F). In one community, respondents argued that "the rehabilitation of the pumps by the program has enhanced the community's access to water for agriculture and animal watering" (BF_KII_01_4525_F).

> **Box 18: An Urgent Call for Help with Water Access**
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> "For the animals we had a place where the animals drink. It is with the water from the only pump in the village that we manage to give them something to drink. It must be said that water is a real problem in the village here. We need water. Because the single pump cannot cover the whole village. Often, we have to use the village school pump" (BF_KII_01_2110_F).

As confirmed by an FGD participant, "… the rehabilitation of water points has improved the quality of the resources available to us to increase our production" (BF_FGD_01_9501_M).

In one community in Burkina Faso, however, members are yet to benefit from WFP's water access improvement initiatives. As one community member put it, "At this level, the activities of the WFP have not yet helped us to have access to water. We have asked for water sources, but we are still waiting" (BF_KII_01_1127_M). Another community member noted with respect to water access, "Nothing at the moment they promised pumps, drilling and also to come and repair our already spoiled pumps" (BF_KII_01_1378_M), while another observed that, "The water side is not yet well done but we have programs in progress, and they showed us how we can do during the rainy season to store water for our crops and our animals" (BF_KII_01_1380_F).

3.2.4   *Contribution to Increased Livestock Feed Production*

Discussions on the vulnerability context in previous sections of this report highlighted the importance of livestock for both farmer and herder communities in their coping mechanisms, as they face chronic food insecurity and deteriorating livelihood systems as a result of various agro-climatic challenges. Components of WFP's activities for rebuilding community resilience to shocks included enhancing access to water and feed to support livelihood systems dependent on the livestock sector.

In describing how the interventions may have contributed to improving livelihoods in the livestock subsystem, respondents shared that the WFP interventions greatly helped them to increase and diversify their livestock feed. Not only have the crop residues from increased crop production given them a lot more postharvest material to feed their livestock, but also the increase in acreage for farming, due to the rehabilitation of degraded lands, has increased the number and range of sites where they can graze their livestock in the dry season. In particular, the construction of zaïs, half-moons, and bunds was noted to

> **Box 19: Impact of WFP Activities on Livestock Feed**
>
> "The stems obtained from the crops are used as food for animals. Before the stalks were not enough because the stalks of millet or sorghum were not much because of the bad rainfall. But thanks to WFP there is enough for the animals. For those who want to buy animal feed with the money received from the WFP" (BF_KII_01_8446_M).

have increased vegetation coverage in once barren fields and increased the amount and variety of

feeding materials available for livestock. As a result of these initiatives, "grazing areas have increased compared to previous years, grasses and trees are growing (NR_KII_01_4119_M; also, NR_KII_01_3544_M; NR_KII_02_0247_M; NR_KII_02_9180_M; NR_KII_02_8232_M; NR_FGD_01_9172; BF_KII_03_8834_M)

Respondents also appreciated WFP's support with seeds for growing fodder for livestock feed (BF_KII_01_9950_M; BF_KII_01_6810_F; NR_KII_01_1522_F; NR_KII_01_1524_F: NR_KII_01_4874_F; BF_FGD_01_0581; and NR_FGD_01_6882), as well as the technical guidance for fodder storage (BF_KII_01_5943_M) and hay conservation techniques for grass, millet stalks, and bean leaves (BF_KII_01_5943_M, BF_KII_01_5070_F). In the words of a respondent, these techniques "… allow us to produce more and it is thanks to its productions that we are also able to feed our animals thanks to

> **Box 20: Increase in Livestock Feed**
>
> "The actions undertaken within the framework of strengthening agricultural production make it possible to have the stalks of millet, and the straws which are produced almost everywhere in the fields created" (NR_KII_01_4290_M).

the stalks of millet and corn" (BF_KII_01_7064_F). As a result, participating communities "… are noticing a change in the diet of the animals thanks to the activities of creating pasture fields and learned breeding techniques" (BF_KII_01_9667_F).

Access to water for livestock was another notable contribution of WFP's support that respondents appreciated. As one respondent noted, "The rehabilitation of water points has increased the amount of animal feed that the community has for the animals" (BF_KII_01_9238_F). They appreciated the construction of dams, ponds, and other water-holding infrastructure as this allowed "…the waters of randomly flowing rivers [to be] dammed in order to provide good quality grasses and water for animals" (BF_KII_01_1614_F). The dredging of ponds and dams also increased access to water for animals (BF_KII_01_1609_F). In Niger, stone-bunding water conservation methods were used as short-term measures to retain "…water on these soils that can grow grass just for the animals" (BF_KII_01_8823_F). Access to water in the communities greatly reduced the distances herders and other livestock owners had to travel to water their animals (NR_FGD_01_4112).

The experiences with improved access to water are conditioned by the rainfall received in the preceding season. As noted in Section 3.2.3 above, WFP's water access initiatives provide training and technical assistance for the construction of water towers, drilling of boreholes, digging of wells, and building of watering points for livestock. The bulk of WFP's land rehabilitation and water conservation techniques, however, focus on promoting rainwater harvesting and management. Hence, the availability and duration of water sources are dependent on the intensity, distribution, and duration of the rain that falls in any one year. Hence, it is understandable that in some communities, respondents' experience with improved access to water for domestic and productive use due to WFP's activities was conditioned on the type of water source WFP facilitated for the communities. This study was carried out after a major drought/particularly poor rainfall in 2021. Therefore, it is not unexpected that in one case, a respondent observed that, "At this level WFP has been digging dams for us and we use them to water our animals, but as the rain this year has been bad, we are witnessing a drying up of the dam; so suddenly you can make the observation on the cessation of our activities related to the lack of water" (BF_KII_01_8446_M).

3.2.5   Contribution to Increased Economic Interdependencies and Interactions

The increase in the production and trade in livestock feed triggered and reinforced a new dimension of social cohesion building – the heightening of economic interdependencies and interactions based on the realization of mutual benefits from trade. The leveraging of shared economic interests as a tool for building social cohesion happened at two levels – first between participants in WFP's activities, and second between participants and nonparticipant groups. As a result of the recovery and utilization of once barren lands for cropping and pasturelands, households participating in the WFP activities were able to increase the production of biomass. For instance, the expansion in grazing spaces through the

land recovery activities "…has allowed herders to receive more grazing space and [as a result] their relationship with farmers is getting stronger" (BF_FGD_01_1613). In addition, farmers who have spare straw and other biomass from their farms and grazing areas are able to sell them to others for extra income (NR_KII_02_8114_M). Beyond intracommunity trade, the availability of excess livestock feed enabled many non-beneficiary households to benefit because they have access to more affordable hay at their doorsteps (NR_KII_03_6760_M).

3.2.6   Assessment of Direction of Effects of WFP Activities

WFP's Contribution to Improving the Value of Land

Asked in what ways WFP's interventions may have positively or negatively affected their communities, the majority of respondents were definitive that WFP's activities had not affected them negatively in any way. On the contrary, respondents extolled the positive contributions of WFP interventions (mentioned 110 times in KII_01 in answer to the question). To justify their assertions, respondents assessed the impact of WFP's activities on the value of the land at three levels - i) the quantitative and qualitative increases in the physical value of land; ii) improvements in land use practices that have contributed to changes in the economic and perceived value of the land; and iii) social asset creation.

> **Box 21: No Negative Impacts**
>
> "We started working with WFP 7 years ago and there is no negative activity with these activities everything is positive" (BF_KII_01_1285_M).

At the level of changes in the **physical quantity and quality** of land, respondents asserted that WFP-supported "land reclamation activities have increased the value of the fields. If in the past a degraded soil had no value, this is not the case today" (NR_KII_01_3544_M; BF_KII_01_7965_F). In their view, because the land reclamation techniques "are innovative, they offer the chance to produce food and vegetation, and the production of straw for livestock feed. [Hence] they value the land" (NR_KII_01_2257_M). This transformation of unproductive lands has increased the value of land for the communities, as formerly barren lands are now being used for "…gardens, grazing and cultivation areas for us" (BF_KII_01_3403_F; also BF_KII_01_2729_F). The rehabilitation, establishment, and expansion of "grazing areas which are degraded but which are recovered with the work of the communities" are making some species of plants come back to life (NR_KII_02_8114_M).

> **Box 22: Contrast of Views on WFP Contributions to Land Use and Management**
>
> "The activities have positively affected the way in which the land is managed through the procedures they undertake before the use, where the valuation of the land is to say that they first seek to find information on this land, who owns them and how they are allocated or managed before seeking community consent before development or exploitation" (BF_KII_01_5065_N).

The ability to use once desolate lands for the production of multiple food and fodder crops contributed to the **reappreciation of the economic and perceived value of the land**. As respondents noted, "WFP's activities have a positive effect on the land because, since the implementation of their activities, our land has increased in value" BF_KII_01_7650_M). Buttressing the positive impact of WFP's initiatives on their lands, other respondents noted that, "The activities have affected [them] in a very positive way because our formerly unexploited lands have been developed and the results are very positive, the whole community benefits, our animals too" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). In the view of another respondent, "Before the arrival of WFP and its partners it was a disaster because people did not know how to use their grazing space which was invaded by…" wild, nonfodder plants (NR_KII_02_8232_M). However, in the view of another respondent, "The [WFP] activities have had a positive effect on the way the land is used because thanks to the activities our land has increased in value, the land is more productive" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). Respondents attributed the positive impact that WFP's activities have had "…on the way land is allocated, managed, and used, because with the intervention of WFP we know that our land has value that we never imagined, we have learned to exploit it for our benefit" (BF_KII_01_7644_F). In other words, the WFP activities changed participants

perceptions and valuation of their lands. As one respondent summed up the change in perception, "…before it was […] land whose value we did not know, but today the WFP has made it into gardens, grazing, and cultivation areas for us" (BF_KII_01_3403_F).

Box 23: New Appreciation for Land

"I would say in a positive way because thanks to this WFP program we have understood that we have land from which we can increase production, especially with zaïs. We make zaïs for

Respondents also reported how their appreciation of the value of land increased beyond its physical and economic value. They shared how the collaborative work on land rehabilitation and its collective usage repositioned land as a strong connector, convener, social leveler, unifier, and the rallying point for social mobilization and cohesion building, including "working together with respect and equality" (NR_KII_01_4290_M). Collective work not only brought communities together that hardly engaged before, but also created the space for different categories of community members – elders and the youth, men and women (young and old), as well as different categories of community-level actors – transcending ethnic, religious, gender, age, and other psycho-social barriers to work together for a common purpose. Additionally, "Working together on the same goals brings less tension in the community" (NR_KII_01_4874_F); it "...helps reduce tensions between ethnic or religious groups" (NR_KII_01_0780_F). Hence, the collaborative nature of "WFP's activities has allowed them to see that working together is of great benefit to both parties as they can learn from each other" (NR_KII_01_0776_F; NR_KII_01_9003_F). As one respondent summarized, "…through intermingling [during the collaborative work on land], the different villages brought together rediscovered their kinship [leading to the] birth of new forms of social relations such as marriage and [cross-participation in] other social events" (NR_KII_01_2257_M).

Box 23: New Appreciation for Land

"I would say in a positive way because thanks to this WFP program we have understood that we have land from which we can increase production, especially with zaïs. We make zaïs for you by request" (NR_KII_01_2958_M).

The social bonding and bridging effects of land have led to a rediscovery of a source of empowerment for communities. As respondents noted, due to the success of these land reclamation and rehabilitation activities, communities feel empowered because they now know that irrespective of its state, their land is a resource, and it is within their capacities to develop it. This sense of empowerment derives from the fact they have seen land areas that were once "…empty today produce very well because of the techniques applied" (BF_KII_01_5943_M) as the WFP "… activities have helped us restore our land and increase its fertility" (BF_KII_01_5947_M). In sum, respondents were grateful to WFP for the land reclamation activities because participating communities now have transferable knowledge and skills that allow them to face and deal with subsequent land degradation challenges. As one respondent summed it up, "…thanks to the program, the communities have the experiences enabling them to face any terrain to produce and earn income from agricultural activities" (NR_KII_01_2500_F).

Ambivalence on Contribution of WFP Activities to Land Allocation and Management

With respect to land ownership, allocation, management, and usage, respondents seem divided on the contribution of WFP's activities to positive or negative outcomes. Some respondents are adamant about the positive contributions of WFP's activities on land ownership, allocation, usage, and management in their communities, In the view of one respondent, "We started working with WFP seven years ago, and there is no negative activity with these activities; everything is positive" (BF_KII_01_1285_M). A colleague clarifies that, "WFP activities have positively affected the way land is allocated because today getting land is easier" for all groups, and most especially for women (BF_KII_01_2735_F). Other respondents were less sure if there has been any impact, positive or negative, in their situations.

Some respondents also noted that the activities of WFP and its partners do not interfere with decision-making about land allocation in participating communities. As a result, "WFP's activities have not [negatively] affected the way land is allocated, managed, and used in our community as it is not working in this direction to my knowledge" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). This view that "…WFP's activities have not negatively affected the way land is allocated, managed, and used, [also argues that] on the contrary, it has strengthened our living together because we are led to work together for the general interest" (BF_KII_01_8446_M). This is echoed throughout the data. As another respondent summed it up, "WFP activities have not affected the way land is allocated, managed, and used because it is the village elders who manage this" (BF_KII_01_2737_F). In other words, "Allocation is done in the traditional way" (NR_FGD_01_4112), as stated in the case of Niger. In both cases, the WFP's perceived policy of non-interference in land management systems has "…allowed us to come together and make friendships" (BF_KII_01_8310_F; also NR_FGD_01_4112).

Despite the assertions of non-interference in land allocation and management processes, other respondents acknowledged that WFP's activities contributed to improving transparency in the land allocation and management processes by promoting improved documentation on land transactions. In the past, land transactions were paperless – had no documentation. Consequently, landowners tended to lose their lands to more powerful renters or creditors. It is thanks to the land title documentation interventions of WFP that people now have "…the idea of making

> **Box 24: Ambivalent Gendered Perspective on Land Ownership and Usage**
>
> "Everyone has the right to own land here" (BF_KII_01_1123_F).
>
> _____
> "In the village, women also have as much right to own land as men" (BF_KII_01_9100_F).
>
> _____
> "Women cannot own land" (BF_KII_01_5947_M).
>
> _____
> "It is men who have the right to own land, either by borrowing or by purchase" (NR_KII_01_1518_F).
>
> _____
> "Women own land but it is their husbands or children who cut the fields for them" (NR_KII_01_3784_M).
>
> _____
> "… women still don't have access to land in the sense that they can't work in the fields alone from start to finish; they always give to a man who will work for them, or work in group of women, and if a field is pledged for more than five years, it is difficult to take it back because it may become the property of the person who took the pledge" (NR_KII_01_4870_F).

loan, pledge, and even sale [of land based on] certificates" (NR_KII_01_1559_M). Also, "deeds of sales, pledges, or donations" of land are documented (NR_KII_01_1632_F). This improved transparency in the interfamily land trade systems has enabled families to increase their incomes from the renting of land (NR_KII_01_4885_F), and also enabled people who lost lands to creditors or renters to recover their lands (NR_KII_01_1559_M).

In summary, WFP's activities have not only increased the value of land; they have also contributed to improving land allocation, usage, and rental systems. The value of land increased because individual and family lands are now measured, documented, and thus can be traded through sale, mortgage, or rental. Through the documentation, "there is proof [of the existence and size of the land] on paper, which gives a value to the land…" (NR_KII_01_3544_M).

However, some respondents see the activities of WFP and its partners in land management and allocation processes as ambivalent – neither positive nor negative. As one respondent summed it up, "In our case, we can say that WFP does not interfere in the management of our lands, so I do not see here the positive or negative impact" (BF_KII_01_7063_M). A colleague added that. "WFP's activities have not affected either negatively or positively how the way land is allocated, managed. and used in our community because WFP does not interfere in this area" (BF_KII_01_7064_F). However, there are questions as to whether the policy of non-interference serves the interests of all equitably and how it fosters harmonious relationships in the long term.

Beyond the tangible economic assets, participation in more transparent land management systems is seen as a source of empowerment and social cohesion for the participating communities. Respondents believe the opportunity to unite around the management of land through the local systems is an important positive outcome in which "…the most dominant is the gift to strengthen brotherhood"

(NR_KII_01_3784_M). The land management practices strengthened social cohesion and consultation (NR_KII_01_1663_M) and enabled communities to work together (BF_KII_01_4523_F). This "…has enabled social cohesion and created a source of income for the communities" (NR_KII_01_6558_F).

3.3 Role of WFP in Facilitating Intra- and Intercommunity Dialogue

This section assesses the role of WFP activities in promoting dialogue and the building of horizontal social cohesion among different peer groups within and between communities.

3.3.1 Engagements and Collective Actions that Facilitate Social Cohesion Building

WFP Activities that Facilitate Dialogue and Engagements

WFP and its partners support a wide range of activities with participating communities. Participants were asked to indicate which activities created opportunities for different groups to work together. In response, participants noted that WFP's activities had strong convening powers that brought different groups together. Sample statements below capture the variations in prioritization.

> **Box 25: Human Stories of Relief**
>
> "Half-moons, pebbles, road maintenance. Here the road was really bad, during the winter season, we could not cross the bridge because of the water. Often when there is a sick person and we have to go to who is right after the water, it is complicated. For example, last year a woman had lost her water and was due to give birth, but the water was too much. She must have given birth at the edge of the water, on the road. But thanks to the WFP we have to make dykes and that means that the road is clear. It really is a sigh of relief" (BF_KII_01_2110_F).

- "All the activities of the WFP had the participation of everyone, but it was the creation of the zaïs, the gardens, and the half-moons that had a LOT of support, the work of everyone" (BF_KII_01_1286_M).
- "Regarding the activities supported by WFP, all of them have created opportunities for different groups in our community, but I in particular can list the construction of zaïs and half-moons which allowed us to have money to pay school fees of our children" (BF_KII_01_5070_F).
- "The activities of the construction of zaïs, and the reclamation of land have enabled our community to work together to have more yield for the collective well-being of our community" (BF_KII_01_7064_F).
- "Activities such as the construction of zaïs, half-moons have created opportunities for different groups in our community to work together for our collective good" (BF_KII_01_7065_F).

Table 2 shows how frequently respondents mentioned key activities that WFP supported in their communities. Notably, the construction of half-moons tops this list.

Table 2: Frequency of Mention of WFP Activities that Brought Communities Together

Activity Areas	No. of times Mentioned
Construction of half-moons	96
Construction of zaïs	53
Land reclamation	45
Construction/rehabilitation of roads	23
Dredging of water ponds	22
Communal gardening activities	21
Construction of stone and sand bunds	14
Agroforestry and tree planting	10

Respondents also noted attributes and processes in WFP's activities, described below, that brought members of participating communities together for dialogue and engagements.

Creation of Opportunities and Spaces of Participation and Social Cohesion

WFP's activities offered multiple opportunities for direct participation by community members. The various meetings and sensitization sessions organized by WFP and partners created spaces for community members to engage. In some cases, this was seen as a novelty, as community members seldom had opportunities to meet, much less do so frequently. However, "participation of everyone in the various meetings and even in the implementation of activities" (BF_KII_01_5065_N) allowed "community leaders and members to come together in decision-making for the good of the community" (NR_KII_01_0778_F). They not only created opportunities for community members to meet among themselves, but also enabled them to engage with "community leaders, traditional chiefs, elected officials, religious leaders, teachers, traders, representation of subgroups of community members (e.g., women, young adults, displaced persons, permanent and/or seasonal migrants" (BF_KII_03_3931_M; also, BF_KII_03_2181_M; NR_KII_03_6886_M; NR_KII_03_1638_F). It also enabled "program officer, supervisors, community leaders, technical services, breeders, farmers, craftsmen, women, young people..." (NR_KII_03_9183_M) to work together on the design and implementation of activities.

In particular, "the meeting of actors and the pooling of [the ideas] of "people toward a common vision" (NR_KII_01_0890_M) helped community members develop unity of purpose that enabled them to work together for the common good. The meetings stimulated "…the determination of our leaders (village chief, the COGES, the supervisors) for a change" (NR_KII_01_3863_F). The sensitization and meetings encouraged the leaders and community members "…to want to work with everyone in a participatory manner" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). Respondents noted that, "…it was the participation [of different groups] in the activities [implemented by WFP] that brought about this change" (NR_KII_01_9007_F). Some respondents contended that the opportunities for concrete social cohesion building occurred because the engagements created spaces for the "promotion of peace and community dialogue" (BF_KII_03_3931_M). In particular, the creation of the groups and management committees encouraged the participation of a broad range of community members in the activities (BF_KII_01_6731_M). In sum, the "creation of relationship between the different communities on the social cohesion site, participation in meetings, training workshops, and exchanges of common interest […] sparked mobilization and fostered social cohesion between the different communities" (NR_FGD_01_4112).

Essentially, the spaces of encounter created by WFP's interventions provided opportunities for encounter, reconciliation, and forgiveness, which are essential preludes to the (re)building of social cohesion. As respondents noted, the activities created opportunities for "communities [to] meet between 20 and 25 days to work together each month" (NR_KII_02_3211_M). Through these regular engagements, WFP activities bring people together. When people have opportunities to work together frequently, they get to know each other, learn to accommodate, tolerate, and forgive. As such, "there is no more tension between us. Even if you had a grudge against someone and the fact that you have to work with them, you forget that" (BF_KII_01_6921_F).

Meetings, Consensus Building, and Development of Common Visions

Respondents believed that "WFP's business of bringing people together for the same work is driving this change" (BF_KII_01_8173_M), since "…the fact of working together and especially the communication between the members of the community" (BF_KII_01_8177_F) increased the "…willingness of the men of the village to work together" (BF_KII_01_8823_F). Critically, "…the will of the community leaders to work for the common good of the village" facilitated the development of agreements of villages "…to work together for a common interest" (BF_KII_01_1614_F). It also made it possible for communities to establish rules that enabled community

> **Box 26: Opportunities to Meet Helped Us Know Each Other**
>
> "What caused this change is the arrival of the WFP in our community because before the arrival of the WFP we did not meet at the chief's place if it was not during traditional festivals, that is to say periodically but thanks to the activities implemented by the WFP, we cannot go 10 days without meeting" (BF_KII_01_1127_M).

members "…to work together and on the same footing of equality" (NR_KII_01_4767_F). Respondents further observed that the emphasis on a shared vision and collaborative work during these meetings led to the building of consensus on common interests that benefit most members of the community, not a selected few.

3.3.2 WFP's Contribution to Intracommunity Horizontal Social Cohesion Building

Assessment of horizontal social cohesion building focuses on the nature and quality of relationships between different groups of people participating in WFP's activities in the targeted communities.

Role of WFP's Activities in Facilitating Intra- and Intercommunity Dialogues (Binding, Bonding, and Bridging Within and Across Communities)

This section addresses the role of WFP and its partners in facilitating dialogue between different groups within and across communities participating in the activities. The first question assessed how the activities of WFP and its partners helped participating communities to work together for their mutual benefit. Respondents identified three critical facilitating factors, namely:

Collective Actions Create Spaces of Encounter: The nature and purpose of WFP's activities focusing on the development of communal assets such as half-moons, water sources (dredging of ponds, construction of dams and ponds), and the construction of other infrastructure such as roads required people to work together to achieve communal objectives. Hence, respondents emphasized that the first thing that the activities of WFP did to facilitate intra- and intercommunity engagements and dialogues was the creation of spaces of encounter for the different individuals and groups across gender, age, ethnic, religious lines and

> **Box 27: Forging Bonds through Work**
>
> "By initiating these activities, the members of our community and those of other communities got to know each other, putting aside their ethnicity to be a single community, no doubt this has positive consequences for social cohesion. Only yesterday, so-and-so went to a village to attend the wedding of one of his friends whom he met thanks to the activities of WFP" (NR_KII_01_4128_M).

livelihood systems, i.e., farmers and herders. The community sensitization and mobilization processes, the rules guiding the formation and working of the different groups engaged in the program, and the nature of the activities that required different groups to work together all created the space for people who used not to encounter each other to do so in safe and under mutually beneficial conditions. As one respondent captured it, "WFP activities have helped our community and members of other communities to work together and have social cohesion. As it is mutual work we are obliged to work together for mutual benefit" (BF_KII_01_9950_M).

Collective Engagements Create Equality and Synergy: Creating spaces for different groups and communities to work together for the achievement of a common goal creates an egalitarian or level playing field that allows participants to overcome preexisting social, cultural, religious, and other

barriers that once divided them. As a KII_02 respondent explained, "WFP's activities have made everyone equal here because we come together to have a common and lasting solution for the good of our community... with us it's working together and fraternity whatever your religion" (BF_KII_02_9098_M). This is because working together "…tells us that our concern must be necessarily based on understanding and living together" (BF_KII_02_9098_M). And, while "living together is already a big step for communities working together" (BF_KII_02_9236_M), the observed benefits from the synergy of working together allow community members to "… know that by working together the production (outcome of efforts) will be greater than if it is one or two people who work there" (BF_KII_02_7648_F).

Participant Selection Criteria Create Unity and Inclusiveness: Respondents observed that WFP's criteria for selecting communities and forming workgroups did not discriminate in any way (NR_KII_01_5527_M; NR_KII_01_4290_M; NR_KII_01_4130_M). On the contrary, it promoted heterogeneous composition of the groups that worked on the programs. As one respondent noted, "There is no religious [or] ethnic differentiation so when it is like that people work without distinction and hatred toward each other and the work progresses, and everyone benefits" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). A concrete example is cited by another respondent: "We were three Fulani communities, the Toecés (a neighboring village) and we worked together in the training of zaï and stone cord techniques and there was no discrimination, so everything was perfect" (BF_KII_01_8177_F). Similarly, "…through the construction of roads and the stone bund were able to bring us together until we could not tell the difference between the different communities, we were united in addition we were given cash to encourage us" (BF_KII_01_8173_M).

Stimulation of the Building of Social Bonds and Bridges: In some instances, the opportunities for encounters that WFP has created by getting different groups to work together translate into deeper social relationships that reinforce the bonding within and bridging between different groups and communities. As respondents in Niger observed, "The fact that several communities come together to [participate] in the activities of the WFP, more precisely for those of half-moons" (NR_KII_01_1524_F) is evidence of how the activities of WFP and its partners have helped their community and members of other communities to bond and reach out across identity lines to work for their mutual benefit. Another respondent notes that these opportunities to encounter each other have allowed them to "get to know each other better, have friendly relations, give or receive marriage (NR_KII_01_3204_M). Another confirms that, "By working together, they strengthen their bonds and even go so far as to marry each other" (NR_KII_01_9023_F). Reinforcing this view of the deepening of relations from work encounters, "The members of this community and those of neighboring communities now marry each other, which is a great good for everyone" (NR_KII_01_1522_F). In sum, through working together, the members of the different communities have understood that they can build new relationships between them, help each other if necessary, and even have the possibility of marriages between them (NR_KII_01_9003_F; also, NR_KII_01_8866_F); and when they happen, "the establishment of marriage reinforces these relationships" (NR_KII_01_3544_M). The ability to intermarry or attend marriage ceremonies across identity lines is mentioned 81 times across all the study protocols as a strong indicator of the renewal of relationships between different identity groups.

Contribution of WFP Activities to Improved Relationships between Herders and Farmers

The study explored horizontal social cohesion issues between farmers and herders in the program communities and adjacent areas, as well as with IDPs and/or refugees in neighboring camps/homes and members of their host communities.

The majority of participants mentioned the improved relationships between the herders and farmers due to the interventions of WFP and partners. They cited the fact that as a result of the improved agricultural and pastoral systems (zaïs, half-moons, and agroforestry) there are increased quantities and improved nutritional value of biomass from the fields of the farmers that serve as feed for the livestock of herders. This "… has increased both the quality and the number of pasture areas for herders through agricultural techniques such as zaï and half-moon" (BF_KII_01_ 1647_F). As a result, a sense of mutually beneficial

Box 28: Reinforcement of Symbiotic Relationship
"Herders and farmers thanks to the activities of the WFP knew that there was a lot of complementarities between them and that they had to work together for the good of all. The farmers use the manure of the herders in order to enrich their fields and promote growing grass for animals" (BF_KII_01_3403_F).

interdependence has emerged between farmers and herders as they realize that "farmers need the herders' manure, and the herder also needs the farmers' weeds" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). The net result is a "very great improvement [in the relationships] between farmers and herders because with the development of pastures, their animals no longer need to graze in the farmer's field. This has made it possible to reduce or even end tensions between these people" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). Consequently, "Farmers and herders are in harmony, as each needs the other to develop its sector" (BF_KII_01_9667_F). Therefore, "relations between farmers and herders have improved because there is social cohesion between them. Animals have a place of grazing and no longer spoil farmers' fields. There is better collaboration between us" (BF_KII_01_9950_M).

In addition, the "…groups of farmers and herders […] have received training for the production of more grass on dry land, which has enabled them to drive their animals to these places for grazing" (BF_KII_01_8184_F). This has meant that herders do not have to go far out of their neighborhoods to feed and water their animals. This has, in turn, led to the production of larger volumes of animal dung which provides complementary manure to the farmers' fields (BF_KII_01_0090_M; NR_KII_01_ 3784_M). In sum, the support for both farmers and herders has reinforced a symbiotic relationship that generates mutual benefits for the two groups of people. As a result, "the herders are very happy because there has been an increase in animal feed through the half-moons and then the farmers are very happy with the fact that they use the animal manure in return […] in their fields" (BF_KII_01_5947_M).

Access to land for crops and for pastures are critical determinants of the nature and quality of relationships between herders and farmers. Hence, a key objective of WFP's FFA interventions is to increase the availability of and access to land, pastures, and other agro-productive resources, especially in the WFP intervention contexts in Burkina Faso and Niger, where climate change and other natural factors have increased competition for productive lands for food production and pasture development. Respondents, therefore, commended WFP's initiatives that have expanded noncompetitive access to both food and livestock feed through the increased availability and productivity of reclaimed or rehabilitated croplands and pastures. They consider this very critical to the rebuilding of the relationship between farmers and herders. As some of them noted, "WFP has developed very rich grazing areas, the animals of the herders no longer need to graze in the farmers' fields, so there is no longer any source of tension" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). In the words of another respondent, "By the fact that there is grass, it easily helps the animals to find food, so there are no more problems between farmers and herders. Before, the animals often ate our crops, but since we did that [expanded access to grass], there are no more problems" (BF_KII_01_8310_F). Additionally, respondents said the development of transit corridors for livestock has also minimized conflicts between the farmers and the herders (BF_KII_01_8180_M; NR_KII_01_0780_F; NR_KII_01_1553_M; NR_KII_01_1651_F).

Moreover, as farmers and herders increasingly share the same spaces on a more permanent basis, increasing intermarriages are reinforcing the intergroup relationships between the herder and farmer communities. The opportunity for "herders and farmers to work together" on developing half-moons and other communal facilities has contributed to reducing suspicions, stereotypes, and social distancing between members of the different groups, especially the women. "At the beginning it [was] difficult for the wives of the herders to come to the ceremonies in the farming community, but since we are all working together, we all can go to other villages to see a program beneficiary" (NR_KII_01_4874_F). And as "…relations are improved as a result of the marriage ties uniting us, a farmer participates in all the ceremonies of a herder, neither of them wants to commit harm to their neighbor, and so on" (NR_KII_01_3863_F).

> **Box 29: Changing Livelihood Systems**
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> "We no longer have herders today, but rather sedentary people, that is to say farmers who practice agriculture while raising a few heads [of animals]. Often, they are entrusted to the shepherd of the village or are attached to the house. So, to ensure harmony or anything that can impact relations, we make people more aware of the procedures, the management of breeding in a sedentary context" (NR_KII_01_ 2268_M).

Respondents also noted changes in livelihood systems that are reinforcing social cohesion between the herder and farmer communities. They pointed out that, because of the abundance of livestock feed resulting from improved systems of farming and forest and pastureland conservation, communities once totally dependent on transhumant livestock-rearing systems are becoming sedentary and taking on farming activities as well. The adoption of sedentary livelihood systems means the distinction between pure herders and pure farmers is also eroding, as farm families own and rear livestock, just as former herder families also engage in cropping. As a result, a respondent noted that in their area, there is increasingly little distinction between farmers and herders. This change affects the communities' perceptions of the relationships between farmers and herders. As two participants in an FDG in Burkina Faso (BF_FGD_01_0092) recalled:

> It must be said that herders and farmers jointly manage and use open agricultural and fodder spaces and water resources mutually because we all use the same forest and there is no problem (BF_FGD_01_9501_M_R1).

> I can say that we often hear that there are conflicts between herders and farmers in certain localities, but in our area, we have never encountered this problem. The advantage for us is that here it is the same farmers who are the herders, which means that we do not come across this problem (BF_FGD_01_9501_M_R2).

Contribution of WFP Activities to Relationships between IDPs/Refugees and Host Communities (Intercommunity Horizontal Social Cohesion)

Asked how the activities of WFP may have contributed to relationships between IDPs/refugees and members of their host or adjacent communities, more than 130 of the respondents indicated they have no IDP/refugee situations in their communities. Both host community members and representatives of IDPs/refugees who responded to the question suggested that there was already acceptance and accommodation of the visitors before WFP's activities began. Members of host communities said they readily welcomed the new arrivals, "because we consider them as our parents, our brothers, our sisters" (BF_KII_01_9667_F). They see "the IDPs and the host community [as] the same because we don't differentiate between us; […] they are our brothers, and they didn't ask for what happened to them" (BF_KII_01_7063_M). Also, "...brotherhood must always reign" (BF_KII_01_7065_F; (NR_FGD_01_1649)) above any other consideration. Therefore, "We and the refugees get along well. We welcomed them and even integrated them into our community" (BF_KII_01_6808_M) before WFP came. Some communities that host IDPs/refugees do not have any separate camps for them because "… those who come are integrated into families [and] we have good relations with the displaced" (BF_KII_01_1125_M). FGD participants echoed the empathetic view that host communities have

toward IDPs. As a participant in one group put it "Here the IDPs and the host community are the same because we don't differentiate between us because they are our brothers, and they didn't ask what happened to them" (NR_FGD_01_1555).

The predisposition of host communities to receive and integrate IDPs/refugees notwithstanding, respondents from both sides acknowledged that the activities of WFP helped to deepen the integration of IDPs/refugees in their host communities. Despite their willingness to receive and host the IDPs/refugees, the resources of some families and communities were stretched and so the newcomers "…were a burden at the beginning of their arrival" (NR_KII_01_4114_M). However, WFP's support enabled such communities to cope with the initial

> **Box 30: Impact of WFP Activities on IPDs and Host Communities**
>
> "WFP activities have positively impacted relations between IDPs and villagers. Thanks to the activities they carry out together, the displaced people feel integrated into the ranks of the community, there is a certain familiarity between them, thus improving their relationship" (BF_KII_01_0051_F).

challenges of supporting those who came to them. With subsequent joint engagement in the WFP activities, "the displaced people feel integrated into the ranks of the community. A certain familiarization between the displaced and the natives, thus improving their relations" (BF_KII_01_0053_F). Persons of the displaced community attest that through WFP's interventions, they "…were able to integrate and work with the natives who now consider us as natives too. We feel loved and we are considered in the same way as the host families" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). For their part, members of host communities affirmed that, as a result of the collaborative work with members of displaced communities, the lines of division have disappeared and "we form a single community with our refugees" (NR_KII_01_4874_F; NR_KII_01_4872_F). Consequently, some communities reported that social cohesion "benefits such as marriage ties especially have been registered in our different [host/IDP] communities" [given that] "through the marriage bond, the refugees were able to integrate without any difficulties" (NR_KII_01_4885_F).

3.3.3   WFP's Contribution to Conflicts Within and Between Communities

This segment of the study sought to establish in what ways the activities of WFP and partners may have contributed to: a) increased conflicts between different groups in participating communities; b) reduced tensions between groups in the communities, and c) improvement in relationships between different groups in the communities.

Contribution to Conflict Exacerbation

Of the 217 responses to the question of how activities of WFP and partners may have contributed to conflicts between communities, 176 categorically said WFP's activities **have not** contributed to increased conflicts. Some respondents argued that the activities had the opposite effect, consolidating peace and unity among the participating communities. As several of them pointed out, "On the contrary, WFP activities have contributed to the culture of peace, especially within the framework of intracommunity activities" (NR_KII_01_0427_M) as they "improved relations between different groups living in the same area" (NR_KII_01_6870_F). The result is that the different groups are "living in peace and building trust and social cohesion among ethnic groups" (NR_KII_01_1536_M). In sum, "the activities of WFP have strengthened the cohesion between the communities" (NR_KII_01_9003_F) and "contributed to the [building of a] culture of peace and social cohesion" (NR_KII_01_9007_F). The culture of peace and mutual acceptance has led to intermarriages between members of different ethnic groups (NR_KII_01_1546_M) because they no longer see themselves as different (NR_KII_01_4872_F). Consequently, respondents said they have witnessed increased "marriage between communities and with other communities" (NR_KII_01_1518_F; also NR_KII_01_4872_F; NR_KII_01_3204_M).

Respondents attributed the limited presence of conflicts in the WFP activity areas to the sensitization and awareness creation interventions that preceded the selection of beneficiary communities, groups,

and individuals. Conflicts related to the WFP-implemented activities are also minimized because there are management committees that handle any emerging grievances (BF_KII_01_8823_F; NR_KII_01_4874_F; NR_KII_01_0424_M). The committees rapidly manage dissatisfactions over the selection of beneficiaries (NR_KII_01_1559_M) and misunderstandings on targeting" (NR_KII_01_8864_F; NR_KII_01_0891_M; NR_KII_01_4828_M; NR_KII_01_4828_M). Some respondents also cited the preexisting cultures of peace in the communities before the arrival of WFP's activities.

Contribution to Reducing Tensions between Communities

Respondents identified five major sets of factors within WFP's activities that contribute to the reduction of tensions within and between participating communities. These are i) the role of collective action in building tolerance, trust, unity, and peace; ii) the importance of food assistance distribution to tension reduction; iii) the additional value of cash payouts to tension reduction; iv) the reduction in resource competition as a result of the inclusive and equitable nature of WFP's activities in the promotion of natural resource rehabilitation and enhancement initiatives; and v) the institution of conflict management systems within participating communities. The findings are detailed below:

Collective Action Builds Tolerance, Trust, Unity, and Peace: Asked how the activities of WFP and partners may have contributed to reducing tensions between the different communities and groups participating in the activities, the bulk of responses highlighted the point that working together on collective and mutually beneficial activities has contributed a lot to reducing tensions. As one respondent pointed out, "Working together has greatly reduced tensions because by working together you discover the other and there is friendship that is established" (BF_KII_01_2108_F; also NR_KII_01_0531_F). Supporting this view, another notes that, "WFP activities have, for example, enabled farmers and herders to work well together, something that was not possible before" (BF_KII_01_3403_F). Similarly, it brought "…together the Fulani [and] the Mossi to work together [and having] jokes in the work site soothed the tension and we are at peace" (BF_KII_01_9794_M).

In sum, WFP's activities have helped "…to bring us closer to each other so that we are always tolerant" (BF_KII_01_7064_F; NR_KII_01_8862_F). By working together, "…people truly discover themselves, [their] qualities and limitations of each actor" (NR_KII_01_3546_F), enabling them "to build more trust between communities and more collaboration" (BF_KII_01_5947_M). Through the collaborative engagements and "…interaction during WFP activities, many people have forged close ties, many suspicions have also diminished within the community" (BF_KII_01_7951_M). "There are no more tensions between the groups because people know each other better and trust each other" (NR_KII_01_3784_M).

> **Box 31: Bonding and Appeasement**
>
> "Through the activities implemented by the WFP, there was more rapprochement between the different groups and thus created bonds of brotherhood between each other; even if two groups held a grudge against each other, working together can appease hearts and restore sociability between them. Also, some elements of the community become aggressive for lack of money and with a lot of financial burdens but now [that they are] able to benefit from the financial aid of WFP these people become less aggressive and are in perfect cohesion with the whole community" (BF_KII_01_5065_N).

Food for Peace Works: Other respondents noted that "access to food promoted by the WFP has reduced tensions between groups since when people are hungry there is less agreement" (BF_KII_01_5070_F). This is because "through the distribution of food and cash, there is less tension between groups in the community since tensions are usually heightened when members cannot make ends meet" (BF_KII_01_5076_M; also, BF_KII_01_7634_F; NR_KII_01_1667_M). As another respondent summarized:

> **Box 32: Impact of Food Distribution on Tension Reduction**
>
> "If man works, eats, and laughs with others, then he lives without tension so let it be known that WFP has made white teeth (smile) that were never visible. It has made possible the regroupings which were almost impossible" (BF_KII_01_3577_M).

The food and food distributions were a very conducive factor in managing tensions between groups in the community, since before these distributions the members were unable to meet the basic needs of the households and everyone was always embittered, but since the activities of the WFP have emerged, the spirits have calmed down and people live in good cohesion" (BF_KII_01_5067_F).

Presence of Cash Incentives: Related to the distribution of food is the access to supplementary income from program activities, which participants can use to buy food. "Before the intervention of WFP there was more tension in the community, but today because people earn money, there is less of a problem" (NR_KII_01_0424_M). "Payment day looks like it's party time here" (NR_KII_01_0962_M) because of the boost in economic activity in the communities as people spend the money, they receive to buy things from traders. "No problem, everyone finds their account after payment, traders sell their goods [so much that] payment day looks like it's party time here" (NR_KII_01_0958_M).

Reduced Resource Competition: Respondents also noted that the ability of the WFP activities to respond to the different needs of communities helped to ease the tensions related to resource competition among participant communities. The interventions increased access to appropriate resources, and ensured equity of access to these resources across different groups. In the words of a respondent "the conflicts between farmer and herder which today are a thing of the past thanks to the activities of the WFP on the exploitation of the land" (BF_KII_01_7650_M). This is because, "The WFP was able to effectively reduce the conflict between farmer and herder, for example, by removing the problem of lack of pasture" (BF_KII_01_7644_F). In this way, everyone in one in the program communities benefits and so "there is no frustration so no conflict" (BF_KII_01_7646_M).

Institution of Conflict Management Systems: WFP has also facilitated the "establishment of management committees [for the] management of complaints" (NR_KII_01_2257_M). Participants take their grievances to these committees for redress. This has helped "to promote social cohesion between the communities and the neighboring communities" (NR_KII_01_4114_M). In the view of one participant, there are "no tensions because complaints committees have been set up. Less tension. Even if there are, it is to the committee that we address ourselves and the activities have made it possible" (NR_KII_01_4114_M).

Other Factors Mentioned in Isolation but Worthy of Note: Respondents mentioned, "The involvement of imams in raising awareness of activities organized by WFP" (NR_KII_01_1640_F) and "use of the Village Chief as the entry point and main convener of community actions" (NR_KII_01_0890_M).

Contribution to Improved Relationships between Different Groups and Communities

Respondents again highlighted the fact that by bringing different groups together, WFP's activities created the conditions for encounter and deepening of relationships between members of the different groups and communities (NR_KII_01_1515_F; NR_KII_01_2958_M). This allowed them to become more united, as expressed by several respondents (see for example BF_KII_01_6808_M; BF_KII_01_9660_M; BF_KII_01_9707_F; BF_KII_01_0051_F; BF_KII_01_0053_F; and others) and able to share their joys and pains. They noted that "good relationships [have evolved] due to the cultivation of collective consciousness" (NR_KII_01_2543_F),

> **Box 33: Contribution of WFP to Improved Relationships in Communities**
>
> "Group work has allowed many people to get to know each other and build friendships. We have become united, and everyone knows each other thanks to the activities of WFP" (BF_KII_01_2108_F).
>
> --
> "WFP activities have improved relationships by creating a climate of understanding among members. The activities ensured that there is no separation or distinction and strengthened relationships" (BF_KII_01_9952_F).

which has meant that "…we are more and more united thanks to the activities, we are now going to their ceremonies, may it be joy or sorrow" (BF_KII_01_9664_M). Working together has also deepened

social relationships, allowing people from different communities who previously did not engage with each other to do so now without hindrance (BF_KII_01_9801_M).

3.3.4   *Perceived Relationships Between IDPs/Refugees and Host Communities*

When asked about the relationships between host communities and persons living in IDP/refugee camps near them, 120 of the respondents said they do not have such camps within or near their communities. Residents of host communities and self-identified IDPs alike made remarks about the good relationships that existed between members of the host communities and IDPs/refugees/returnees. Members of host communities said they welcomed the IDPs/refugees wholeheartedly, providing them with shelter and clothing and sharing their food with them before the arrival of external assistance from agencies such as WFP. The natives readily "accepted them into humanity for it was out of fear they came" (BF_KII_01_1618_M). They gave the IDPs/refugees "space [to settle in] because they ran away from insecurity, which is something we are all powerless against" (BF_KII_01_1616_M). In some cases, families who took in the displaced tried to help them as best they could, despite their resource limitations (BF_KII_01_2110_F). Members of host communities did this because, "The IDPs and we are in perfect cohesion because we are human beings, we must help each other" (BF_KII_01_6392_F). In sum, the relationships between host communities and IDPs/refugees/returnees worked well because those seeking refuge in host communities were well received, especially at the beginning – it was the host families who housed, clothed, and fed them. In addition, community leaders found them places to settle and also allowed them to participate in the communities' activities.

Others saw the arrival of the IDPs/refugees/returnees as a mutually beneficial demographic dividend, as "their arrival is a good thing because they contribute to the development of the village. The development of any country is based on demography" (NR_KII_01_4114_M). Irrespective of the motivation, the incorporation of IDPs/refugees into families led to a situation where, in some communities, "we didn't have a specific camp for the IDPs because other families took them in" (BF_KII_01_5236_M). Other people that arrived in the host communities were "…not internally displaced but they are people from the village who have returned to their home village" (BF_KII_01_8180_M). Communities continued to support needy persons who came to settle in their communities as much as they could. As an example, one community "…recently […] made a contribution of more than 100,000 CFA francs to evacuate a displaced person who was sick" (NR_KII_01_0424_M)

Confirming the welcoming nature of host communities and the good relationships that exist between them, respondents who self-identified as IDPs, refugees, or returnees had this to say: "As a displaced person, I can say that everything is fine between us and the host community" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). "They welcomed us, accepted us and made us like people from the same family as them" (BF_KII_01_8325_F). "They welcomed us, and we live peacefully" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). "What worked well here is the humanism of the host population" (BF_KII_01_8446_M). "We worked with the natives and that without any distinction" (BF_KII_01_9801_M). Another respondent observed that there is "harmony, good neighborliness, social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_9667_F).

Preexisting value systems played very important roles in the openness of host communities to take in those fleeing conflict and other forms of disaster. First, **religious values and beliefs** played a strong role in the predisposition of communities to accept those fleeing from conflict and other shocks. As one respondent put it, the decision to open up to the IDPs and refugees stems from "… a spiritual value and this value makes us know that we are all children of God. It's the situation that brought them here. We are equal before God" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). This is rooted in the fact that "Islam recommends to us to assist and help people in difficulty" (NR_KII_01_4126_M; also NR_KII_01_4114_M) as they "search for divine blessing" (NR_KII_01_4119_M). In sum, "things worked out well because it's God's will" (BF_KII_01_1616_M).

Second, there was a strong **family and a sense of oneness** between the host and arriving communities, as respondents believed that "in Niger we are all one family" (NR_KII_01_0424_M) since "religion and country unite us all" (NR_KII_01_0418_M). As a result, "things worked out well because we are a family" (BF_KII_01_2732_F) and felt "… united by parental relations" (BF_KII_01_6974_M). They believed that "the objective of a community is to bring people together" (BF_KII_01_9950_M). Hence, "things worked well because we wanted to really get to know each other and have social cohesion. We also wanted to help each other" (BF_KII_01_0053_F).

> **Box 34: Views of an IDP**
>
> "We would like someone to help us to have a roof, food, and a small amount so that they can buy [animals] for raising animals" (BF_KII_01_8325_F).

Empathy and compassion played strong roles in fostering the sense of family that guided community response to the plight of the IDPs/refugees/returnees. Those fleeing the conflicts recognized that they were welcomed "because of the understanding [and] the compassion of the host community" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). The hosts' communities, in turn, understood that those arriving in their communities "…are not there of their own volition. Today it's them but you never know, tomorrow it could be us. So, we thought helping them out is the best thing to do" (BF_KII_01_2110_F). They were fully "…aware that it is not their will if they are there. We think about tomorrow and think that what happens to them can happen to us tomorrow" (BF_KII_01_2108_F). They appreciated the fact that because the hostilities that drove their guests out of their homes "…is a phenomenon that can happen to us, we are then obliged to receive them well and give them everything we can give" (BF_KII_01_9660_M). This show of compassion and empathy was not lost on the guest community, as they know their hosts understood that "we came despite ourselves. It is terrorism that has made us [come] here. So, the people of the village didn't find it inconvenient to accommodate us" (BF_KII_01_8327_M).

Within this context, it was easy for both the host and guest communities to take advantage of the opportunities offered by WFP's activities to both the host and guest communities. The sensitization and awareness creation activities of WFP, alongside the equal opportunity rules that guided the selection of beneficiary communities reinforced the preexisting dispositions to help those in need.

3.3.5   Respondents' Views of What Was Less Successful

When asked what did not go on well in the relationships between host communities and their guests (IDPs, refugees, or returnees), the bulk of the responses reported that everything went well, including the fact that "…you can even get married" (BF_KII_01_2729_F). However, the few concerns raised reflected the host communities' frustrations with their inability to be of as much help as they would have liked because of their own limited resources. As some respondents noted, "What doesn't work too well between us is that often we ourselves have nothing to eat [and] to give to IDPs" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). "We are unable to satisfy them with food" (BF_KII_01_9660_M) because "…we often don't have enough food to give them and that frustrates us" (BF_KII_01_7063_M). This sense of inadequacy goes beyond the care of the humans to the livestock of the guest communities. As one respondent put it, they understood that "…the animals of the IDPs who have no food and good water […] are what surely push them to go to the fields of the host families" (BF_KII_01_7061_M).

On the part of the IDPs/refugees, a representative stated that a major concern is finding help to construct appropriate dwellings. As the representative put it, "Everything is fine between us. But if the natives can help us with the construction of housing, and often living, our relations could still improve" (BF_KII_01_9662_F).

3.3.6   Views on Improved Host Communities and IDP/Refugee Relationships

The study sought to learn what WFP and partners could have done to improve the relations between members of host communities and those in IDP/refugee camps. In response to the questions,

respondents cited the need for i) increased food assistance to support the IDP/refugee community; ii) support for infrastructure development, especially housing for the IDPs/refugees/returnees; iii) cash support to enable them to undertake income-generating activities, including gardening and livestock rearing; iv) skills training to enhance the income earning capabilities of the IDPs/refugees; and v) an increase in the number and diversity of the activities that WFP and partners implement in their communities. These requests were not stated in isolation nor in any specific order.

3.3.7   *Effects on Perception of Roles of Women in Communities*

The activities of WFP and its partners raised awareness about the role of women in community development. This finding is supported by the views of some respondents who confirmed that "through the various activities carried out by WFP and its partners, [communities] have become aware of "the importance of women in society" (BF_KII_01_8182_F) since "women work in the fields as well as men" (BF_KII_01_5065_N). For this reason, a respondent "advocates equality between people without distinction of gender or age" (BF_KII_01_8184_F). "The awakenings of conscience acquired during the awareness programs" (BF_KII_01_5067_F) of WFP and its partners enabled "women to [be] grouped together in order to learn to work as a team [with] different ethnic groups and people" (NR_KII_01_6558_F). The resultant ability of women to work together and engage with others is "increasing respect between elders and women" (BF_KII_01_8310_F; BF_KII_01_8310_F; BF_KII_01_9952_F). This has opened doors of communication between women and community leaders, enabling women to approach them directly and engage them extensively without hindrance. As a respondent noted, the "gathering of men and women in the same place to work has helped to improve communication with leaders. Before we couldn't have access to the leader and chat with him. It was [just] greetings. But because of WFP, now we can engage directly and the talk has no end" (BF_KII_01_8327_M).

3.4   Contribution to Vertical Social Cohesion Building

3.4.1   *Intracommunity Vertical Social Cohesion: Community Members and their Leaders*

Intracommunity vertical social cohesion relates to how community members interact with persons of authority (chiefs, religious leaders, representatives of civil authority at the district levels, etc.) within their communities. Respondents were asked to indicate what changes they have observed in the way different categories of people interact with community leaders as a result of the program.

General Changes in Relationships between Community Members and their Leaders

Respondents said there has been a lot of positive change, because "through the activities we established a connection between the different groups and the leaders" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). In the view of one respondent, "The remarkable changes are the acceptance of the other, the understanding and agreement between the members of the community, and the rapprochement of the members" (BF_KII_01_9950_M). This has translated into a new "union of the members with their leaders, they work in unity and together" (BF_KII_01_9952_F). In the view of another respondent, this sense of connection between leaders and community members has "never been equaled because it really opened the eyes of the population" (BF_KII_01_6974_M). There is more connection

> **Box 35: Changes in Relationships Due to WFP Activities**
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> "We lived together in the village, but we don't talk much but thanks to the WFP we got to know each other. We talk now with the leaders, and we tease each other very often. It became friendship if I may say so" (BF_KII_01_9794_M).

between community members and their leaders as meetings with the chief have multiplied to debrief them on activities and seek their advice for the successful implementation of the various activities (BF_KII_01_8173_M). This has created "good communication between community members and leaders" (BF_KII_01_9238_F) and allowed the leaders and the other members to share different ideas regularly (BF_KII_01_9100_F). In addition, because of the greater "connection between community

members and our leaders" (BF_KII_01_8177_F), the leaders are now attentive to suggestions or opinions from community members (BF_KII_01_1123_F). The leaders are also in contact with the young people, and they often support them (BF_KII_01_1378_M). This is "a positive change because there has been a lot of transparency in the management, therefore more confidence" (BF_KII_01_5947_M) between community members and their leaders as "the leaders and the other members understand each other well and listen to each other (BF_KII_01_1380_F). For women, "WFP activities have brought women and traditional elders together" (BF_FGD_01_ 1414_F_R2).

In Niger, respondents also observed that, "As a result of WFP activities, relations between leaders and community members have improved enormously" (NR_KII_01_1518_F). The WFP activities have changed the relationships between community members and their chiefs because they bring the communities closer to the chief and unite them (NR_KII_01_4794_M; BF_FGD_01_1613). As a result, the "changes noticed between community members and their leaders is that there is now more unity and trust" (NR_KII_01_5528_F). Increased trust as a result of these activities enables "community members [to] interact confidently with their leaders" (NR_KII_01_9003_F). Indeed, "The interaction between community members and their leaders is much better because the leaders no longer sideline the community and involve them in local issues. They understand that it is together that we can succeed" (NR_KII_01_4132_M).

Reduction in Social Distance between Leaders and Community Members

Leadership roles are defined by the nature of relationships and the tasks that leaders are expected to guide their subordinates to perform. At the level of relationships, the leadership structures of the traditional authority system in participating communities are hierarchical, multi-layered, and segregated along gender, age, and other socio-demographic lines. With respect to tasks, leaders in the project communities are the alodial (absolute) custodians of the land and natural resources as well as the guarantors of the customs and traditions that prescribe rules and govern engagements and interactions within and between different identity groups with respect to ownership of, access to, and use of land and other natural resources. Traditional and religious leaders (chiefs, elders, imams, among others) are gatekeepers to intergroup and intercommunity engagements. As respondents noted multiple times, the youth and women, for instance, could not sit and speak with chiefs and elders engaged in public decision-making. Men, irrespective of their age, had greater assigned authority and responsibilities than women; and settlers or transient herders have fewer opportunities to participate, and little to say, in community decision-making processes compared to natives.

Dismantling these social barriers between community leaders and their members is therefore a critical first step to promoting collaborative work and social cohesion in the project communities. The WFP activities offered this opportunity. As a respondent noted, "before [WFP's activities] the community members were afraid to share their plans with the leaders, but now that the WFP has arrived, people are excited about collective decision-making" (NR_KII_01_0776_F). This is because community members "…noticed a positive change in the way [they could] interact with their leaders as a result of WFP activities" (BF_KII_01_5305_M; also, BF_KII_01_2732_F). Consequently, "community members no longer have that reservation they had before [in engaging] their elders" (NR_KII_01_0778_F). Instead, "community members interact confidently with their leaders as a result of these activities (NR_KII_01_9007_F). For instance, because of the nature of the activities, "…leaders are [now] in contact with the young people and they often support them. This was not the case before" (BF_KII_01_1378_M).

As the rallying point for community mobilization and organization for collective action, the opening up of community leaders to their citizens encouraged greater horizontal interactions between different groups within and across communities participating in WFP's activities. Indeed, one respondent believed that the major change WFP's activities has triggered "…is the rapprochement between community members and leaders as people weren't too close together up to this point" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). The loosening of the spaces and protocols of engagement around traditional

leaders has allowed "community leaders and members to come together in decision-making for the good of the community" (NR_KII_01_0780_F). Citizens are encouraged to engage because they are assured community leaders would "take into account their point of view in relation to the activities" (NR_KII_01_4874_F).

Beyond the opportunities to make their voices and views count in community decision-making processes, the rapprochement between community leaders and their citizens has created or strengthened "bonds of brotherhood and friendship between [different groups]" (BF_KII_01_9801_M). This has enhanced intergroup "acceptance of the other as he or she is, [has led to greater] understanding, rapprochement and social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_0051_F) between different identity groups within and across communities. As "people have come closer to the leaders through WFP activities" (BF_KII_01_6921_F), they have witness what one respondent considers "…remarkable changes [such as] the acceptance of the other, the understanding and agreement between the members of the community and the rapprochement of the members. (BF_KII_01_9950_M).

WFP's activities created opportunities for community leaders to exhibit their leadership potential and functions through lobbying for the siting of WFP projects in their communities. Such actions have earned community leaders greater respect from community members. This is "…because a leader who fights to bring activities to be done in his community is to be welcomed, we say to ourselves that this is our leader who has done everything possible to bring this project to us here" (NR_KII_01_4872_F). In return, "leaders who have brought people together for collective work have become

> **Box 36: WFP Activities Bring Communities Closer to their Chiefs**
>
> "We are around the village; the activities of WFP have brought us closer to the chiefs because we work together throughout the day. This has created bonds of brotherhood and friendship between us. Were it not for the arrival of the WFP, we wouldn't have been there" (BF_KII_01_9801_M).

highly respected" among the community (BF_KII_01_1614_F; BF_KII_01_2737_F). In this way, a mutually validating, beneficial, and reinforcing chain reaction emerged between ease of engagement with community leaders and the building of relationships between different groups. As one respondent noted, the closer relationships and collaboration that they now have among themselves came through the "… good collaboration between us and our leaders" (BF_KII_01_3403_F; BF_KII_01_9952_F). As another respondent framed it, "There is even more collaboration and cohesion [because as] people got closer to each other […] we managed to approach the leaders to discuss with them and often we tease them, and this is a really good atmosphere" (BF_KII_01_9667_F). In this atmosphere, "people talk in an open way to the elders and often we allow ourselves to make jokes" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). As a result of the openness with which community members engage their leaders on collaborative assignments, "there is more trust between leaders and their members" (BF_KII_01_5943_M; BF_KII_01_7577_F). The increasing trust has contributed to greater "… transparency in the management [styles of leaders, and] therefore more confidence" in their leadership roles (BF_KII_01_5065_N).

Increased Mutual Respect, Trust-Building, and Improved Relationship

Respondents also noted that as a result of the "good collaboration between us and our leaders" (BF_KII_01_3403_F) "There is more trust between leaders and their members" (BF_KII_01_5943_M). This has contributed to mutual respect between the members and their leaders (BF_KII_01_2737_F) and reinforced tolerance and accommodation "…of the other as he is" (BF_KII_01_6808_M). It has also engendered mutual respect between leaders and their community members. In the words of a respondent, "Leaders who brought people together for collective work become highly respected and everyone helps each other under their leadership" (BF_KII_01_1614_F). In return, the members of the community exude more respect and consideration for the leaders" (BF_KII_01_5076_M).

While most respondents suggest that "WFP's activities have enhanced relationships and have brought leaders together with community members" (BF_KII_01_1125_M), there are a few ambivalent and

dissenting opinions on the subject. At least six respondents thought there was "No change" (BF_KII_01_9707_F; NR_KII_01_2958_M); "Nothing at all" (BF_KII_01_6923_M; BF_KII_01_0091_F), or "No change with leaders and communities" (BF_KII_01_1609_F), with one indicating that, "[I] don't know all the members of my community and I can't evaluate" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). Respondents offered no explanations for their views.

3.4.2   Changes in Relationships between Community Members and Their Leaders

Respondents cited some factors that they felt caused the changes in relations between the communities and their leaders, including the following:

Participatory Nature of WFP Activities: The nature and process of carrying out the activities that WFP and partners implemented were strongly commended, and mentioned at least 81 times. As one participant framed it, "Gathering together to carry out WFP activities has brought us closer and has improved the climate between us" (BF_KII_01_7644_F). The participatory planning processes leading to the choice of activities was an important factor in promoting community interest and participation. The perceived direct and immediate benefits of the activities also played a role. As another respondent noted, "The construction, land rehabilitation, and land recovery activities set up by the WFP are the basis of this change" (NR_KII_01_4517_M). This is because "…the activities of the WFP [promoted] inclusiveness of all social strata" (NR_KII_01_2542_F) through the "… inter-ethnic mixing" (NR_KII_01_3195_F) in the composition of work groups. Additionally, it was pointed out that engagement in the activities stabilizes the movement of the population, especially among the youth. In the words of a respondent, "The availability of people locally. You know with the activities of WFP, people are stabilized, they leave less in exodus, but when people are in exodus where are we going to see them, all the more reason to see them interact with the leaders" (NR_KII_01_4134_M).

Increased Sensitization and Awareness Creation: Respondents also attributed much of the success to the increased awareness that WFP and partners were able to create on the purpose and the processes of the activities. Together, sensitization and awareness were mentioned 66 times as contributing factors. Respondents noted "awareness that brought about this change" (BF_KII_01_4525_F), because "awareness raising on social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_7951_M) was a key point in the activities they participated in. In particular, increased awareness of the economic benefits of the program motivated communities to engage constructively with their leaders to find pathways to addressing their common goals. In the words of respondents, the activities of WFP brought increases in "… awareness of the benefits of social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_6810_F), which served as "the motivations of the actors toward the undertaking of economic activities" (NR_KII_01_0889_M). The "sensitizations carried out by the WFP that had brought about the changes" demonstrated the benefits of "…how to improve the productivity of their fields" (NR_KII_01_1546_M). It was also thought that the increased "transparency in actions, the involvement of several actors to ensure transparency with the representativeness of the authorities [which was made possible by the] awareness raising through sensitization" (NR_KII_01_0891_M).

3.4.3   Gender-Based Vertical Social Cohesion: Women and Elders' Relationships

Asked what changes they had observed in the way women engage the elders of the community as a result of the activities of WFP, participants cited multiple examples of how women now have i) greater spaces of engagement, participation opportunities, and a voice in the decision making processes in the community; ii) are seen as equal collaborators to men; iii) are seen as important economic contributors at the household and community levels; iv) have earned greater respect from the elders; and v) witnessed overall improved relationships in their

> **Box 37: Awareness of Benefits Is a Booster**
>
> "What is at the root of these changes is above all the awareness and awakening of spirits brought by the programs to the communities" (NR_KII_01_1524_F).

dealings with the elders of their communities in particular, and men in general.

The WFP implemented programs have opened up greater opportunities for the participation of women in the decision-making spaces in their respective communities. Specifically, the composition of program participants has created opportunities for women to be in decision-making spaces. Women are considered more important as a result of this program as it has offered women "…the chance to step out of the box [and] the role relegated to them by men" (NR_KII_01_2543_F). As one respondent noted in their case, "We have 100 women who are in the intervention programs of 174 beneficiaries. This participation gives women a voice in the community" (NR_KII_01_3784_M). Women's membership in committees allows them to be "part of the decision-making" (NR_KII_01_2542_F) and "also have a voice in matters of community life" (NR_KII_01_0531_F).

> **Box 38: Increased Transparency Helps**
>
> "…at the beginning it was thought that the leaders had the monopoly of everything. We were a little afraid of our leaders, but thanks to the explanations of the WFP of their programme, we understood that it has nothing to do with politics. So since then, there is no longer this coldness between us and our leaders" (BF_KII_01_7650_M).

Concerning **space and voice,** respondents contributed more than 60 statements about how they have seen change occur in the relationships between women and the elders. In their words, "There is a profound change in the relationship between women and elders" (BF_KII_01_9664_M) as "women and elders have become the same and there is no more discrimination" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). Women are free to approach the elders and "…express in an open way what they have to say. Before, she would have preferred to keep it to herself. But since the program brought us together, she expresses herself freely" (BF_KII_01_6923_M).

This is because "the activities of WFP have ensured that the women approach the village chief on several subjects without any problem" (NR_KII_01_5528_F). Hence, "women in the community are more comfortable engaging elders as a result of this program" (NR_KII_01_1522_F). "Women engage their elders with much more confidence [as they] act with their elders with less doubt and reserve" (NR_KII_01_8832_F). Hence, there is increased "… rapprochement of women with the elders" (BF_KII_01_1125_M). This has made women "no

> **Box 39: Witness Statements on Amplification of Women's Voices**
>
> "Thanks to this program, the women have their say and are able to express themselves in front of the elders to express their needs because the elders respect what they do" (NR_KII_01_4872_F).
>
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>
> "Now women are free to present themselves at the level of the elders to share their concerns and their plans" (NR_KII_01_0778_F).
>
> ---
>
> "Women have become aware of the role they can play in the development of their communities based on economic activities and active participation in decision-making bodies. Today, there are rare situations where women remain silent in the face of an attempt to exclude them" (NR_KII_01_6969_M).

longer afraid" (BF_KII_01_4525_F) to engage the elders. As a result of the increased "rapprochement between women and elders, [women] can now intervene in decision-making" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). Consequently, "women are now considered in decision-making with elders" (BF_KII_01_1123_F) and do participate in decision-making at the community level. In the view of women respondents, this "change [in rapprochement] brought confidence and that made me more [able to engage with the elders] (BF_KII_01_1609_F). "We can now intervene or participate in decision-making." (BF_KII_01_9662_F).

As another notes, "We had more freedom, because before we couldn't even tell our needs to the elders" (NR_KII_01_4870_F). This sense of freedom to engage has made it possible for "women [to] rub shoulders with older people. They are more open to them, and the elders give them a lot of importance" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). This has created spaces and opportunities for engagement in which "women talk a lot more with elders and are more and more respected in the community" (BF_KII_01_7632_M). Hence, "women are now consulted in decisions that affect them or the whole village. We work together and now we know each other even more" (BF_KII_01_9660_M).

Women have seized the opportunity to have **active and proactive voices** in their spaces of engagement. Women are no longer passive participants or recipients of men's decisions. They don't wait for decisions to be made for and about them; instead, "they courageously engage their elders"

(NR_KII_01_9021_F) to demand their rights. Where necessary, "women often show their dissatisfaction [with decisions, such as] showing that there is poor selection of beneficiaries. As a male community leader recounts, "The women challenge me on clarifications concerning the drawing of beneficiaries. But I explain the procedure to them, and they understand because I myself, who am the chief, my name does not appear" (NR_KII_01_2958_M). Another adds that, "'the women come to question me on how their names did not appear, but I explain the procedure to them, and they understand because my name is not in it" (NR_KII_01_5527_M). Similarly, when "the women suffer from water problems, searching for dead wood [they] make demands on changing situations" (NR_KII_01_0889_M). In sum, "women have become independent and more open than before" (NR_KII_01_7761_F) and "…can give their point of view on a problem noticed or a given situation in the interest of the group" (NR_KII_01_0529_F).

Increased participation of women in community decision-making processes also means **real, active, and formal representation of women in decision-making structures**. As respondents noted, "nowadays women are represented at the level of the different structures (municipal and local), which means that they are considered and listened to" (NR_KII_01_8772_F). "Before, women were not allowed to attend meetings, but with the interventions of WFP and its partners through their processes of implementing community and intracommunity activities, women participate fully and are even represented in the various committees in the management of community and

> **Box 40: Attestations on Women's Participation in Decision-Making**
>
> "Before, the women did not go to the assemblies that were held at the homes of the elders, but now following this program, they are no longer afraid to go to their elders and even to exchange with them" (BF_KII_01_4525_F).
>
> ---
>
> "Before women are discriminated against, they are not taken into account in decision-making. Today they are involved in decision-making, they have the courage to participate in meetings unlike the time spent when they are excluded" (NR_KII_01_4119_M).

intracommunity infrastructure" (NR_KII_01_8781_F). Now, there is "involvement of women by elders in decision-making on development issues where they can provide support, thanks to awareness-raising and training for women (NR_KII_01_4126_M). "Before the women were pushed aside, but now they are part of the activities, and they are part of community decision-making. Otherwise, much of the program intervention emphasizes the participation of women" (NR_KII_01_6870_F). This has contributed to "increasing consideration of women in local bodies [leading to the] involvement of women in decision-making, they are represented in local structures, and it has been understood that women can contribute to local development issues. Women make good proposals, and sometimes good solutions come from women'" (NR_KII_01_4134_M).

Respondents also observed that as a result of the program, women have become **equal collaborators** with men in the communities, as community members witness increased "…collaboration between women and elders" (BF_KII_01_8446_M). They are invited to participate equally with men in decision-making processes domestically and at the community level. As a result, women no longer remain in the background. On the contrary, "women became men and men became women. I mean there's no more difference between us" (BF_KII_01_2108_F). Whereas before, women "…stayed in their own corner" (BF_KII_01_6810_F), they now work with the elders, especially on issues of interest to

> **Box 41: WFP Activities Earn Recognition for Women in their Communities**
>
> "Thanks to this program, malnutrition has been banished from our community because through FARN discussions the women have been trained on how to make nutritious food for their children, and they have been given bracelets to measure and see from them if the child is malnourished, so there is no need to go to the health center anymore. This action has earned a great degree of respect from the elders, the women of FARN are seen as health workers who help the community. So, when these women speak their views are taken into account" (NR_KII_01_6969_M).

them. For instance, "…women are involved in certain decision-making concerning the village" (NR_KII_01_0958_M). This includes their participation in various committees at the community level (NR_KII_01_0965_M). Consequently, "women in turn occupy an important place in the eyes of the community leaders because they are also invited to make decisions that concern them" (NR_KII_01_5803_M).

The increased integration, participation, and effective contribution of women in domestic and community decision-making processes have earned **increased respect for women and trust-building** with the elders. This is accentuated by the tangible contributions the active involvement of women in the program has made to the well-being of families and the communities. A respondent cited the contribution of women to improved health and nutrition of children as one entry point for the increased respect elders have for women. Another cited the ability of women to contribute financially to meet household expenses.

The increased respect for women in society is partly attributable to the **economic empowerment** that WFP's interventions have given to women in the participating communities. In the view of respondents, the interventions of WFP and partners have "… increased women's income and relationships with elders have improved […] between them" (BF_KII_01_1285_M). As one woman observed, through incomes earned from the WFP interventions, "…at home we contribute for household expenses and that makes everyone feel good and we are at peace" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). A colleague adds that "…before the arrival of WFP, women did not […] contribute to the household expenses, but thanks to the activities of the WFP, they manage to contribute their

> **Box 42: Economic Empowerment of Women by WFP Activities**
>
> "Before, women had nothing to support their husbands in family responsibilities. Thanks to WFP and the money we receive […], we manage to spend some money, and this helps relieve our husbands" (NR_KII_01_4872_F).
> --
> Women "… are gradually investing in economic activities for the development of their own business such as hiring, sewing, small IGAs (in Hausa: "Yanzu babu wa su mata da le yarda da baya: now no woman agrees to be left behind")" (NR_KII_01_9007_F).

best to the family expenses" (BF_KII_01_8446_M). In the view of another, "thanks to the activities of the WFP, the women were able to send their children to school and contributed a little to household expenses" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). As another respondent concludes, "Before, women had no income, but now they show fairly significant economic changes. In addition, they are gaining more and more space for expression" (NR_KII_01_4885_F). However, with increasing "financial autonomy for women, [comes increasing] assumption of certain family expenses by women" (NR_KII_01_1538_M) Hence, "women are no longer treated like they used to be" (NR_KII_01_1524_F).

The economic empowerment of women also manifests on another level – **access to safe and secure modes of earning off-farm income**. As a respondent noted, before the advent of the activities of WFP, "…the women went to the [small scale, illegal] gold mines [to earn income] but since the arrival of the WFP, they do the activities implemented by the WFP and they earn money, and they help their husbands with family expenses" (BF_KII_01_1127_M). In sum, through WFP's interventions "…women are now able to empower themselves and no longer go to gold sites" (BF_KII_01_9707_F).

Overall, respondents noted "…[much] **improved relations** between women and elders since before the arrival of the WFP, women did not have the right to discuss matters concerning them with elders" (BF_KII_01_5065_N). As a result, "women feel less and less guilty about approaching elders and [are] increasingly vocal in the community" (BF_KII_01_5070_F). They "…interact with elders and can sometimes make decisions for the good of the community" (BF_KII_01_5067_F).

3.4.4   *Enhancing the Role of Women in Social Cohesion Building*

Women's participation and involvement in the activities of WFP were mentioned 48 times by KII_01 respondents from both countries. They noted that the implementation of the activities of WFP and its partners has also enhanced women's participation and involvement in decision-making through their "involvement in various committees" (NR_KII_01_0889_M). This is because the "implementation of activities specific to women" (NR_KII_01_2257_M) was identified to be "an asset" (NR_KII_ 01_1559_M), as "their massive participation gives

> **Box 43: Women Involvement in Activities**
>
> "WFP has always included women in its activities and held meetings where we were told that we had full rights to use the resources created" (BF_KII_01_3403_F).

them access to all resources" (NR_KII_01_1553_M). In addition, "the program has allowed them to

have their own activities and small programs that it has made available to them, and they have shown that they are also capable of managing them well" (NR_KII_01_9003_F). Above all, participation in the WFP activities was an opportunity for women to create associations, to get to know each other better, and to collaborate with each other" (BF_KII_01_9952_F) as well as to "participate in decision-making without hindrance" (BF_KII_01_6810_F).

Contrasting Views on Gender-Based Social Cohesion Building in Communities

Against the general trend that extolled the contribution of WFP's interventions to the increased rapprochement and integration of women in the decision-making processes of their communities, at least seven dissenting voices expressed doubts about the existence of any real change in the vertical integration of women in family and community-level decision-making processes. While four respondents gave no reasons for saying there has been "no change" in the circumstances of women, one offered that "as far as women are concerned, there is little change. All the same, they have their way in community activities such as hygiene promotion under UNICEF" (NR_KII_01_3544_M). Another explained that "… many women do not manage to take part in the activities of the community garden because they have limited the number of women to 60, that is to say that in each household they have chosen 2 women to work there, so if they can enlarge the garden in order to allow women to be able to participate in it, we will be more happy" (BF_KII_01_8177_F). And one respondent was unaware of any changes that have occurred because "I'm a priest so I'm not too informed. We weren't involved so it's difficult" (BF_KII_01_7061_M) – perhaps, a suggestion

> **Box 44: From Women's Voice**
>
> "The cash we receive from the *gina ka ci*, the harvest; through this we help our families and it gives us respect in the eyes of our elders [and] our husbands because before we brought nothing to the household, but now thanks to the activities of the WFP we help our husbands for household food, and the money we receive we pay for clothes and food for the children, thanks to this we had more consideration from our husbands" (NR_KII_01_4870_F).
>
> --
>
> "Men these days don't like women who don't have an income and even parents, most parents put their children in school so that they can have a job and help them when they are old. The woman has more compassion when she earns money, she helps her parents, her household, and her communities, whereas when a man has money, he only thinks of taking another wife and increasing the expenses" (NR_KII_01_4872_F).

that the visibility of reported changes may exist largely among those directly involved in the WFP program.

What Accounted for the Changes in Relationships between Women and the Elders?

Asked what made the changes in relationships between women and the elders possible, respondents identified the behavior change communication practices of WFP and partners that helped community members to change their perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors about the roles of women in society. WFP's activities created "…awareness on the importance of living together" (BF_KII_01_8327_M6) through the various communication channels that have encouraged greater engagements "between different people or different associations" (BF_KII_01_3576_M). This has "revolutionized the mentality of the community" (BF_KII_01_1123_F) and created space for increased "tolerance and collaboration" (BF_KII_01_6731_M). In the past "before, when you see a woman, it is to arrange her marriage but with awareness thanks to the WFP, they claim their rights" (NR_KII_01_4834_M).

WFP's requirement that both men and women work together in groups has also helped to dismantle cultural barriers to communication and engagement. Also, the economic empowerment that women got from their income-generation activities gave them financial power in their families and communities. In this way, "…WFP has enabled these women to be seen as real actors of development by assisting them with empowering activities …" (NR_KII_01_6969_M). This has made "women [to feel] important and considered so they are no longer afraid to approach the elders. They are more comfortable discussing with them thanks to their participation" (BF_KII_01_7644_F).

3.4.5   *Age-Based Vertical Social Cohesion Building*

The study sought to establish what opportunities WFP's activities have created for the youth in program communities to engage more with the elders to advance their collective interests.

As with the case of women, respondents noted that WFP's activities "…emphasized the importance of involving young people and all categories of people in the activities, encouraging young people to participate in the activities" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). This led to a "…change in the mentality of young people" (BF_KII_01_6810_F) as "the young people have become aware that the elders want their development." As a result, "young people now respect elders, something that was not done" (BF_KII_01_9952_F). This has "… facilitated the rapprochement of young people and their elders and facilitated their living together" (BF_KII_01_9707_F). "Young people are increasingly considered in decision-making with elders" (BF_KII_01_9664_M) because the "youth and elders have seen that the activities carried out by WFP are in the interest of both" (BF_KII_01_5070_F). WFP's activities have created opportunities for young people to change their mentalities and become active participants in community activities and decision-making processes. This has resulted in greater "…rapprochement between young people and their elders [allowing] young people now [to] participate in decision-making without problems" (BF_KII_01_1114_F).

The sensitization initiatives of the WFP activities have encouraged a change in cultural attitudes, beliefs, and practices that governed the relationships between the elderly and youth. As a respondent noted, "Before the elders decide on behalf of the young people, as soon as the young people speak, we will tell them that it is rudeness, [not] freedom of speech" (NR_KII_01_4137_M). Now, however, the "elders are increasingly involving young people in decision-making and encouraging them to get involved in local issues. We see more communication and exchanges between young people and elders" (NR_KII_01_4130_M). As a result, the young people now participate in "various meetings of the elders and can freely give their thoughts" (BF_KII_01_9660_M). This has "created a bond of cohesion between" (BF_KII_01_7634_F) the youth and the elders, creating spaces and opportunities that have "…allowed young people to rub shoulders with elders in order to address the issues that interest them" (BF_KII_01_4523_F) for example, activities such as "half-moon work which requires both the participation of elders [and] young people" (NR_KII_01_1524_F). Such collective activities have "…created good understandings between young people and elders by offering them spaces for expression based on the activities of the collectives" (NR_KII_01_2500_F).

Another factor that has facilitated greater cohesion between the elders and the youth is the opportunity WFP activities create to retain young people in the communities during the off-season periods. Before WFP came along, "The young people were forced to go into exile to help the elders [but] now they do it on site with the activities" of WFP (BF_KII_01_1286_M). Most "young people went to the mining sites" (BF_KII_01_8327_M) to undertake informal, small-scale mining but thanks to the interventions of WFP and its partners, "…they no longer leave the country" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). Now, the WFP activities offer the

> **Box 45: Reduced Youth Migration**
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> WFP's activities have led to "the reduction of the exodus of young people; before the young people go on an exodus because they have no work to do but thanks to the program they will stay because it allows them to have money but also to contribute to the development of their locality" (NR_KII_03_1540_M).

youth opportunities to earn income and be useful to their communities, which has contributed to "decreases in out-migration. We stay at home to have the blessing of the elders, the young people are also involved in collective activities so they are consulted in everything that will be done for the community" (NR_KII_01_0962_M). Consequently, because "young people no longer go on exodus, it reduces youth banditry and prevents young people from going to join the armed troops, respecting the elders" (NR_KII_01_1632_F). One respondent sums up the feeling in recalling the experiences of the youth in the following words: "According to a young person from this community: it has been 3 years

since I left on exodus thanks to the *gina ka ci*[9] [community works] because what I earn in exodus does not reach [i.e. is not more than] what I earn here, so I stay to be near my elders" (NR_KII_01_4870_F).

Some respondents, however, questioned whether there has been any change in the way young people relate to the elderly in their communities as a result of the program. One such respondent (female aged 46-55 years) said, "Young people don't engage elders in [the village of] Baudeta. They can talk to each other. Young people speak more to the cellphones than to us" (NR_KII_01_4830_F). Another adds that, "The young do not engage the elders. They leave to talk about the issues that interest them. For the work of WFP, it is addressed more to the management committee than to the village chief" (NR_KII_01_8679_M). Hence, another respondent concludes that, "For the moment the young people have undertaken nothing that requires them to seek out the elders" (NR_KII_01_4290_M).

3.4.6   *Overall Contribution to General Social Cohesion*

Respondents noted that their participation in the activities has also contributed to social cohesion and togetherness among different ethnic and religious groups. As one respondent noted, "WFP activities have improved social cohesion between different ethnic groups. There is no more separation, no distinction regardless of your ethnicity" (BF_KII_01_9952_F). As a result, "the Fulani, the Mossi, and the blacksmiths work together without problems" (BF_KII_01_8325_F). This was achieved "through awareness-

> **Box 46: Benefits of Awareness**
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> "…we all understood that we must unite for the smooth running of our activities, and this will also allow us to take full advantage of the program" (NR_KII_01_4767_F).

raising, exchanges and dialogues, [and by] carrying out activities together" (BF_KII_01_8175_M), as well as "establishment of groups, meetings, [and] the establishment of activities to bring together a multitude of people in order to work together" (BF_KII_01_8184_F). Social cohesion and togetherness (including the formation of associations and committees) were mentioned 59 times by respondents in both countries. In addition, participation in the activities of WFP and its partners has increased awareness and sensitization equally among different groups. This helped to ensure "transparency, inclusive participation of different social groups in [WFP] activities" (NR_KII_01_6969_M); "teamwork rather than working alone" (NR_KII_01_4872_F) as well as "the importance of living together [and] equality between all" (BF_KII_01_6961_M). Awareness creation and sensitization have been mentioned 51 times by respondents from the study.

3.5   Role of WFP Activities in Promoting Equitable Access to Resources

3.5.1   *Effect on Current State of Ownership and Control over Land*

Land Ownership Rights and Access to Land

Asked who has the right to own land in this community, most respondents indicated that while the ownership of the land may be vested in individuals or families, everyone has the right to own land" (BF_KII_01_8446_M) and "everyone can have access to land without problems" (BF_KII_01_9667_F). Indeed, anyone who can work has access to land (BF_KII_01_8446_M), [including] "men, women and young people can all have access to the land" (BF_KII_01_7061_M; BF_KII_01_7061_M9; BF_KII_01_7063_M3; BF_KII_01_5065_N1). And this access can be gained through "…inheritance, purchase, loan, pledge, gift" (BF_KII_01_1285_M8; BF_KII_01_5065_N4; BF_KII_01_5065_N5). In sum, "Everyone has a right to grant land, it is only a question of having the courage, the determination, and the knowledge of how to exploit it" (NR_KII_01_9003_F).

Behind the declaration of principle that everyone can own or have access to land are important qualifiers that some respondents noted. Essentially, there seems to be a dissonance between the principles

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[9] The phrase "gina ka ci" loosely translated into French means "creuse et mange," which is used in reference to the activities of digging half-moons, zais, stone bunds, etc. that lead to the production of food for the family table.

governing access to and ownership of land and the practices associated with it. First, while men were mentioned 56 times as entitled to own land, women were mentioned only 29 times in response to the same question. Second, respondents made a distinction between the ownership of land and access to it. They note, for instance, that "traditionally it is only men who have the right of possession" (BF_KII_01_7064_F4) and "men are the ones who have the right to own land" (BF_KII_01_7064_F). Even in cases where women may own land, "men [still] have more rights to land than women and refugees. A woman is entitled to half a man's share" (NR_KII_01_0424_M). In some cases, only "women whose husbands are deceased" (BF_KII_01_1285_M1; also BF_KII_01_1285_M2) can own land. As one female respondent noted, "in our community it is the men who have the right to own the land because we women are considered as foreigners" (BF_KII_01_7065_F).

The reality, therefore, seems to be that access to land does not equate to ownership. In other words, usufructuary rights are different from ownership rights. Persons with usufructuary rights may access and use the land but that does not mean that they can claim ownership of the same land, irrespective of how long they may have stayed on and/or used such lands. A person who has only usufructuary rights to a piece of land may crop it in perpetuity and transfer such rights to their descendants but neither they nor their descents can sell or in any other way dispose of the same land because they do not own it. Ownership derives from inheritance along defined lines of the alodial owners or through purchased titles to land. This is why respondents explained that "those who have the right to land in this community are those who have already received it by inheritance or those who have the means to buy it" (BF_KII_01_7061_M6). This is because although "everyone has the right to land, access to it is conditioned by purchase, loan, rental, inheritance" (BF_KII_01_7064_F9). In some cases, widowed women living in their matrimonial homes are accorded ownership of land (BF_KII_01_1285_M0; BF_KII_01_1285_M2).

The limitations on rights of ownership of land by foreigners do not affect only women married into communities. Other migrants or settlers seem to face the same challenge in accessing and owning land in some communities. As one respondent noted, "Everyone has the right to have land in our communities, women and men, elders, and young people. But we don't give to foreigners easily, to sell the field we first offer people from our community; it's only in case no one is interested that we sell to another person" (NR_KII_01_0418_M). A colleague corroborates that "years ago when my husband's brother wanted to pay for land in this village, he didn't get it, but now I know at least five houses of people who are not from here" (NR_KII_01_4874_F).

Control of Land Allocation

Participants were asked who in their community has the right to own and allocate land. Table 3 presents the number of times respondents mentioned different categories of persons who own and/or are responsible for allocating land in their respective communities. "It is the village chief who controls the management and allocation of land" (BF_KII_01_5943_M9; also BF_KII_01_5947_M1; BF_KII_01_7061_M1; BF_KII_01_7061_M6), while others believe that land "… management is controlled by the elders of the village" (BF_KII_01_5943_M9).

Table 3: Respondents' Views on Ownership and Control over Land

Category of Land Owners/Managers	Freq. of Mention
Chiefs	128
Families	13
Land owners	6
Natives of the community	5
Customary and religious leaders	5
Traditional	3
State	2

While "village chief"[10] is mentioned most frequently, their role seems to be more as custodial than real owners, as respondents frequently mentioned that the village chief exercises the authority to allocate or manage lands in conjunction with or after prior consultation with or a request from families and other entities who actually hold the alodial title to the land. In other words, the chief oversees or witnesses land transactions but has no original authority to sell, allocate, or otherwise manage lands without the consent of the individuals or families that hold the customary title to such lands. Hence, in response to the question, some respondents indicated that it is "…the village chief and the landowners" (BF_KII_01_1286_M1); "the fathers of families and the village chief" (BF_KII_01_7063_M5); "traditional and religious leaders with some representatives under the testimony of the village chief" (BF_KII_01_7065_F3; BF_KII_01_7063_M2); or "religious leaders, the village chief and often the owner who wishes to sell his land with the testimony of the village chief" (BF_KII_01_7063_M2) that have the right to allocate or otherwise dispose of land. Often, the State gets involved in providing the paperwork that validates and documents the land transactions between the parties. This is because "the landowner [...] is primarily responsible for the management of his land [for purposes of conflict management] any operation on the ground must [be subjected to] formalization of [under the] executed act. This is the justification established by the authorities" (BF_KII_01_7065_F9). There is no mention of women, youth/young people, migrants, settlers, IDPs or refugees in the responses given.

3.5.2 *Mechanisms for Fair and Just Land Ownership, Allocation, and Usage*

When asked what mechanisms are in place in their communities for ensuring fair and just decisions in ownership, allocation, and usage of land, the responses given ranged from no mechanisms in place through informal/customary mechanisms to semi-formal and formal ones. The 12 respondents who said there is no mechanism in place argued, among other things, that "here there is no mechanism [because] the land is not sold if you want land just ask the owner, if he gives you little, otherwise there are no rules or conditions" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). "The owner gives without having a second thought (BF_KII_01_9801_M). This is because of the understanding in the communities that "the land belongs to everyone so it cannot be sold" (BF_KII_01_1378_M). Instead, the allocation of land is done "according to the tradition of the village; anyone who wants land can have it" (BF_KII_01_1127_M). In Niger, the same sentiment was shared that there is no mechanism in place for allocation of land largely because land allocation is commonly done in compliance with "the rules of religion" (NR_KII_01_9023_F) or more specifically based on "laws established by the Koran" (NR_KII_01_8790_F), under which women are entitled to between half and

> **Box 47: Absence of Land Allocation Mechanism**
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> "There is no mechanism in the allocation of land, when we give you land, we can no longer go back on our decision, except in the case where the applicant decides to leave the land" (BF_KII_01_1380_F).
>
> _____
>
> "There is no mechanism that guarantees this in our village, the word of the head of the land is indisputable at this level" (BF_KII_01_1606_F).
>
> _____
>
> "With us, we can't talk about a mechanism, eh, because the decision comes from the father of the family when it comes to donating to a stranger" (BF_KII_01_1609_F).

one-eighth of the land of their husbands (NR_KII_01_0424_M; NR_KII_01_1655_F; NR_KII_01_4134_M). Otherwise, "there was no mechanism, it's just sensitizations that were made to the owners" (NR_KII_01_0776_F). Hence, in the absence of any "…mechanism it's just the owners who decide themselves" (NR_KII_01_0778_F). For these reasons, in Niger "women do not necessarily have access to land like men. They can only access and use part of their husband's field" (NR_FGD_01_4112).

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[10] A chief is the political head of a community – may be appointed or elected in some jurisdictions; selected through customary rules, regulations, and rites; or ascend to positions through established systems of inheritance. The customary leader, often equated to earth priests or custodians of the 'spirits of the land' are spiritual leaders of the community, with responsibility for safeguarding the sacred places of the community, performing spiritual exercises for and on behalf of the community and its members, and ensuring protection and respect for the spirituality of the natural resources (the land, rivers, hills, sacred groves, etc). Religious leaders is used largely in reference to leaders of the imported faiths – Christianity and Islam.

Informal mechanisms are invoked in cases where witnesses are needed to validate land transactions. In such cases, the village chiefs and/or religious leaders are called upon to serve as witnesses. Respondents, however, noted the existence of a hierarchy of chiefships, and by extension a differentiation in their roles in matters of land administration. Multiple distinctions are made between the traditional chiefs and customary chiefs. In this "mechanisms of testimony, when land is going to be given or loaned it is in front of the village chief and witnesses" (NR_KII_01_1522_F). The testimonial role of the chief in land management varies slightly depending on the nature of the transaction. As one respondent captured it, "When it is an inheritance, it is necessary to resort to the village and religious authorities so that someone is not wronged. When one wants to sell his or her land, the chief participates in the presence of border residents to determine the delimitation of the field and the establishment of the land deed" (BF_KII_01_1285_M4). Irrespective of the nature of the transaction, however, the traditional chief reports to the customary chief who guarantees that the transaction is properly executed (BF_KII_01_7065_F6). "The traditional chief is accountable to the customary chief for all decisions taken at the community level and the latter approves" (BF_KII_01_7065_F4; also, BF_KII_01_7065_F3). Indeed, "the credibility of decisions made by traditional chiefs depends on the approval made by customary chiefs traditional chiefs" (BF_KII_01_7065_F5) and the collaboration between the traditional and customary chiefs is necessary "…because in the event of disputes the latter intervenes" (BF_KII_01_7065_F2).

More formal mechanisms for regulating land allocation and management come into force when the land is being sold outright by its owners, in which case the transaction needs to be documented through title deeds, certificates of sales, or other written attestations to the transactions.[11] In such instances, the process of concluding the transaction "…must bring together the buyer, the seller, the village chief, and the mayor" (BF_KII_01_5947_M4). This allows the town hall or other statutory bodies to give papers that attest to the ownership of the land and the transactions related to it (BF_KII_01_5947_M0; also BF_KII_01_7063_M). These bodies and the processes they lead "...represent the law and [so] people don't dispute the papers" (BF_KII_01_5065_N3).

3.5.3 *Effect on Tensions and Disputes over Land Allocation and Management*

Respondents were asked, "What grievances, tensions, or conflicts, if any, has your community experienced as a result of different disputes over the allocation or use of land and other natural resources?" In response, participants were split, albeit unevenly, along two opposing views. The majority of the respondents either said there are no tensions or conflicts; they have not seen any such tensions; or they have not heard of such incidents in their communities as a result of land allocation and management disagreements. For this category of respondents, the general argument is that "there are no grievances, tensions, or conflicts regarding the allocation or use of land and other natural resources" (BF_KII_01_0051_F; also BF_KII_01_7065_F; BF_KII_01_9238_F; BF_KII_01_1110_M; BF_KII_ 01_2729_F, among others).

Those who said there are grievances and tensions around land allocation, ownership, and management pointed largely to issues related to the double sale of the same plot of land, leading to claims of ownership by multiple people. In their view, the tensions that abound are generally "linked to the occupation of the land by two people" (BF_KII_01_7063_M2). Such incidents of "…occupation of land by two or more persons" (BF_KII_01_7063_M1) usually occur in instances where "if one owns the land and he has no certificate of sale or loan or witnesses, the person who lent can go and make a certificate and say that he is the one who owns the land […] because he has proof" of ownership (BF_KII_01_5947_M). Land usage conflicts reflect issues such as building on waterways (BF_KII_01_1286_M), disputes over the inheritance of intestate lands and properties (NR_KII_ 01_1518_F; BF_KII_01_5947_M1; BF_KII_01_1285_M), or encroachment on the properties of others

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[11] The distinction between approval of land transactions by chiefs or through documentation with the government is that while approval of transactions by chiefs is generally an act of witnessing to a "gentlemen's or women's agreement" with no legal backing and enforceability, registration with the government authorities are grounded in law and transactions may be contested in and enforced through the courts of law.

either through farming or allowing livestock to stray onto other's farms. Respondents said such conflicts are readily resolved through recourse to the chief or other structures in the communities.

3.5.4 *Customary Beliefs, Land Management Practices, and Access to Agricultural Lands*

*Effects of Customary Beliefs, Practices, and Land Management Arrangements on Access and Use of Agricultural Lands for **Members of Different Ethnic/Religious Groups** in the Community*

A large majority of respondents reported that their customary beliefs, practices, and land management arrangements did not prevent people from different ethnic and religious groups from accessing and using land for their productive purposes. This was mentioned 115 times (e.g.. BF_KII_01_7650_M; BF_KII_01_3403_F; NR_KII_01_4114_M; and NR_KII_01_0531_F). Land, its access, and productive usage were free for all. As explained by one of the interviewees, "Customary beliefs, practices and land management arrangements do not affect how ethnic and religious groups in the community access and use the land for their productive purposes" (BF_KII_

> **Box 48: Ethnicity and Religion Were Not Limitation.**
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> "Good in all at this level there is not a big problem. I was saying that when you need land you ask the owner of the land if they want it, they give it to you, and you use it as you want. For example, in my case, I am a Christian and the CVD leader is a Muslim, but when I arrived here, I asked him for the land, and he gave me this land on which I cultivate" (BF_KII_01_7650_M).

01_9100_F). Another respondent reiterated that there was no discrimination in access to land, stating, "They have access to the use of their land and for their purposes. Modalities have no bearing on the acquisition of land based on ethnic or religious affiliation" (NR_KII_01_5803_M). Another said there is "no, no influence. The allocation of land is not conditional. You just have to ask, and you will get [it]. It doesn't matter [what is your] religion or your ethnicity" (BF_KII_01_2108_F).

It was noted there were established procedures for owning, accessing, and using the land. These processes and procedures did not hinder individuals' access and productive usage of land. Access to land for productive use could be i) by asking the chief (in communities where all lands weren't already owned), ii) through purchasing, iii) by lending or borrowing for a specific period of time, and iv) lastly acquiring it by inheritance.

Even though most respondents stated there was no discrimination in access to and productive use of land for everyone, 22 respondents thought otherwise with respect to ownership. They cited the principle of land allocation through the application of religious laws and teaching as restrictive, as it interfered with state processes on the allocation of land, as well as on gender equity in access to land. These problems are intertwined and are not isolated. Even though access to land and its usage was without discrimination for many based on

> **Box 49: Access to Land does not mean Ownership of Land**
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> "We don't give to the Arabs because if we give them, they will occupy the space and grab the land and that becomes a problem. But if it is a loan, the land is granted to all ethnic groups" (NR_KII_01_8866_F).

religion and ethnicity, ownership was somewhat regulated. Ownership of land in some cases was limited to natives of the communities, while access and usage were open to everyone. A respondent explained that, "There are ethnic groups that do not have access to land titles, but land is lent to them for their own productive purposes. As for the indigenous members, the lands are allocated to them in accordance with the law" (NR_KII_01_8781_F).

Another respondent stated what the rules for natives were: "These terms and conditions do not affect the aboriginal members of the community. They have access to the land in accordance with the regulations in force and there is no hindrance as to their use" (NR_KII_01_4137_M). In addition, one respondent (NR_KII_01_8775_F) asserted, "If the person is indigenous, the customary land management arrangements have nothing to do with religion or membership of an ethnic group." In other words, customary land management systems take precedence over those of religion.

However, religion affected how land was distributed by inheritance to men and women. A respondent explained, "Religion: Islam and heritage. Women do not have the same share as men…" (NR_KII_01_4832_M). Another clarified the issue further by stating categorically that "inheritance according to Islam religion [means that] men and women are paid differently. [However], there is no distinction between groups for access to land. Except that the herders are in the grazing areas and the farmers in the agricultural areas" (NR_KII_01_8677_M). This response explains how the distribution is done by religion: "According to the Islam religion, the inheritance gives two parts to the man and the woman one part. But according to tradition, there is the case where women are told to go and take care of this land before the division of the inheritance" (NR_KII_01_0285_M).

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Box 50: Access to Land Does Not Mean Equality in Distribution

On heritage: "On the religious and Islamic level, the woman inherits half of what a man inherits according to the precepts of Islam" (NR_KII_01_4794_M).

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Other respondents clarified that, with the increasing involvement of state procedures and process in the acquisition of land, the religious and customary practices in relation to land ownership and access no longer hold sway on who could or could not access land. As one respondent aptly explains: "They [religion and ethnicity] have no bearing on the accession or acquisition of space. Especially today, these methods and beliefs are undergoing major transformations with the involvement of the state in the awarding process allowing irregularities to be avoided as much as possible" (NR_KII_01_0887_M). Another respondent said, "These beliefs are losing steam. Everything is done with the municipal authorities" (NR_KII_01_1538_M). Another respondent attributed changes in the land allocation and access practices to increasing interethnic and intergroup marriages between different identity groups, explaining that, "We no longer make any difference between the ethnic groups because we have become the same communities. There is a lot of marriage between us, and we share the resources such as land" (NR_KII_01_4874_F).

Five respondents thought religion, ethnicity and power still hinder access and productive usage of land. As one of them categorically states: "I think that tradition and religion pose a problem in terms of land allocation" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). Another noted "especially religion" was a hindrance to land access and usage (NR_KII_01_4828_M). "The refusal to give a portion of land" (BF_KII_01_1286_M) was a problem for another. The last three cited corruption, influence peddling, abuse of power, and failure to respect appropriate documentation as teething problems with regards to land access and its productive usage. (NR_KII_01_1546_M; NR_KII_01_1669_M; NR_KII_01_9027_F).

Effects of Customary Beliefs, Practices and Land Management Arrangements on Access and Use of Agricultural Lands for Women

Respondents were asked about how customary beliefs, practices, and land management arrangements affected how women in the community, especially those who married into the community or who are widows, have access to and use land. In response, they indicated that women, especially married women, and widows had access to land for their productive use. There were 108 mentions from respondents that explained how women in their communities have full access to land and use it as they please without any limitation. They stated that once the customary and legal process was followed, women could have access to their own lands for productive use without any customary beliefs, practices and land management arrangements impeding access. In the view of a respondent, "Traditions have no impact on how land is allocated. Everyone has the right to land" (BF_KII_01_1121_M). A female participant in FGD_01 in Burkina Faso confirmed this when she stated that, "The king, landowners, and local authorities control the management and allocation of land, but everyone can have access to land for their productive purposes" (BF_FGD_01_1414).

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Box 51: No Obstacles to Women Accessing Land

"Whatever her status, there is no obstacle to women having access to land and using it for their own purposes" (NR_KII_01_8785_F).

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To buttress this, another respondent explained, "All you have to do is send a request to the leader, who in turn will consult the other leaders. At the end of this through an assembly, the population is informed that so and so has been awarded this or that" [piece of land] (BF_KII_01_1647_F). In other words, if the right processes were followed women have access to land. Hence, customary beliefs have no impact on the allocation of land for productive use for women. Additionally, women can access land "… by purchase [if they had the means] or by inheritance [from their spouse or father] or even loan (NR_KII_01_9021_F)". Besides, women have access to land as gifts from their families or husband (NR_KII_01_4885_F, BF_KII_01_8310_F).

Widows have access to land by inheriting a part of their husband's lands to care for themselves and their children. Inheritance as a means for women, especially widows, to gain access to land is mentioned 54 times. In Niger, "widowed or married in the community, [women] benefit from the plot provided to them by their husband or his family. After the death of the husband, they benefit directly from his inheritance. But they can also buy" (NR_KII_01_2257_M; also NR_KII_01_0285_M). However, the share of land women can have differed based on the procedure employed during allocation. As a respondent explained, in Burkina Faso, "Women, including widows, have the right to a portion of arable land and even if they cannot farm [by themselves] their children can do it for them" (BF_KII_01_1286_M). In Niger, at least 12 respondents in KII_01 and several FG_01 participants mentioned that widows may only inherit up to one-eighth of the husband's property, land inclusive (NR_KII_01_1559_M; NR_KII_01_1559_M; NR_KII_01_1632_F; NR_KII_03_1638_F; NR_FGD_01_1631; NR_FGD_01_1555. among others).

At least 51 mentions from respondents revealed that though women had access to land, they had no ownership. Access was granted from the family or through the husband. With this, inheritance from husbands and fathers was the major way they could access land for their productive use. This response exemplifies the point raised above: "Women do not have [automatic] access to land; however, each woman can use the field, or the space allocated to her husband" (BF_KII_01_1614_F). Another stated, "Married women have access only to a part of her husband's field, or a field that she inherited from her parents; because she is under the control of her husband, widows also have access by inheritance to her and her children" (NR_KII_01_4119_M).

Of the total responses that fell into this category, it is notable that 3 responses categorically state women have no right to own lands. A response that highlights this clearly states, "No, that hasn't changed…there has been no impact. Women have no right to land. She works in her husband's field" (BF_KII_01_8310_F). Another put it this way. "Widows can also have land. According to our tradition, **only men can talk about land ownership.** Women only have the right to use the land" (BF_KII_01_9662_F).

> **Box 52: No Land Ownership for Women**
> "The woman has no right to land in our community and she cultivates with her husband, and it is the part that her husband gives her that she uses. Widows continue to use the land of their deceased husbands" (BF_KII_01_8173_M).

Ambiguity and Concerns over Women's Ownership and Use of Land: While overall the majority of respondents believe women have equal rights to use lands in their communities, at least 9 respondents expressed concerns about the lack of access to land by women (NR_KII_01_1553_M; NR_KII_01_8790_F); the marginalization of widows and women with regards to access to and use of land (NR_KII_01_1538_M; NR_KII_01_1546_M); and the difficulties inherent in the processes for accessing land for productive uses (NR_KII_01_0958_M; BF_KII_01_6949_F).[12] These respondents raised concerns about the generality of the majority statements on women's ownership of and access to land. They indicate that there are contextual and equity issues relating to

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[12] Ownership and access are distinguished by the fact that one may own land (i.e., have legal title to it) but have no access to it, e.g., land taken over permanently or temporarily for public use. Similarly, one may have access to use land without owning, i.e., having legal title to it; e.g., a land owner may grant usufructuary access to non-natives (immigrants, settlers, refugees, IDPs) to farm or build on but without surrender of ownership rights to the person using the land. In this case, women are allowed to use land, but may not own it.

women's access to land for productive purposes. For instance, while a respondent in Burkina Faso believes that, "Women also have access to land like men" (BF_FGD_01_7961), in Niger, another respondent believes that, "Women do not necessarily have access to land like men. They cannot access and use part of their husband's field" (NR_FGD_01_9176). Another FDG participant in Niger clarifies that, although "married women's access to land is not affected religiously and traditionally, if she is widowed, she is entitled to 1/8 and if she inherits from her father 1/3" (NR_FGD_01_1631). In Burkina Faso, on the other hand, "Widows have access to land if they wish, others also inherit land from their late husbands" (BF_FGD_01_7961). The foregoing suggests that rules of allocation in Burkina Faso may be gender-neutral, but that is not the case in Niger. In the latter case, whether married or widowed, women are entitled to only a fraction of the land that men would get from the customary and religion-based land allocation system.

*Effects of Customary Beliefs, Practices and Land Management Arrangements **on Youth***

This section examines the effects of WFP's activities on customary beliefs, practices, and land management arrangements as they pertain to access and use of agricultural lands for youth in the community. In hierarchical, male-centered societies, access to and ownership of land is often gender and age dependent, as the rights of ownership (even if custodial), control over access to and usage of lands are usually vested in older men. Like women, young people living within such communities sometimes face challenges in accessing land for their own productive activities. This, therefore, sought to ascertain the extent to which customary beliefs, values, and practices affect the rights of young people in the program communities to access and use land.

In response to the question, at least 112 respondents stated there were no challenges for youth in their communities to access and use land. Like women, the youth had access to land for their productive undertakings only if they followed the legitimate acquisition processes. The data, however, show that access to land for young people is neither automatic nor universal across the study countries. In Burkina Faso, the declaration that "young people still have access to land" (BF_KII_01_3401_M; BF_KII_01_3403_F) seems to cut across all provinces. Respondents there pointed out that, "Any young person who wishes to be a landowner can be" (BF_KII_01_3403_F). This is because customary beliefs and land management arrangements posed no obstacles to youth having access to land because customary "beliefs and practices have no impact on land allocation in this village. As such, there is no discrimination in the division of land" (BF_KII_01_1123_F). Hence, "On the young side, access is easy and they are entitled to plots of land" (BF_KII_01_1378_M). For those who cannot inherit land from their families, "You have to have a relationship with the landowner or even own a material good to pay for it" (BF_KII_01_6923_M).

While in Burkina Faso there seems to be a consensus that there is "no problem [with access to land as] young people have access to land and use it for their own productive purposes" (BF_FGD_01_1414), respondents in Niger mentioned a number of conditions under which young people may have access to land for their own productive purposes. Even though it was held that "no [customary] practices [that] prevent young people from having access to land unless they have not reached the age to work on it" (NR_KII_01_1669_M), other respondents clarified that age is a major determinant in having access to land. In general, "young people do not have access to land, that is to say, they do not have their own fields. They work in the father's field. But they are given a small portion to cultivate and meet some of their needs" (NR_FGD_01_9176). However, once they are of age, "young men have access to land because they are the ones who are forced to work" on them (NR_KII_01_3784_M). Under these general age-dependent rules, "… young household heads have access to land" (NR_KII_01_4137_M).

In Niger where limitations were placed on young people's access to lands, they have to work on family lands like everyone else. As such, "The young do not own their own land […] they work for the parents and at the same time can use the food" (NR_KII_01_1640_F) said one respondent. Another stated that "Young people work [on] family fields" (NR_KII_01_4767_F) until they can get their own. Other respondents attributed the difficulties of youth accessing land for their own productive use to natural phenomena: the rapidly increasing sand dunes (NR_KII_01_8781_F, NR_KII_01_8790_F) that take up once arable lands, overpopulation putting pressure on lands, and diseases (NR_KII_01_0958_M).

> **Box 53: Collective Land Ownership Systems**
>
> "Young people do not have their own land; it is by group, and each inherits from his father" (BF_KII_01_6974_M).

Structural and Systemic Restrictions on Access and Usage of Land for Young People

Overall, the data revealed various structural restrictions and limitations to youth accessing land in some communities in both Niger and Burkina Faso. At least 79 responses stated some kind of restriction or other that prohibits the youth to varying degrees from accessing land for their productive endeavors. In other words, the youth have to meet these conditions to access land for their productive use. In some cases, meeting these preconditions was the only option available to them. Among the restrictions or limitations identified are:

Age: In some communities, age limits were put in place to restrict the youth from accessing land for productive use. The youth had to reach a certain age before they were allowed access to land for their productive use. To explain, one respondent had this to say, "If the young person is a minor, he has no right to the land; it is only when he is of age that the property will be attributed to him" (NR_KII_01_1518_F). Another explained that the young people have to "… work for all the members of the family to arrive at a certain age [after which] the father gives him a part to carry out these activities" (NR_KII_01_1635_F).

> **Box 54: Age Requirement Needed**
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> "For children [youth], their accession systems are still fragile, especially when they have not reached the age of maturity" (NR_KII_01_0531_F).
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>
> "Among young people when it comes to inheritance, they grant it unconditionally. But when the parents are alive, he only has rights when he gets married" (NR_KII_01_9007_F).

Marriage: Marriage was employed as another measure to limit youth from accessing land. The use of marriage as a qualification for accessing and owning land may be tied to the use of age for the same purpose, with both serving as indicators of adulthood, economic independence, and the transition into the position of social responsibility in caring for a family. As respondents explained, youthful males and females in these communities were granted access to lands only after they had married. As this respondent explains, "The young people work in their father's fields. Some access their own land after marriage" (NR_KII_01_0780_F). Some respondents asserted further that, "Young people only have the right to access land when they are heads of households" (NR_KII_01_8771_F). i.e., by dint of circumstances they are compelled to assume responsibility for leading the provision of food, shelter, and other needs for their households despite being legally or customarily minors by age. Until then, young people "work on the fields of their parents and after the marriage they give [them] a share to carry out these activities" (NR_KII_01_4872_F).

> **Box 55: Traditional Land Allocation Systems**
>
> "Gayamna (piece of land given to the young boy) when he is married, you give to him, and you give to his wife" (NR_KII_01_4830_F).

Inheritance: For some youth in these communities, the only means to access land for their productive use is through inheritance. One respondent said, "Young people inherit land from their fathers" (BF_KII_01_9662_F). Another respondent emphatically stated that, "For young people, inheritance remains the only mode" for owning land (NR_KII_01_2257_M). However, embedded in the customary inherence practices are gender-based discriminatory rules that deny equality to the female youth in their inheritance of family lands. As one respondent explains,

> **Box 56: Land Inheritance**
>
> "Young people also inherit the land from their fathers so they cannot have land until their ancestors have exploited it beforehand" (BF_KII_01_8173_M).

traditionally, women were not entitled to any land share, even through the inheritance system. If women do get any share today "it's religion that [has set the] precedence here. [Otherwise] inheritance before, we don't give to women, now with the understanding of religion, we give inheritance to women" (NR_FGD_01_9176). It is the rule of Islam that now dictates that in matters of inheritance, "The young men and women inherit lands in accordance with rules that say that '… the man who has two parts and the woman one part' " (NR_KII_01_1640_F).

*Effects of Customary Beliefs, Practices and Land Management Arrangements on Access and Use of Agricultural Lands for **Migrants and Settlers in Program Communities***

Overall, a large number of respondents said customary beliefs, practices, and land management arrangements do not affect how people from other places who have settled in their communities can access and use land for their own productive purposes. In all, 137 of 217 KII_01 respondents stated that people from other places could access land for their productive endeavors; there was no limitation placed on people from other communities and all available channels for acquiring lands were open to them. As one respondent explained, "No, there's no problem... you just have to ask, and we'll find him a place" (BF_KII_01_8310_F). Another added, "When we give land to someone whether you are native or foreign[er] it belongs to you" (BF_KII_01_7061_M). Another respondent explained further that access to land was relative to the foreigner's duration of stay in the community: "They can have access…they can be given or loaned depending on whether

> **Box 57: Foreigners' Access to Land**
>
> "In our village we do not distinguish between us and a stranger. The same principles of management without distinction and of equality are advocated" (BF_KII_01_8178_F).
>
> ___
>
> **Access to Land through Loans**
>
> "At this level also if someone comes to our village, he first asks the village chief, and we will find him a piece of land. The land is not for him to keep, it is a rental in a way" (BF_KII_01_6810_F).

they stay forever or leave one day" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). In other situations, communities are willing to give new settlers land for cultivation. These testimonies clearly show that newcomers into communities are not hindered by customary beliefs, practices, and land management procedures with regard to land access for productive use. Similar views were expressed in the KII_02 and FGD_01 sessions.

Respondents, however, seem to conflate the concepts of equity and equality of access to land. One group of respondents believes IDPs, refugees, and all "…people from other places have equitable access to the productive resources of the community" [without discrimination] (BF_KII_03_3931_M; NR_KII_03_4117_M) because "we consider them as people of our community" (NR_KII_03_6756_M; also NR_KII_03_6760_M). As such "they benefit from the advantages that the members of the community" have (NR_KII_03_7337_M). Another set of respondents, however, makes a distinction between equity and equality of access to land for non-natives settling in their communities. This category of respondents pointed out that "…people who have settled in the community [are granted access to land] much more [as] an opportunity to [help them] integrate into the social fabric" (NR_KII_03_6885_M). Hence, they "… do not have equal access to land because they are not administratively registered in the community" (NR_KII_03_8994_M). Their ability to have "access to land is subject to registration with the local" COFOB (NR_KII_03_1549_M).

In communities where lands are not available for foreigners to acquire due to scarcity or customary practices, these new settlers access land for their productive use by borrowing it from natives. The land is given out to the foreigner for a specific period during which they use it for their own activities without any impediments. Foreigners "can access a loan through a landlord or village chief. The loan can be of long duration…" explained the respondent (NR_KII_01_4137_M). When it comes to people from other communities, "It is the village chief who lends them the land, or an owner can lend him his field" (NR_KII_01_4132_M). All the foreigner needs to do is to "just send the request to the imam of the village, who will consult the other leaders and in return you will be granted the land, but it is just for the duration of your stay in the community" (BF_KII_01_7585_F).

Non-natives mentioned the loan system exclusively as a means for accessing land 52 times in their responses. Others said they did not know, and one respondent stated, for nationals, they easily accessed land but "when it comes to a foreigner, it is in rare cases that he accesses land" (NR_KII_01_0889_M). The remaining responses said this situation was not applicable to them because they had no foreigners in their communities.

*Effects Of Customary Beliefs, Practices and Land Management Arrangements on Access and Use of Agricultural Lands for **Transient Pastoralists** Passing through Program Communities*

In all, 156 KII_01 respondents said pastoralists who periodically came or passed through the community for pasture and water had access to these resources without customary beliefs, practices, and land management arrangements impeding their access. However, the degree of freedom of access to the resources seem to be country dependent. While in Burkina Faso, there seem to be no limitations, visiting pastoralists in Niger face regulated access to the resources. In Burkina Faso, it was argued that there is "no problem, they [pastoralists] access the land and use it for

> **Box 58: Transient Access to Land and Water**
>
> "Pastoralists who come periodically or pass through the community have access to water and pasture without any problem if they do not venture onto cropland" (NR_KII_01_8862_F).

their own productive purposes" (BF_KII_01_0051_F). Another stated that customary beliefs, practices, and land management measures do "... not affect pastoralists who periodically come or pass through the community for pasture and water" (BF_KII_01_2737_F). Some communities had dedicated fields for herders, and they could use those fields. As noted by one respondent, "pastoralists have no problem because there are forests for grazing" (BF_KII_01_9238_F). In sum, "pastoralists also have access to land and use it for their own productive purposes without problems" (BF_FGD_01_1414).

In Niger, however, "Pastoralists [can] bring their herds for grazing and encounter no problems if only they respect local norms, rules, and regulations" (NR_FGD_01_9001). First, in these communities, grazing is free, but the use of water is highly regulated. Accordingly, visiting pastoralists can have free access to land to graze their animals but have to buy water for their herds. Second, they can access the resources, especially water, based on schedules that the community has established (NR_FGD_01_1631). Hence, the visiting "pastoralists go through the village

> **Box 59: Regulated Access to Water**
>
> "Access to water is regulated by the village chief. It is the chief who authorizes access to water to herders. As soon as they land in the village they come and ask the chief for permission. Regarding grazing, the chief tells them if they cannot control their cattle, they are asked not to enter the fields and keep their cattle away from dwellings" (NR_KII_01_4130_M).

chief to access water according to a schedule" (NR_FGD_01_4112). Next, the pastoralists pay to access the water. Accordingly, "pastoralists who come periodically for grazing and water approach the village chief for access to water. To access them they must pay 1000 naira [13] to water their cattle…" (NR_KII_01_4137_M).

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[13] The naira is the currency of Nigeria. The reference to it as the currency of payment suggests the visiting herders are coming across from Nigeria.

Finally, in addition to payment for access to water, visiting pastoralists must respect the rules of the communities in which they are offered abode. This is because "the system of exploitation of these resources is regulated…" NR_KII_01_8788_F). According to these rules, they must keep their animals away from the crop farms, respect the land tenure duration agreements, and stay in parts of the communities allocated to them. One respondent explained it thus: "They can settle there until the end of their pasture [period] without any problem if all their herds do not attack the fields and crops" (NR_KII_01_9003_F). In other words, "they have access to land for grazing, but they are told to watch their cattle so that they do not enter the fields" (NR_KII_01_4134_M). Pastoralists' tenure with regard to land usage is temporary since they are always in search of greener pastures for their herds.

The next major group of responses regarding how local customary beliefs and practices affect pastoralist groups' access natural resources in host communities were statements indicating they did not know, or the situation was not applicable to them. This amounted to 22 responses. Three respondents stated that pastoralists did not have access to their lands; one stated it was because in their community there was no pasture for grazing animals; and the others explained it was because pastoralists were transient.

*Customary Beliefs, Land Management Practices, and Access **for IDPs/Refugees***

Respondents were asked about how customary beliefs, practices, and land ownership processes affect the access to land for IDPs/refugees in their respective communities. Out of the responses given to this question, the majority of KII_01 responses (135/214) indicated that this situation was either not applicable, they did not know, or they had nothing to report. This is because their communities had no IDPs/refugees living with them. As one respondent explained, the question is "not applicable [because we have] no refugees in our community" (BF_KII_01_6810_F). Some respondents, though noting they had no IDPs/refugees, believed there would be no problem for them accessing land for housing and farming. In the view of one of them, the community has "no refugees but I think they can access land to farm or house" (BF_KII_01_7963_M). Another added that even though "there is no IDP here, but I think that if they were to ask, they will be granted but it will not be to keep but maybe just for exploitation" (BF_KII_01_7644_F).

For respondents with experience in hosting IDPs/refugees, there were 74 responses that stated that IDPs/ refugees had access to land for their own productive benefits without any customary beliefs, practices or land management arrangements hindering them. Out of these, 18 respondents stated that lands were loaned out to the refugees for usage. The remaining 56 explained IDPs/refugees could access land freely. As one respondent clarified, "There is no discrimination in this village. We are giving land to the displaced for settlements and for carrying out other activities" (BF_KII_01_9664_M). Another explained, "Even with the IDPs there is no problem because we are all brothers and sisters" (BF_KII_01_7065_F). A respondent stated further that "…tradition and beliefs have no impact" (BF_KII_01_6733_F) on how the community treats IDPs/refugees in granting access to land.

> **Box 60: No Impact of Tradition on Land Access**
>
> "Traditions have no impact on how land is allocated. Everyone has the right to land. The displaced who come have a space to bring their activities" (BF_KII_01_1121_M).

> **Box 61: Duration of Access to Land**
>
> "They can have access temporarily or permanently. It will depend on them and how long they last here" (BF_KII_01_7646_M).

In general, the loan system was employed in some communities to grant land to IDPs/refugees, as noted in the following responses: "The latter, through a loan, become beneficiaries of land following their request to the chief and after consultation with the various community leaders" (BF_KII_01_7951_M). There are often no term limits on the loaned lands. As a respondent explains, "We loan them a space until they return" it (BF_KII_01_6392_F). For the process of granting the loans, "It is through a general assembly that we lend them a portion until the end of their stay in the community. In a way it's a loan" (BF_KII_01_7577_F). The criteria and procedures for the request and granting of the land loan, as

another respondent explained is that the IDPs/refugees had to be integrated into the community and must have "done at least one year [before they] make a request to the CVD, which will bring together the other members of the community to make them witnesses" (BF_KII_01_5947_M) so that they can access land. One respondent, however, believed that "the IDPs we cannot talk about equity in terms of access to our land" (BF_KII_02_9098_M).

3.5.5 *Improved Equitable Access to Enhanced Communal Resources*

Respondents were asked how the participation of communities in WFP's activities have ensured that different demographic groups in the participating communities have equitable access to communal resources created or improved through the interventions for their personal benefits. Responses are categorized below:

> **Box 62: Accessing Recovered Lands**
>
> "You just have to send the request to the imam of the village who will consult the other leaders and in return you will be granted the land, but it is just for the duration of your stay in the community" (BF_KII_01_7585_F).

Effect on Access to Created or Improved Resources by Different Ethnic Groups

The data show that participation in the activities of WFP and its partners has improved access to resources by different ethnic and religious groups. Improved access by different groups through community participation in WFP and its partners' activities was mentioned 83 times by KII_01 respondents from the two countries studied. As one of them indicated, "…whatever your ethnicity or your religion, you can have access to resources" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). In the view of a KII_03 respondent, "everyone has fair access to resources because the ethnic groups

> **Box 63: Groups Access to Resources**
>
> "WFP activities ensured that different ethnic or religious groups had access to communal resources created or improved for their needs" (BF_KII_01_4523_F).

have been living together for several years, we have found mechanisms to stay in peace and have the same rights (NR_KII_03_6756_M). Another asserts, "Everyone has fair access to resources [because] all populations are equal" (NR_KII_03_6885_M). This is partly because "the customary system of land allocation does not provide for any discrimination in this regard against different groups. All groups receive the same treatment regarding access to resources" (NR_FGD_01_8780).

However, other respondents believe the equality of access to natural resources derives from the fact that "WFP's procedure for implementing its activities means that all (ethnic) groups are represented in community activities, which makes access [to resources] as equitable as possible" (NR_KII_01_8781_F). All "…beneficiaries who come from different ethnic and religious groups have equitable access to resources thanks to the integrative spirit of the program" (BF_KII_03_3931_M). Besides, "there are management committees that ensure everyone has access to resources" (BF_FGD_01_7916). This has resulted in "increased land [access], agricultural production, [and] production of animal feed" (NR_KII_01_2268_M).

Effect on Women's Access to Land and Other Created or Improved Natural Resources

Participation in the activities of WFP and its partners has promoted women's access to land and other natural resources based on data collected from the study. Fair, equal, and equitable access to land and other resources by women without discrimination or distinction were in totality mentioned 113 times by KII_01 respondents. A KII_03 respondent explained that since "…60% of the participants in the activities are women, access to resources is guaranteed by the community aspect of the activities" (BF_KII_03_8834_M). This was

> **Box 64: Women have Access to Resources**
>
> "…WFP activities have provided women with equitable access to land and other natural resources for their productive activities by bringing them together and involving them" (NR_KII_01_7758_F).

corroborated by a number of KII_01 respondents, with two female respondents clearly articulating that "…women as well as men have equal access to land and other natural resources" (BF_KII_01_9952_F).

Women's access to land and other natural resources was made possible "through awareness-raising and compliance with WFP policies in the implementation of activities" (BF_KII_01_7650_M) as well as "their representativeness in various bodies and groups or management committees" (NR_KII_01_6969_M). This "ensured that women in the community have equitable access to land and other natural resources for their productive activities" NR_KII_01_8862_F) "and [also] benefit in the same way as all the rest of the population" (NR_KII_01_2269_M). Even for respondents who believed that women in the participating communities had "… equitable access to land and other natural resources for their productive activities even before the arrival of WFP and its partners [acknowledged that] WFP has also brought a plus" (BF_FGD_01_9501).

Effects on Relationships Between Farmers and Pastoralists in the Management of Shared Natural Resources

The role of the activities of WFP and its partners in bringing farmers and herders to work together as a means to ensure social cohesion and harmony was mentioned 75 times by KII_01 respondents in the study. These activities have also led to the development of common grazing spaces, watering points for livestock, pastures, passage corridors (passageways) for herders

> **Box 65: WFP's Role in Improving Social Cohesion**
>
> "…WFP activities have created a bond of trust and cohesion between farmers and herders" (BF_KII_01_5070_F).

to move their livestock, and delimitation of areas around farms where herders can graze their animals.

For these reasons, respondents believed the implementation of activities of WFP and its partners has improved collaboration and social cohesion building between farmers and herders in the use and management of water and other shared natural resources. According to them, this "participation in the activities of WFP and its partners has ensured that farmers and herders work together in a way that benefits all" (NR_KII_01_8862_F). The resultant symbiotic relationship ensures that "herders can use farmers' fields for grazing and at the same time can enrich it with animal waste" (NR_KII_01_0776_F). In this way, "WFP's activities [have] enabled [farmers and herders] to know that they can and should work together, all using the same resources without being a source of conflict" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). A KII_02 respondent observed that:

> The activities of the WFP have enabled these different groups, such as farmers and herders, to know that the conflicts which opposed them were due to poor exploitation or under-exploitation of the land. Today, these conflicts no longer exist because with the activities that the WFP has carried everyone finds their account (BF_KII_02_7648_F).

As part of the interventions, "WFP activities have enabled farmers and herders to work on developing areas [for grazing livestock]" (BF_KII_01_3403_F). KII_01 respondents in both countries mentioned the establishment of common grazing spaces, watering points, pastures, passage corridors/passageways, and delimitation of areas through WFP's activities 62 times. The joint development of demarcated lands has "ensured that the herders have a space to graze their animals, and a place where the animals can drink. No more hassle with farmers" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). This is because the activities of "WFP and its partners have ensured that farmers and herders work together to manage common pastures and other shared natural resources in a way that benefits them all" (BF_FGD_01_1414_M_R1).

In some communities, farmers and herders have also agreed on the establishment of a "passage corridor for animals, the different water points, [and] consensus [on] distances that agriculture should not encroach" (NR_KII_01_1667_M). The land demarcations included "delimitations of the areas including a part for market gardening, an access road for wild animals, another for herders, and for farmers" (NR_KII_01_0891_M). This "…has allowed herders to receive more grazing space and their relationship with farmers is getting stronger" (BF_FGD_01_1613_F_R1). It has also created "…a win-win [situation] for both groups" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). These initiatives have "improved relations between farmers and herders" (BF_KII_01_9950_M) and contributed greatly to reduced conflicts between them, [as it has led them to] know how to use their common resources without it being a source of tension" (BF_KII_01_3403_F).

Lastly, the activities of WFP and its partners have also helped to enhance sensitization and awareness as well as create opportunities for farmers and herders to engage and participate in communal activities through various meetings and committees. KII_01 respondents mentioned the creation of sensitization and awareness through the activities of WFP and its partners' activities, including various meetings and committees as well as farmers' and herders' participation in communal activities, 74 times. They pointed out that "the holding of meetings [has led to] exchanges between farmers and livestock herders where the latter realized that they are complementary [as] the farmers need the livestock herders just as much as the livestock herders need the farmers" (BF_KII_01_5065_N). Farmers and herders also participated in activities for "raising awareness about conflict factors and conflict resolution strategies and the scope of living together" (NR_KII_01_2257_M). This helped them "to unite to work together for the proper functioning of their respective activities" (NR_KII_01_0780_F).

KII_02 respondents agreed that the meetings between farmers and herders were instrumental in creating good relationships between the two groups. Before WFP's interventions, "Farmers and herders only [met] on rare occasions" (NR_KII_03_6886_M). However, as a result of the activities of WFP and partners, farmers and herders meet regularly in committees where all issues are raised, discussed and agreed on (NR_KII_02_9180_M). FGD_01 participants credited the opportunities for different groups to meet with easing tensions and building of relationships between groups. The 22 participants mentioned the importance of meetings to social cohesion building 26 times. They argued that participation in meetings leads to the "creation of relationships between the different communities on the social cohesion […] and exchanges of common interests" (NR_FGD_01_4112). Additionally, "through meetings [there are] exchanges of opinions and collective decision-making" (NR_FGD_01_8999). For herder-farmer relationships, it was noted that "the meetings have made it possible to [have] well woven relationships…" (NR_FGD_01_9172) that have contributed to building social cohesion and peace between different groups, including herders and farmers. As another respondent noted in the case of farmer-herder relationships, "Before, it was land disputes and conflicts between farmers and herders that required help from the regional levels; [this] is no longer the case with the arrival of the WFP" (NR_FGD_01_9001).

3.5.6   *Equity Mechanisms for Access to and Usage of Rehabilitated Natural Resources*

There are complex equity issues involved when collective (or program) resources are used to rehabilitate lands, water sources, pasturelands, community woodlots, and agropastoral forests. This is particularly so when resource improvements are made on private lands. The study, therefore, investigated what mechanisms are in place to negotiate fair land tenure arrangements and access to other rehabilitated natural resources between communities and private landowners on whose properties such communal assets are located. Respondents indicated a range of situations, from those where no formal mechanisms exist to ones that are structured and formal in their operations. The views are summarized below:

No Mechanisms in Place: Some participants said there are no mechanisms in place to ensure equitable access to public resources, including those on private lands. In the view of one such respondent, "There is no mechanism [because] the land belongs to everyone" BF_KII_01_9667_F; also, BF_KII_02_9098_M; BF_FGD_01_8260). Another

> **Box 66: No Mechanisms for Land Management**
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> "At this level, it must be said that there is no mechanism as such. For a need for land whatever the purpose, you must inform the chief and it is up to the chief to find a space so that you can do your activities" (BF_KII_01_9794_M).
> --
> "There is no mechanism as such in place, as it is for development and for the common interest he cannot refuse, we will find a compromise with the owner" (BF_KII_01_1121_M).
> --
> "In the case of infrastructure installed on private land, no formal mechanism for negotiating access and use agreements is established" (BF_KII_01_7064_F2).

respondent pointed out that the absence of any mechanism does not disadvantage any member in having access to public resources. This is because even though "there is no mechanism, […] we are not aware of any discrimination" (BF_FGD_01_1613).

Use of Public Lands with No Access Restrictions: Other respondents indicated that most communally owned infrastructure is located on unencumbered lands that are technically considered public lands. These are either lands that are fallow, owned by the chief, or are held in trust by the chief for the community. Therefore, the question of restricted access by individuals to property development on such lands does not exist, in the minds of some respondents. As one framed it, "Land has no owners. If a development program comes to this village, regardless of the location chosen, we will find an appropriate solution with the manager so that the program benefits everyone" (BF_KII_01_1125_M). Hence, "The mechanisms present here is dialogue" (BF_KII_01_9238_F). Another is the traditional systems of arbitration, adjudication, and/or mediation under which the "chief of the village is there to resolve in case of conflict, but [this has not been tested as] there is no communal property located on private property (NR_KII_02_7326_M).

Mechanisms for Formally Procured Lands: In some cases, the communities formally procure the lands through purchase or secure deeds of donation for which they "always do paperwork [so that] the work is done on communal land" (BF_KII_01_1285_M6). Hence, some communities have "…mechanisms in place to negotiate based on loan agreements between the owner and the partner in the presence of the chief and the members of the committees" (BF_KII_01_7063_M4). Under such circumstances, land for communal use may be secured during community "…meetings at the chief's [palace where] we negotiate with the landowner … and he gives his agreement and as it is for the good of all the members of our community including himself, he does not refuse" (BF_KII_01_6808_M). At such meetings, "The owner's permission is first requested to occupy his space, [and] once the agreement is obtained, there is the signing of the papers with the testimony of traditional and religious leaders" (NR_KII_01_9003_F). The "… deed of loan or donation [that] is drawn up" (BF_KII_01_5947_M0) guarantees the rights of access to everyone in the community to the asset developed on it.

In the event of a conflict over access rights to such property, "…the conflict management mechanism for the management of [land on] private property is done by the chief or before the competent authorities" (BF_KII_02_9096_F). According to respondents from Niger, there is an elaborate and hierarchically structured system for resolving conflicts on land issues. The "mechanism used is first and foremost local management. If necessary, the case will be brought up to the level of the communal land commission, the customary chiefdom and then up to the level of the competent court. This is the procedure to be followed. [It] does not mean that the community has been subjected to this type of procedure of conflict; no, it's just the description of the mechanism" (NR_KII_02_8777_M). Under this structure, the conflict "… management mechanisms at this [subnational] level are the COFOCOM at the municipal level and the COFOB at the village level. These are the commissions that settle land disputes in Niger" (NR_KII_02_8125_M). In most cases, "these mechanisms are effective because all the problems rarely go beyond COFOCOM. Everything is managed at the village level" (NR_KII_02_8114_M). Overall, the various levels in this structured conflict management "… mechanisms are effective because they have social legitimacy and community confidence. For example, the complaints committee set up during the village assemblies, its members are chosen by the communities" (NR_KII_02_4122_M).

Box 67: Benefits of Common Grazing Places

"The establishment of areas for herders and farmers has strengthened the links and [complementary] relationship between the two actors" (BF_KII_01_8446_M).

Box 68: Use of Committees for Land Management

"The members of the committee search the field and sign the agreements in plenary, taking the village chief and the members of the palace community as witnesses. The owner and the NGO sign the agreements for a period agreed between the two parties" (BF_KII_01_ 063_M5).

Box 69: Mechanisms for Compensation

"Speaking of compensation, we negotiated to have the field loaned. This compensation is not determined. In front of the NGO and the owner he is told if the NGO brings the compensation, we will give them back to you and even if it does not compensate, he does not have to claim his field because the program will not transport the land for the take it elsewhere, it is in the interest of the village" (BF_KII_01_7063_M5).

Consultation, Consensus Building, and Enforcement of Moral Obligation: Participants suggested that variants and different combinations of the rules and procedures applicable to formal conflict management and resolution processes, such as adjudication, arbitration, negotiation, and mediation sessions, are used to address disputes over access to public resources on private lands. According to respondents, in dealing with land issues, the emphasis is always on building consensus within and across different groups or parties. As one respondent described it, "The mechanism used is consensus through community leaders" (BF_KII_01_7063_M). For instance, if the planned WFP "… activities match a field, the person [who owns the land] is asked what the person wants; the person is made aware [of the intent to use the land] and gives their consent" (BF_KII_01_1286_M). As one respondent summed it up, in an example in one case:

> To gain access to the land, there were negotiations. The land chief summoned the heads of families to find the land together. It was after talking to each other that they found the land. And as it was the elders who chose and as they agreed, this allowed people to work without any hindrance (BF_KII_01_2108_F).

This elaborate negotiation process is iterative. It starts at the land acquisition stages and becomes the instrument for resolving differences when disputes over access arise. For instance, in some cases, "the landowners are summoned by the chief who explains to them and negotiates with them so that they give up their land. They accept because for them it is for the good of the whole community" (BF_KII_01_8325_F). The negotiated agreement becomes the instrument for regulating access to the communal resources on the private lands as the consultative process allows the person to give "his [or her] informed consent and a commitment on his part to let everyone enjoy" (BF_KII_01_5943_M). Since "the negotiations take place in the villages with the participation of all the actors therefore [there is] transparency in the agreements" (BF_KII_03_8834_M). In sum, participants did not see much need for elaborate mechanisms for regulating access to communal assets created on private lands. They believed existing norms, practices, rules, and conventions provided enough safeguards against disputes.

3.5.7 Mechanisms for Adequate Compensation of Landowners Hosting Communal Assets

The use of private lands for the development of communal assets entails a cost for the landowners, as they no longer have exclusive use of such lands for their productive activities. The study, therefore, sought to determine if there are any mechanisms in place to compensate such private landowners for giving up their lands for communal use. In response to the question, at least 26 KII_01 respondents and participants in three FGDs noted that normally, no compensation is paid for private lands that are taken up for the siting of public goods. Respondents indicated that in general, "There are no compensation agreements between the WFP and the owner" (BF_KII_01_7063_M1) because "…the land is ceded without consideration for community activities [as] landowners are willing to give away their land without asking for any compensation in return" (BF_KII_03_3931_M). Consequently, there is usually no "...compensation agreement between the owner and the partner for giving up his property for community use (BF_KII_01_7063_M4). Landowners usually give their lands for free "… as it is for the good of the whole village they accept without consideration" (BF_KII_01_8325_F). In doing so, landowners usually "...find no inconvenience to give in for the interest of all" (BF_KII_01_8327_M) because they are motivated by "…the desire to achieve something more for the community" (BF_KII_01_3401_M). As a result, those who give their lands often say, "We don't necessarily need compensation because the program benefits us the most" (BF_KII_01_9794_M). On the contrary, those who give some of their land expect "nothing as compensation [because] it will be an honor for a son of the village to give his land for the common good of the community which will benefit us all" (BF_KII_02_5238_M). They expect "…no compensation [because] it's all about the desire to achieve something more for the community" (BF_KII_01_3401_M).

Despite the willingness of landowners to give their lands free in the interest of the common good, in some cases, compensation is paid for the use of private lands for public assets creation (BF_KII_01_9707_F, BF_KII_01_5947_M1). In other cases, landowners are deemed to accrue indirect compensation when there is a term limit for the use of such lands, after which they would be returned

to the owner (BF_KII_01_5947_M, BF_KII_01_7063_M2). Under such circumstances, "there is no mechanism as such, it's only comprehension" (BF_FGD_01_8260) as it is understood that the infrastructure in question is for everyone (BF_KII_02_9098_M). Those who donate or pledge lands for communal use can always take back their lands (NR_KII_01_8832_F; NR_KII_01_4826_M).

Sometimes, community members may, however, give a token as a sign of appreciation to the donor of the land, but there is no requirement that this be done. Hence, it is up to the communities to decide to compensate someone, and they often do so if there is some property already on the land that is taken over in the public interest. In some cases, the land donor "…is offered a little income but often all that is needed is the consent of the landowner. [Instead of cash, he may be] offered a piece of land for his use" (BF_KII_01_9952_F). Another respondent reinforced this view by stating that, "We can decide to give him another land if he wants, if he had already sown seeds, we ask the program to compensate him" (BF_KII_01_1125_M). In other cases, even though "there was never adequate compensation for handing over their ownership" BF_KII_01_7063_M) those benefiting from such beneficence may make individual and optional donations of small amounts of their harvest to the owner "on a voluntary basis" (BF_KII_01_7063_M8).

As with Burkina Faso, in Niger also, "there is no compensation for persons who give up land for communal activities" (NR_FGD_01_6887). This is because the current "… mechanisms do not provide any compensation to the owners" (NR_KII_01_8862_F). The absence of direct compensation is founded on the assumption of indirect benefits that will accrue to the land donor. As some respondents articulated it, communities offer no compensation or "no adequate compensation is provided for this" (NR_FGD_01_8780) because the landowners will eventually take back much-improved fields (NR_FGD_01_1649; NR_KII_01_1665_M; NR_KII_01_8832_F; NR_KII_01_4826_M). In other words, landowners maintain reversionary interests in the land and can claim the right of reentry upon the expiration of the time limits agreed for the use of their lands for communal purposes. In other cases, however, "as compensation, space is reserved for the landowner […] on the market gardening site […] that he can develop" (NR_FGD_01_1555; also NR_KII_01_1553_M). In other instances, even though "officially [there is] no compensation but in case of abundant production, the producer offers part of the production as a symbol" (NR_FGD_01_4112).

In sum, there are no institutionalized mechanisms for compensating individuals and families that give up their lands for communal programs. This is because the givers often see such acts as a sacred duty to help out their communities. Community members, in turn, may voluntarily reciprocate such kindness.

3.5.8   *Mechanism to Guarantee Access to Communal Facilities on the Private Lands*

WFP's asset creation interventions often require the construction of communal properties such as dams, hand-dug wells, community gardens, agroforestry, and agropastoral sites on lands that individuals or families in the community provide for such purposes. While the assets are for public use, they sit on private lands that are thus no longer exclusively for use by the land donors. Ensuring equitable access of all community members to such publicly owned facilities on private property requires regulation.

Asked about what mechanisms are in place to ensure that all community members (including, women, youth, persons living with disabilities, etc.) have equitable access to the use of facilities on private lands, some respondents indicated that since the grant of authority to use private lands was already arrived at by consensus or negotiated with the land owner, the latter was expected to live by his or her honor and not restrict access to anyone. Besides, once a private donor cedes his or her piece of land for the development of community assets, such "… places are now neutral places and regardless of your affiliation, you have equal access to use the infrastructure installed on private land" (BF_FGD_01_1414_F). In other words, "all members have equitable access to use the infrastructure installed on private land" (BF_KII_01_9952_F) because once given, the land becomes public property for the duration of the concession. Until the expiration of the concession period, "there is no separation, no distinction, regardless of your ethnicity and religion, you have equal access to the communal resources" (BF_KII_01_0053_F) located on it.

In addition to the general agreements that make it clear that such assets must be accessible to all for free use (BF_KII_01_5070_F; BF_KII_01_6808_M; BF_KII_01_6921_F), there are various management committees in place that ensure that all members have access to the facilities. These management committees ensure fair access for the communities to infrastructure on private lands (BF_KII_01_7063_M). They "…are responsible for reminding people that these activities are in place for the good of the whole community" (NR_KII_01_9007_F). The committees are also responsible to ensure that owners of private property on which communal assets are located live up to their commitment to grant access to all community members in the usage of the assets (BF_KII_01_5947_M). In brief, communities have internal norms and structures that ensure that access to communal infrastructure on private property is not restricted. As a respondent noted, people "…just have to ask the manager and he will give access" (BF_KII_01_9794_M).

In the interest of equity, communities have also established laws that require users of communal assets to pay user fees or token contributions toward the maintenance cost of such infrastructure, as noted below:
- The infrastructures installed on private land are accessible to everyone and are free, but there is a contribution from members of our community to repair them in the event of a breakdown. (BF_KII_01_6808_M)
- The infrastructures installed on private land are used by everyone without exception, they are free but in case of breakdown, there is a contribution that each member must give for the repair (BF_KII_01_6810_F).
- As for the infrastructure (pump) here, everyone has access to the pump without paying anything. It is only in the case of WFP that we are asked for a small contribution to repair... (BF_KII_01_6921_F)
- Everyone has access. For example, at the pump, everyone can come without any problem, but you have to pay a small contribution to maintain the infrastructure (BF_KII_01_6923_M). According to local regulations, ethnic groups living in the area have the right to access communal resources without discrimination […]. Everyone has access without discrimination if you are in the community (NR_KII_01_4134_M).

In other places, the "equity of access is guaranteed by the rules pre-established to [put into] effect … the decisions of the various committees" (BF_KII_01_7065_F1). The rules the communities put in place clearly "…stipulate that each member of the community has the right to have access to the infrastructures installed" (BF_KII_01_8182_F). In some places, these internal rules that guarantee access to communal resources for everyone come with penalties for default. Although there is a high degree of "respect for rules" (BF_KII_01_7061_M4), the "existence of committees [is] to ensure compliance with the rules set and allow access to all" (BF_KII_01_7063_M3). Anyone who breaches these rules of access "…is liable to a penalty – a fine" (BF_KII_01_5947_M1). In Niger, respondents emphasized the observance of community rules and regulations on land management as a precondition for enjoying the rights of access to the resources (NR_KII_02_1557_M; NR_FGD_01_1555; NR_FGD_01_1649). As in the case of Burkina Faso, "sanctions are issued for all offenders" (NR_FGD_01_1649) who flout the rules. Community members also understand that "compliance with this regulation generates mutual benefit" (NR_FGD_01_8780).

3.6 Replicability of WFP Interventions

One of the key questions WFP wished to explore in this research was "whether good practices observed in Niger and Burkina Faso can be extracted to help develop a compendium of possible measures aimed at enhancing access and improved equity in the use of increased natural resources? What are the risks of WFP's role in such issues and how can they be reduced or mitigated? (WFP, ToR 2021, p.4). To help answer this, the research asked respondents the question: In your opinion, which of the activities of WFP and its partners have the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community actions that build their resilience against food insecurity, conflict, and

other shocks? Respondents shared their thoughts around four key issues: i) activities they believed should be replicated in other contexts; ii) benefits they thought should be pursued in subsequent interventions; iii) activities they thought should not be repeated in other interventions; and iv) ways in which WFP's activities can be designed to foster improved food security and resilience. Findings under each component are summarized below:

3.6.1   Activities Recommended for Replication

In response to the questions above, the majority of respondents stated that the agricultural programs of WFP have the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community action that builds resilience against food insecurity, conflict, and other shocks. One respondent opined that "We will say that all WFP activities can be extended to others to promote social cohesion and resilience for food security" (BF_KII_01_6810_F). However, KII_01 respondents mentioned the agriculture activities of WFP and its partners 157 times. These activities included land reclamation, the introduction of new farming techniques like zaïs, half-moons, stone bunds, and organic manure production, community fields, and market gardening. To buttress their views, one respondent said that these "… activities bring together a lot of people between 100 and 500 people [to undertake] half-moon and stone bunding activities [or] post happiness garden" (BF_KII_01_ 1285_M). Another stated that, "It is especially the

> **Box 70: Replicate Land Recovery**
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> "These are all activities initiated by the program. But those of land recovery because far from the fact that they are innovative, they offer the chance to produce food and vegetation, and the production of straw for livestock feed. In addition, they value the land. And through intermingling, the different villages brought together rediscover their kinship. Birth of new forms of social relations such as marriage and other social events" (NR_KII_01_2268_M).

> **Box 71: Increased Agricultural and Animal Feed Production**
>
> "The improvement of the quality and quantities of harvests as well as the reduction of famine. These activities could also help other communities" (BF_KII_01_9660_M).

technique of zaï and half-moon plus the production of organic manure which are activities that can help other communities to strengthen their resilience against food insecurity" (BF_KII_01_9709_M). Another argued that "…for me the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community actions that strengthen their resilience against food insecurity, conflicts and other shocks is the community fields that will allow people to always see each other and share things in common" (BF_FGD_01_9501).

Respondents strongly recommended support for the construction of improved infrastructure such as roads, water reservoirs, gardens and animal tracks and financial earnings were also recommended to be replicated in other communities to foster social cohesion and food security resilience. They indicated that these activities have the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in

> **Box 72: Promote Road Construction**
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> "Road development has had the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community action" (BF_KII_01_8830_F).

other communities for community actions that build their resilience against food insecurity, conflict and other shocks are the infrastructure and rehabilitation programs. The construction and rehabilitation of roads, the drilling of water holes, and the dredging and construction of water ponds were all mentioned as activities that mobilize communities for cross-identity engagements that promote social cohesion (BF_KII_01_8180_M). As some respondents pointed out, "We have among other things the construction of roads, the dredging of water ponds" (BF_KII_01_0090_M) and "the construction of water reservoirs…" (BF_KII_01_8180_M), which mobilize large numbers of people from different identity groups to undertake them. In sum, an FGD participant specified that it is "WFP activities such as the construction of roads, the dredging of ponds, the half-moons [that] are known for the mobilization of the different groups" (BF_FGD_01_1414_F_R2). In addition to rebuilding community assets, "WFP activities such as construction of roads, the dredging of ponds, the half-moons are known for the mobilization of the different groups" (BF_FGD_01_1414; BF_KII_01_6733_F; NR_KII_01_4119_M) for collective engagements that also build social cohesion. As one respondent summarized, "With the

construction of the roads, we worked together and that made it possible to establish good relations with the other communities" (BF_FGD_01_8260).

Some respondents appealed for specific facilities to be constructed for their communities. The majority of respondents asked for places of shelter, stating that WFP and its partners should take up the "construction of housing for the displaced" (BF_KII_01_9660_M). Other respondents focused on communal infrastructure. One said that WFP and its partners should construct a "warehouse for storing fertilizers" (BF_KII_01_6808_M). Another asked for "the rehabilitation of the roads" (BF_KII_01_6961_M). Others asked for the construction of health facilities (BF_KII_01_0407_M; BF_KII_01_1618_M), schools (NR_KII_01_3546_F), and the "rehabilitation of roads as well" (BF_KII_01_8182_F).

While respondents appreciated the benefits (*outcomes*) from the construction engagements, their recommendations emphasized the replication of the *engagement processes*, which allowed different identity groups to work together. As one respondent put it, WFP's engagement processes for the construction of "… the zaïs, the stone bunds, the half-moons, [and] how to maintain the roads and create water reservoirs […] are unifying activities and therefore a source of social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). As another noted, through "…the activities we carry out together, the chiefs know each other well and we too have come to know them" (BF_KII_01_9664_M) –activating vertical social cohesion building in the communities.

The promotion of **income-generation activities** was mentioned as a tool to replicate as a means to promote cohesion. Therefore, respondents also recommended that WFP and partners invest in promoting "…income-generating activities such as livestock farming and the various training courses on agricultural techniques" as some concrete benefits of WFP that can be replicated to create social cohesion and food security resilience in other communities. This is because income-generating activities have the potential to mobilize and unite communities for community action (NR_KII_01_4290_M).

3.6.2 *Replicable Concrete Benefits of Food Security Resilience Activities*

Respondents raised the need to replicate some activities in order to create food security resilience in other communities. Overall, respondents mentioned ***improved agricultural techniques*** (half-moons, zaïs, stone bunds and dunes), soil fertility and land recovery (including regeneration of vegetative cover and composting) 119 times as replicable activities for WFP and partners. This, in the view of one respondent, is because "the activities of the WFP, namely the construction of zaïs, half-moons, stone bunds, and community gardens have helped us a lot" (BF_KII_01_6808_M), especially in the areas of "enhancement of unused land by fertilizing it or developing gardens" (BF_KII_01_3403_F). In particular, "the recovery of land, [through] the introduction of new land restoration techniques" (NR_KII_01_0891_M) and "the rehabilitation of arid lands such as hills which are today transformed into fields of exploitation" (NR_KII_01_2269_M). These activities have helped to "increase the productivity of the fields, the construction of the water tower [which promotes] gardening activities, the expansion of our cultivable areas, availability of more grazing space, [and] the repair of our soils" BF_KII_01_1647_F). "By fixing the dunes, a lot of land area has been recovered and [this] contributes to the stability of the beneficiaries to invest more in agriculture" (NR_KII_01_4134_M).

> **Box 73: WFP's Role in Increased Awareness, Collaboration, and Social Cohesion**
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> "The benefits are multiple; there is social cohesion, peace, sharing the pains and joys of others" (BF_KII_01_9667_F).

> **Box 74: Benefits of WFP and Its Partners' Activities**
>
> "The activities of the WFP (construction of zaïs, half-moons, stone cordons) have helped us a lot" (BF_KII_01_1110_M).

Through the land recovery initiatives, participating communities have witnessed an "increase in agricultural and cereal production, and the availability of animal feed"

(BF_KII_01_7637_M). Respondents in KII_01 mentioned the increased agricultural and animal feed production (including pastures, straw, and grass), and the resultant improved nutrition and food security in participating households 83 times in their responses in the study. They cited these as part of the concrete benefits that they say need to be replicated in other communities to create resilience and "food self-sufficiency" (NR_KII_01_9023_F) in other communities. By increasing agricultural yields and food security resilience, it has helped to reduce "malnutrition and certain pregnancy complications in pregnant women" (NR_KII_01_2543_F). Hence, "...it is necessary to replicate these activities where they are not done" (NR_KII_02_9180_M). Respondents also encouraged WFP and its partners to "… bring new production techniques to help communities have more yield" (BF_KII_01_7064_F) and provide "… training on animal husbandry …" (BF_KII_01_9950_M). There was also a request for the continuation of "…half-moon and zaï activities in order to continue expanding cultivable and grazing areas" (BF_KII_01_7951_M) and the "…strengthening of land recovery activities, market gardening" (NR_KII_01_1632_F), all of which have proven to have binding, bonding, and bridging capacities for reinforcing social cohesion.

Respondents also cited that activities that provide access to water will immensely contribute to social cohesion and resilience to food insecurity. As one respondent put it, "make a Water Work so that women can do gardening. And get together to work on it" (BF_KII_01_8325_F) to promote social cohesion. One respondent expressed the shared interests and needs of all communities when he said, "We need drinking water; we suffer from the lack of water at home" (NR_KII_01_0965_M). Besides water for domestic use, respondents also had shared needs around water for productive purposes. As one emphasized that WFP and partners "…must help the community to have easy access to water for agroforestry" (NR_KII_01_9023_F).

> **Box 75: Access to Water**
>
> "We are in need of water. Because here in this village there is only one pump and getting water is complicated. Often when the pump is broken, we have to go to the school pump. For example, yesterday the pump went bad, to get water I had to go to school to draw water" (BF_KII_01_2108_F).

Respondents recalled how the felt need for water for both domestic and productive purposes across identity groups and communities was an important unifier and mobilizer for communal actions around the activities that WFP and partners support. As respondents noted, "It is especially the dredging of ponds and the establishment of the community garden that have created many opportunities for our community to work together" (BF_KII_01_9707_F). Other soil water retention interventions such as "…the construction of zaï, the dredging of ponds and the half-moon which have created opportunities for the different groups to work together for their collective good" (BF_KII_01_9709_M; BF_FGD_01_7953) demonstrated similar convening and mobilizing powers that brought different groups together for joint actions to address a common need. As another respondent noted, "…of the activities supported by the WFP, those which have created the opportunities are half-moons and the dredging of ponds because it is during these works that the communities come together the most" (NR_KII_01_1522_F).

In addition to these tangible benefits, respondents cited other less tangible benefits from the activities of WFP and its partners that they believe should be replicated in other communities to create food security resilience. These include awareness raising and training, enhanced collaboration, and social cohesion. They point out that, "The activities of [WFP and its partners] have brought us closer to each other" (BF_KII_01_1125_M) through "collaboration with other communities, participation in various community development activities" (BF_KII_01_8446_M), and "awareness raising" (BF_KII_01_8 830_F). The role of WFP and its partners' activities in "bringing people together is a real asset for both social cohesion and resilience [vis-à-vis] the sharing of experience, flexibility, and open-mindedness that facilitate the introduction of new knowledge" (NR_KII_01_2268_M). Awareness raising and training, collaboration, and social cohesion (comprising working together, the relation between groups/communities, marriage, unity, and participation) were mentioned 115 times by respondents from both countries interviewed.

Increased access to financial resources through participation in the WFP activities also enhanced individual and household income security, without people having to migrate to the mines and bigger towns in search of complementary income. Apart from the possibility of receiving payment directly for participation in the construction activities, a respondent noted that activities such as "the recovery of the land made it possible to have an income-generating activity [such as the] sale of hay" (NR_KII_03_6760_M). Overall, "the creation of assets has enabled women to develop income-generating activities, making them less financially dependent on their husbands, because it contributes to the sharing of household expenses with a reduction in conflicts" (BF_KII_03_8834_M). In the view of a respondent, the land recovery activities allowed "women [to] have more plots of land for cash crops, they even have a community field [in order] to have more income" (NR_FGD_01_1631). Similarly, "the rehabilitation of the tracks" (BF_KII_01_6961_M), "the construction of the water tower [for] gardening activities, [and] the expansion of our cultivable areas" (BF_KII_01_1647_F) helped to "increase in family income" (NR_KII_01_8781_F) and "money to meet our different needs" (BF_KII_01_2108_F). Respondents from the study mentioned improved infrastructure such as water reservoirs, roads, and gardens as well as financial earning comprising access to income and money.

Given the broad range of replicable activities and benefits, some responses suggested that **all activities** conducted by WFP and its partners have the potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community actions that build their resilience against food insecurity, conflict, and other shocks. This was mentioned 9 times in the responses provided. One response encapsulates all the responses provided: "All WFP's activities

> **Box 76: All Are Replicable**
>
> "No failures were noticed in the WFP activities, so they should all be used for other communities" (NR_KII_01_9007_F).

because at each activity we get together to work, which strengthens our living together" (BF_KII_01_8327_M). For this reason, a respondent in Niger urged WFP and partners to "… try to replicate the same activities at the levels of other communities" (NR_KII_02_1557_M) because "all activities have the greatest potential to mobilize and unite different groups in other communities for community actions that build our resilience against food insecurity, conflict, and other shock" (BF_FGD_01_1414_F_R1).

3.6.3 *WFP Implementation Processes Not Recommended for Replication*

Respondents were asked which processes that WFP and its partners used in their communities should not be used in other communities. In response to the question, 102 respondents said all the processes employed were beneficial and should be implemented in other communities. One respondent had this to say about the processes uses by WFP and its partners: "There is no bad process used, all the processes followed are good processes because we only had peace in WFP activities" (BF_KII_01_1616_M). Another stated that, "The whole process is normal. They proceeded in the right way by involving the population throughout the process" (NR_KII_01_0887_M). Respondents "appreciated the way the activities were implemented as people were supported and motivated to do the activities..." (NR_KII_01_4119_M). In all, 102 respondents were confident that if these processes were replicated in other communities. it would be of enormous benefit to recipient communities.

Respondents' comments on things WFP and partners need to avoid repeating in subsequent interventions related to administrative lapses in the management of the program, especially in reference to the **timing and transparency in the management** of the cash assistance activities. The concerns raised included, but were not limited to, the inadequate disbursement of resources to meet the needs of everyone on the beneficiary lists; delays in disbursing money to eligible people; and limited transparency in the distribution of program resources. Respondents expressed frustration with the delay in payment as they wondered "why the delay in after-work payments?" (NR_FGD_01_9001). They noted, for instance, that due to "the delay

> **Box 77: Work with Trusted People**
>
> "Well, it means working more with people who know the target population better so as not to fall into error. Because there are people when they learn that there is an NGO which is for the activities, they directly think of banknotes" (BF_KII_01_5236_M).

in payments, lately we have been [engaging for] 6 months without being given money for a single month. We take credit [in anticipation of being paid by the WFP] and the money does not come" (NR_KII_01_3546_F) for them to refund their loans on schedule. Such delays in payment without explanation discourage them (NR_KII_01_0408_M). To resolve this, "'beneficiaries must be paid on time [since] the delays create a lethargy of the communities" (NR_KII_02_4546_M).

Respondents also asked for **greater transparency** in the terms and conditions of payment to program participants, as well as on decisions related to how much is due them. In particular, they raised concerns about the reduction in payments to program participants without any clarifications. One respondent pointed out that, "The payment due them was reduced from CFAF 32,500 to 19,000" (NR_KII_01_0408_M) without prior notification or explanation. In the view of another respondent, "Reducing the pay of beneficiaries is not good. We went from CFAF 32,000 to 19,000. […] People have no food; what you receive does not [take] you [through] the month and we exceed the month before being paid" (NR_KII_01_4832_M). Articulating the need for change, one respondent said, "We ask that WFP review the terms of payment and the increase in what it pays, and especially the delay in payment, [besides] a reduction in transfers has been noticed without any proof and for this we need a clarification" (NR_KII_01_2958_M).

To foster greater transparency, a respondent emphasized that, "Real targeting must involve everyone. No recourse to unqualified structures and totally foreign to the realities of the land" (NR_KII_02_6888_M). The need for structural realignment in the targeting processes is underscored by the call on WFP and partners to set up better management committees. In doing so, however, WFP and partners must "avoid setting up several committees because sometimes there is misunderstanding between the committees and leadership problems, and it becomes a problem to manage. Several committees create a problem of synergy between the management committee and the subcommittees" (NR_KII_01_4132_M). Respondents said WFP and partners need to "…strengthen the system of transparency and give the floor to the community" (NR_KII_01_0891_M) as part of the decision-making processes of the interventions.

> **Box 78: Improve Transparency in Cash Disbursements**
>
> "For cash, we ask that the WFP review the terms of payment and the increase in what it pays, and especially the delay in payment, a reduction in salary has been noticed without any proof and for this we need a clarification" (NR_KII_01_2958_M).

Another set of responses highlighted the **need for greater consultation and proper targeting of programs** implemented by WFP and its partners. Respondents suggested that WFP and its partners should consult communities before they carry out their activities. One response highlighted the need for prior community consultation in stating that WFP and partners ought to "ask the communities what they would like us to do for them" (BF_KII_01_7632_M). Another preferred that WFP and partners "ask what each member would like to see as an achievement in the community" (BF_KII_01_5067_F). For those who raised issues of WFP and its partners **targeting the wrong groups**, some respondents called for review of the programs to ensure they properly target the vulnerable in societies. As one respondent noted, it is the "targeting that is not very correct. Sometimes there are wealthy people among the beneficiaries" (NR_KII_01_4834_M; NR_KII_01_4832_M). This has necessitated the call on WFP and partners to "do another targeting to take into account other vulnerable people" (NR_KII_01_8866_F). Therefore, "…assessments must be made in order to realize the impacts of actions according to the basic criteria of vulnerability status, which can change at any time" (NR_KII_01_0889_M). This is also because "...the vulnerability [of individuals and groups is] in perpetual motion so it would be important to think after a period [time] of updating the beneficiaries" (NR_KII_01_6969_M). To correct perceived targeting errors, one respondent advocated for the redirection and recalibration of the target groups in the selection process, arguing that, "The targeting criterion must be reviewed, for example, to include average households. Increase the number of men (24), bring it back, for example, to equality with that of women (37). We even want the number of men to exceed that of women, since it is the men who are in charge of the family" (NR_KII_02_1542_M). Others raised the need to expand the number of beneficiaries (NR_KII_02_1551_M; BF_KII_02_9236_M; NR_KII_02_1542_M; BF_FGD_01_9501; BF_FGD_01_5303).

Respondents also called for **improved monitoring and follow-up systems,** especially after the distribution of program resources to selected beneficiaries. One response called for WFP and its partners to "follow-up and [provide] supervision of the activities carried out" (BF_KII_01_5947_M), especially since "there are often heads of families who do not use it properly" (NR_KII_01_2268_M). Another respondent stated, "I hope that when WFP puts activities in the field that it has a follow-up" (BF_KII_01_4525_F). Another respondent wants to see WFP and its partners "create committees and working groups [and also] create meeting places for these different committees and groups" (BF_KII_01_5070_F) to support the follow-up systems. This is because it is important to "strengthen monitoring and do it regularly, the committees in place must be trained and strengthened in order to ensure the sustainability of the works after the departure of WFP and its partners" (NR_KII_02_1542_M).

> **Box 79: Increase Support for Market Gardening**
>
> "The development of basins for this community and neighboring communities for market gardening activities could guarantee the strengthening of social cohesion and resilience in the face of food insecurity" (NR_KII_01_8783_F).

3.6.4   *Shared Views on How to Promote Social Cohesion and Resilience to Food Insecurity*

Respondents were asked if they would like to share any other thoughts on how WFP and partners can promote greater social cohesion as a tool for enhancing food security. In response, suggestions related to support for agriculture and agricultural activities were mentioned 89 times. Of these, 60 stated that supporting and promoting farming activities would promote social cohesion. These supports included providing agriculture training skills, providing farm inputs, equipment, and supplements, fighting desertification, and continuing and expanding existing programs to name just a few. Respondents explained how the provision of farm inputs, supplements and equipment could promote social cohesion: "Support communities with materials, inputs, seeds, by distributing them people will unite us to work" (NR_KII_01_4126_M)

> **Box 80: The Wish List**
>
> "To guarantee social cohesion, I ask us to help us do a lot of community gardening…" (BF_KII_01_6921_F).
>
> --
>
> **Encourage Off-Season Gardening**
>
> "Support communities with materials, inputs, seeds, by distributing them people will unite to work. Encourage off-season cultivation, support for IGAs because it unites people" (NR_KII_01_4126_M).

together. A female respondent in an FGD said that, "For me, to promote more social cohesion and resilience in the face of food insecurity, I would like WFP to offer us other partners who will help because it alone will not be more" (BF_FGD_01_9501_F_R2). A colleague in a KII_01 wants WFP and partners to create "more collective activities such as market gardening to unite people" (NR_KII_01_4826_M). "We need a community garden. Especially women, we want to get into groups and work" (BF_KII_01_2110_F). Other respondents asked that WFP extend "…the duration of their intervention in our village, give us fertilizers, [and] we really ask wholeheartedly for training to facilitate the practice of agriculture" (BF_FGD_01_8260; BF_KII_01_9952_F).

Respondents suggested that the way for WFP and its partners to increase social cohesion and build resilience against food insecurity in program communities is to continue their programs expand coverage within and between communities (NR_KII_02_1542_M; NR_KII_02_4122_M; NR_KII_03_8994_M), and also introduce new programs that bring members of the participating communities together. Hence, there was the request to "bring other activities into the community to enable those who are not in the activities to be part of" (NR_KII_01_9021_F); "… increase the duration [of programs] in the community" (BF_KII_01_0053_F) in order to cover more people; and "…. register other women who have not yet had the chance to participate in WFP activities" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). One hoped that, "In the future, the WFP will ensure that all members can benefit from their activities" (NR_KII_01_8862_F). To support this call for expansion, a respondent pointed out that, "You have seen that I myself am not among the beneficiaries, so what I am asking the program to do is expand the number of their beneficiaries so that everyone can benefit" (BF_KII_01_2729_F). A respondent calling for the expansion of WFP and its partners' programs to other communities said, "We would like the program to do other activities for all the villages" (NR_KII_01_4767_F). Another called on WFP to

"experiment with these activities in other villages" (NR_KII_01_1559_M) to support the building of social cohesion and resilience against food insecurity.

Several respondents believe that **intensified community engagement, sensitization, and raising awareness** on social cohesion will go a long way to help build social cohesion and resilience against food insecurity. According to one such respondent, WFP and its partners must "always continue to clearly explain the objectives of the different activities in order to better promote living together between the different communities" (BF_KII_01_8173_M). For some, the best way to ensure growth in social cohesion and resilience against food insecurity is to "always hold community meetings before any activity to hear the best concerns of the community" (NR_KII_01_3784_M). Respondents insisted that WFP and its partners "…must engage in more conversations with the community, i.e., hold periodic meetings with the community to get an update on the evolution of their situation" (BF_KII_01_5076_M).

> **Box 81: Intensify Sensitization**
>
> "We ask that WFP agents put even more effort into raising awareness is very important for our social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_0407_M).

Another set of responses believed that social cohesion and resilience to food insecurity could be promoted through **engaging the beneficiaries in entrepreneurship activities.** This entails providing beneficiaries with training and funds to start their own enterprises, and ensuring that the financial support provided by WFP and its partners comes in on time. It also involves ensuring that beneficiaries are duly informed about the amount due to each. Of the 49 respondents who raised the issues of entrepreneurial capacity development as a route to building social cohesion, 34 mentioned they need WFP and its partners to engage beneficiaries in entrepreneurial skill training in craft and provide funding for them to set up their businesses. As some respondents articulated it, they want WFP and partners to "set up training centers for the benefit of young boys" (NR_KII_01_1546_M). Others called for the "creation of learning units for young people" (NR_KII_01_1553_M) in order "...to give us more training in order to diversify our skills" (BF_KII_01_2737_F) for "…income-generating activities" (NR_KII_01_1559_M). Other respondents emphasized the need for cash assistance to start businesses, such as "credits for young people for trade" (NR_KII_01_4832_M). Another stated that they needed WFP and its partners to give them "funds for entrepreneurship" (BF_KII_01_9707_F).

> **Box 82: Need for Entrepreneurial Skills**
>
> "We need a community garden, especially for the women. We want to get into groups and work. If WFP could do training on rearing, how to make liquid soap, and solid soap, I think it will be able to bring us together and allow us to work even more together and improve our living together" (BF_KII_01_2110_F).

Finally, respondents emphasized the **need for improved communication between program managers and beneficiary groups**. Improved communication will reinforce trust and promote transparent dealings between the parties. In the words of a respondent, "…we ask for more communication because there was a time when they came to register people for the cash, but not everyone [registered eventually] got it; so the members of the community think that it is those who take care of WFP activities in the village who are there origin of" (BF_KII_01_1127_M) the nonpayment of those registered. Another area that needs to be improved is communication — letting people know when they will be paid, as well as making sure they know how much they will be paid (NR_KII_01_5527_M). In sum, effective communication is needed to improve transparency in the management of WFP's financial transactions with the communities, especially in respect of the payment of cash transfers. Transparency is needed to ensure that "…everyone has his [or her] money without the slightest difficulty…" (BF_KII_01_9801_M).

> **Box 83: Improve Communication with Communities**
>
> "As long as WFP contacts our leaders by giving the terms of payment and informing to people in advance about the work, it can promote social cohesion" (RBF_KII_01_1286_M).

IV. Summary Results of Mini-Survey

The mini-survey was designed to assess the state of beliefs, knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and practices of respondents that indicate the extent to which WFP's FFA activities have supported the building of social cohesion and resilience to food insecurity in participating communities. The survey was administered to all participants of the KIIs and targeted at least 50% of FGD participants. In all, 278 interviews (106 in Burkina Faso and 172 in Niger) were conducted across the two countries. The findings from this survey complement those from the qualitative protocols.

4.1 Effect on Social Cohesion Perceptions, Attitudes, Behaviors, and Practices

Levels of trust and mis/distrust; nature and depth of stereotypes and prejudices regarding individuals in outgroups constitute determinant enablers or barriers to social cohesion building. In the same way, the nature and degree of practices of discrimination and one's sense of safety and security in engaging with others can block or promote social cohesion engagements between members of different identity groups. To establish what effects, if any, the activities of WFP and partners have had on promoting social cohesion, the study sought the views of respondents on how participation in WFP's activities may have supported or hindered the building of trust, reduction in stereotypes and prejudices, and the promotion of the sense of safety and security in communities participating in WFP's activities.

4.1.1 Perceived Effect of WFP Activities on Prejudice and Stereotype Reduction

The study sought to assess respondents' views on how WFP-implemented activities have helped participating groups dispel beliefs, ideas, perceptions, assumptions, etc., toward people of other identity groups. Respondents were asked to indicate their levels of agreement that, as a result of participating in activities with members of different identity groups, they no longer give negative names, labels, or attributes to colleagues of other groups (stereotype reduction). The study also sought to ascertain how participation in WFP's activities may have contributed to reductions in feelings, attitudes, thoughts, and preferences that lead to tendencies to look down on members of other groups as inferior, inadmissible to one's group (exclusion), or in other degrading and derogatory ways (prejudice reduction).

Table 4 presents the results, which show that at least 96% of respondents said they either agreed or strongly agreed that participation in WFP's activities helped them overcome the challenges of stereotype and prejudice. Indeed, more than 80% of respondents strongly agreed with this view.

Table 4: Reduction in Stereotypes and Prejudices from Participation in WFP's Activities

Through participation in the WFP-implemented activities members of other groups:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say
No longer look down on me	80.9%	16.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	0.7%
No longer call others by negative names	81.7%	16.2%	0.0%	0.4%	1.8%	0.0%

Table 5 presents the findings by country. It also shows that more than 90% of respondents in both countries either agreed or strongly agreed that because of their participation in WFP's activities, they have witnessed reductions in how people look down on them or apply negative labels to each other. However, the disaggregated responses show that 84.9% of respondents in Burkina agreed strongly with the statements – 6.4 percentage points higher than in Niger.

Table 5: Percentage of Respondents Indicating Levels of Agreement on Stereotype and Prejudice Reduction from Participation in WFP's Activities

Statements Measuring Levels of Prejudice and Stereotype Reduction				
Groups do not look down on me.			No longer call others by negative names	
Level of Agreement	Burkina Faso (n = 106	Niger (n = 172)	Burkina Faso (n = 106	Niger (n = 172)
Strongly Agree	84.9	78.5	86.8	78.5
Agree	12.3	19.8	9.4	20.3
Disagree	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Strongly Disagree	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.6
Not Sure	0.0	1.2	3.8	0.6
Prefer not to say	0.9	0.6	0.0	0.0

4.1.2   *Perceived Effects of WFP's Activities on Social Bonding*

Respondents rated the extent to which they believed WFP's activities have contributed to creating greater **social bonds** between members of different ethnic, religious, economic, gender, and age groups participating in WFP-implemented activities, as well as other identifiable actors working with communities where WFP is active. The levels of trust and respect in relationships and engagements between different groups participating in the same social, economic, political, cultural, and other activities or spaces are important determinants of social cohesion. The study assessed the perception of social bonding through WFP activities at two levels — interpersonal social cohesion building and intergroup social cohesion. The findings are reported below:

Perceived Effects of WFP Activities on Interpersonal Trust Building Between Participating Groups

Interpersonal trust is a major determinant of social cohesion. To ascertain the level of trust-building that WFP's activities may have engendered at the personal level among program participants, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with statements with regards to i) their ability to leave their children in the care of neighbors of different identity groups; or ii) ask such neighbors to take care of their property in their absence. Table 6 presents the results, which show that more than 96% of respondents in both Burkina Faso and Niger agreed or strongly agreed that they were willing to leave their children or property in the care of their neighbors because of the increased level of trust they had in each other from participating in the activities of WFP. In both countries, slightly more respondents said they were willing to ask their neighbors to take care of their property (99.1% in Burkina Faso and 98.9% in Niger) than those willing to leave their children in the care of their neighbors (97.2% in Burkina Faso and 96.5% in Niger).

Table 6: Interpersonal Trust Building between Groups Participating in WFP Activities

Measure Criteria/Level of Agreement	Leave Children with Neighbors		Ask Neighbors to Take Care of Property	
	Burkina Faso	Niger	Burkina Faso	Niger
Strongly Agree	80.2%	84.3%	86.8%	84.9%
Agree	17.0%	12.2%	12.3%	14.0%
Disagree	0.9%	0.6%	0.9%	0.0%
Not Sure	1.9%	2.3%	0.0%	1.2%
Prefer not to say	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%

Disaggregating by gender, 80.2% of respondents who identified themselves as females (77/96) and 81.9% of self-identified males (77/94) strongly agreed that they would leave their children in the care of their neighbors. Similarly, 85.4% of self-identified females (77/85) and 81.9% (77/94) of male respondents said they would leave their properties in the care of their neighbors. See Table 7.

Table 7: Can Ask My Neighbor to Take Care of My House and Property, by Gender

Gender	Gender				Total
	Not Indicated	Female	Male	Prefer not to say	
Level of Agreement	0	2	1	0	3
	0.0%	2.1%	1.1%	0.0%	1.1%
Strongly Agree	77	82	77	2	238
	86.5%	85.4%	81.9%	100.0%	84.7%
Agree	10	11	16	0	37
	11.2%	11.5%	17.0%	0.0%	13.2%
Disagree	0	1	0	0	1
	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Not Sure	2	0	0	0	2
	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Total	89	96	94	2	281
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure 1 shows that, disaggregating by provinces, respondents in Diffa were more hesitant to leave their children with their neighbors than those in other provinces. At least 9.6% of respondents in Diffa expressed reluctance about leaving their children in the care of their neighbors, compared with a range of 2.8% to 5.6% of respondents for the rest of the provinces covered in the study.

Figure 3: Ability to Leave Children in the Care of Neighbors of Another Ethnic Group by Province
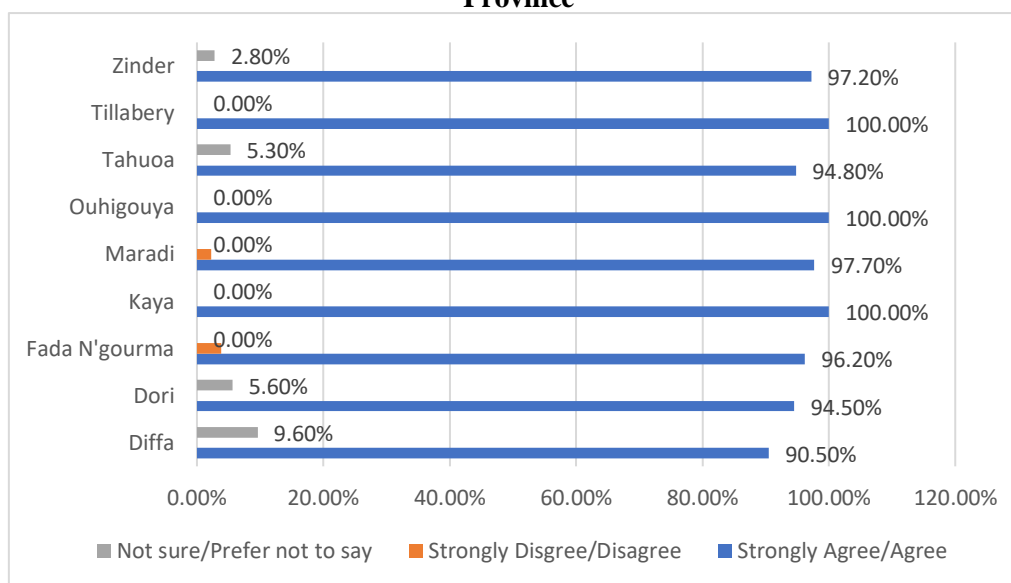
The Pearson chi-square test of association by country of study showed the results above are statistically not significant, given $p = 0.737$ for measures on willingness to leave one's children in the care of neighbors and 0.388 for measures on willingness to leave one's property in the care of neighbors.

While the test of association by country of study showed the results are statistically insignificant ($p = 0.212$), the cross-tabulation by province of study showed that the findings by providence were statistically significant with $p = 0.000$. By gender, the Pearson chi-square p values of .960 and .606 for willingness to leave their children or property respectively in the care of neighbors show the results are not statistically significant.

Contribution of WFP Activities to Observed General Social Bonding through Trust-Building, Respect, and Suspicion Reduction between Different Participating Groups

To gauge how WFP's activities may have contributed to the quality of trust between different groups in participating communities, respondents were asked to indicate to what degree they have witnessed changes in the levels of trust and reciprocal respect and a reduction in mutual suspicions in the participating communities, using a scale of very high to very low. Figure 2 below presents a summary of the findings. Overall, more than 73% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed increased levels of trust and respect, as well as reduced levels of stereotypes between ethnic and religious groups and different communities that are participating in the WFP activities, from a *high* to a *very high* extent. While measures of increased trust and respect averaged 78.9% and 81.8% respectively, the average for stereotype reduction stood at 73.9%.

Figure 4: Social Bonding through Increased Trust, Respect, and Reduced Suspicion
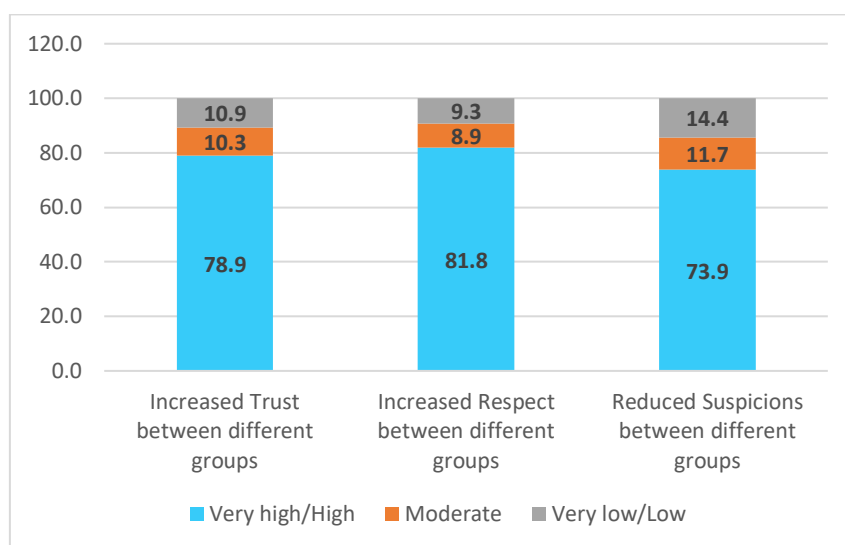
Table 8 presents details of the scores by country. Respondents in Burkina Faso reported witnessing higher levels of improvement in **general social bonding** through trust-building, respect, and reduced suspicions between different ethnic groups as a result of WFP's activities than their peers in Niger. Within Niger, scores for suspicion reduction are lower, at 61.1% compared to measures for trust-building and respect, which are above 70%.

Table 8: Contribution of WFP-Supported Activities to Trust-Building, Respect, and Suspicion Reduction between the Different Groups by Country

Country	Burkina Faso (*n* = 106)			Niger (*n* = 172)		
Variable/Measure	Very High/High	Moderate	Very Low/Low	Very High/High	Moderate	Very Low/Low
Increased Trust between Ethnic Groups	87.8%	8.5%	3.7%	73.8%	12.2%	14.0%
Increased Respect between Ethnic Groups	86.80%	10.40%	2.80%	75.00%	11.60%	13.40%
Reduced Suspicion Between Ethnic Groups	89.60%	6.60%	3.70%	61.10%	17.40%	21.50%

Table 9 presents the criteria of assessment for each of the population categories. The findings in the highlighted cells representing the "very high" and "high" results for the questions indicate a reported overall increase in the levels of trust and respect, as well as reductions in suspicions between different ethnic groups participating in the activities of WFP in both Burkina Faso and Niger.

Table 9: Effect of WFP-Supported Activities on Improved Relationships between Different Groups

Participation in WFP-supported activities	Social Bonding Changes Witnessed Between/With Members of						
	Different ethnic groups	Different religious groups	Farmers and herders	Men and women	Youth and elders	Government officials	Other organizations, such as NGOs
More Trust between (SBD1)							
Very Low	4.7%	8.3%	4.0%	5.8%	4.3%	4.3%	5.8%
Low	5.4%	4.3%	10.8%	4.0%	5.0%	5.4%	4.0%
Moderate	10.8%	7.9%	16.9%	6.5%	6.5%	15.1%	8.3%
High	31.7%	29.9%	30.2%	30.2%	34.9%	34.9%	28.1%
Very High	47.5%	49.6%	38.1%	53.6%	49.3%	40.3%	54.0%
More Respect between (SBD2)							
Very Low	6.1%	7.6%	3.2%	6.8%	4.0%	5.4%	6.8%
Low	3.2%	3.6%	6.1%	1.8%	4.0%	2.9%	2.9%
Moderate	11.2%	10.4%	15.5%	4.7%	5.0%	9.0%	6.8%
High	29.9%	20.9%	31.7%	32.4%	33.1%	35.6%	25.2%
Very High	49.6%	57.6%	43.5%	54.3%	54.0%	47.1%	58.3%
Less Suspicion between (SBD3)							
Very Low	10.4%	11.5%	9.4%	9.4%	6.8%	8.3%	9.4%
Low	4.3%	6.5%	5.4%	4.0%	5.4%	6.1%	4.0%
Moderate	13.3%	10.8%	20.9%	7.2%	9.7%	10.1%	10.1%
High	35.6%	26.6%	32.0%	34.9%	32.0%	36.0%	28.4%
Very High	36.3%	44.6%	32.4%	44.6%	46.0%	39.6%	48.2%
More Joint Activities between (SBG1)							
Very Low	6.1%	5.0%	4.7%	6.1%	2.9%	2.9%	6.5%
Low	1.8%	6.8%	6.5%	3.2%	5.0%	7.9%	1.8%
Moderate	11.9%	9.0%	14.4%	10.1%	9.4%	13.7%	9.0%
High	27.7%	24.1%	32.7%	34.9%	31.7%	34.9%	30.6%
Very High	52.5%	55.0%	41.7%	45.7%	51.1%	40.6%	52.2%
Increase Attendance in each other's social events by (SBG2)							
Very Low	7.2%	9.7%	6.8%	7.2%	4.7%	6.1%	7.9%
Low	4.3%	2.9%	1.8%	2.5%	4.0%	8.3%	3.6%
Moderate	7.2%	8.6%	13.3%	7.2%	6.5%	15.5%	9.7%
High	27.7%	25.9%	33.8%	34.9%	36.0%	33.5%	35.3%
Very High	53.6%	52.9%	44.2%	48.2%	48.9%	36.7%	43.5%

The test of association between different parameters produced chi-square values less than 0.05, indicating that the findings are statistically significant for the various measures of general social bonding between the different groups participating in WFP's activities. See Appendix 8 for test results.

It is noteworthy that among the different assessment criteria, reported changes in social bonding between herders and farmers consistently lagged at least 6 percentage points below the average scores for relationships between other identity groups (Figure 3). This suggests that WFP's activities may not have had as much impact on improving trust, respect, and reducing stereotypes between the herder and farmer communities as they did on other types of identity group relationships.

Figure 5: Trust, Respect-Building, and Suspicion Reduction Between Herders and Farmers Communities
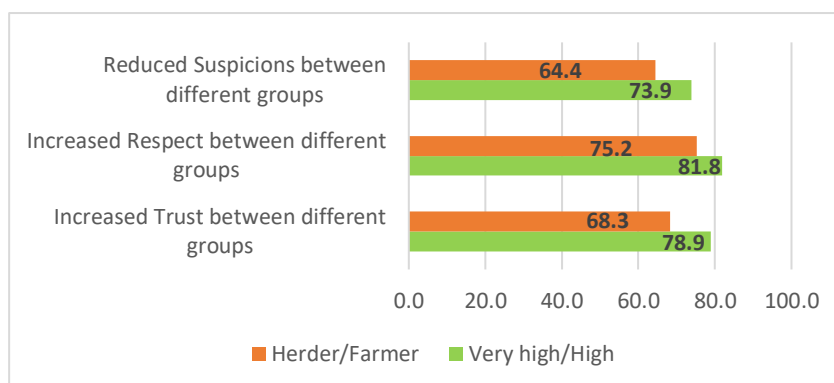
Table 10 presents the findings disaggregated by country of study. While 88.6% of respondents in Burkina Faso said they had witnessed a high or very high degree of improvement in general social bonding between herders and farmers in their communities as a result of their participation in the activities of WFP and its partners, only 55.8% of respondents in Niger made the same observations in their communities. Noticeably, 22.1% of respondents in Niger said they had witnessed bonding between farmers and herders to a moderate extent, while another 22.1% said this happened to a low or very extent. This compares to Burkina Faso. where the combined responses in the very low, low, and moderate categories totaled 11.3%.

Table 10: Trust between Farmers and Herders by Country of Study Cross-tabulation

Trust between Farmers and Herders	Country of Study		
	Burkina Faso	Niger	Total
Very Low	0	11	11
	0.00%	6.40%	4.00%
Low	3	27	30
	2.80%	15.70%	10.80%
Moderate	9	38	47
	8.50%	22.10%	16.90%
High	40	44	84
	37.70%	25.60%	30.20%
Very High	54	52	106
	50.90%	30.20%	38.10%
Total	106	172	278

Table 11 shows the chi-square statistics for the test of significance between country of study and the observation of improved relationships between herders and farmers had a *p*-value of 0.000, which indicates the finding is statistically significant. In other words, the observed differences between the responses from Burkina Faso and Niger are not accidental.

Table 11: Chi-Square Tests – Trust between Farmers and Herders by Country

Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.603[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	40.990	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	278		

Perceived Changes in Personal Safety, Security, and Equity as a Result of Participation in WFP's Activities

Feeling safe and secure in the presence of other groups is a cardinal condition for social cohesion building. Measures of personal security concerns included the knowledge, perceptions, or conviction of *being safe* from harm from intentional or unintentional acts by others in society or a particular group. In respect to intracommunity safety, considerations included the degree to which individuals and groups within the community feel they can go about their normal lives without fear of harm from any member of the community or other sources or feel no need to constantly watch over their shoulders when engaging with others. Finally, intercommunity safety concerns were considered related to the degree to which members of opposing communities feel assured the other community will not harm them when they engage with each other in joint activities.

Security concerns, on the other hand, included respondents' perceptions of *being protected* from harm by the group or society from the intentional or deliberate acts by others. It derives from the extent to which people feel their communities are adequately prepared and equipped, that is, have the capacity and resources to avert danger or protect them from danger or harm instigated by people from the outside the community. Intracommunity security concerns relate to the degree to which community members feel they have each other's back, that is, they are well prepared to collectively protect or defend each other in the community. Intercommunity security concerns cover the degree to which members of opposing communities feel no need to arm themselves or otherwise prepare to defend themselves against harm from the other community.

Perceptions of Increased Safety and Security in WFP Activity Communities

To gauge how WFP's FFA activities may have contributed to an increased sense of safety and security in communities, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement that because of their participation in the WFP-implemented activities they i) feel safe engaging other ethnic groups; ii) no longer fear to be part of activities of other groups (religious or ethnic); iii) feel secure and protected from experiencing harm; and iv) do not feel discriminated against.

Figure 4 shows that consistently more than 90% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they felt safe engaging with members of other ethnic groups; they no longer fear taking part in activities with members of other ethnic groups; they feel secure and protected when engaging with other groups; and they do not feel discriminated against when engaging with persons of other identity groups. More than 74% of respondents strongly agreed with the above statements.

Figure 6: Increased Sense of Safety and Security in Presence of Other Groups
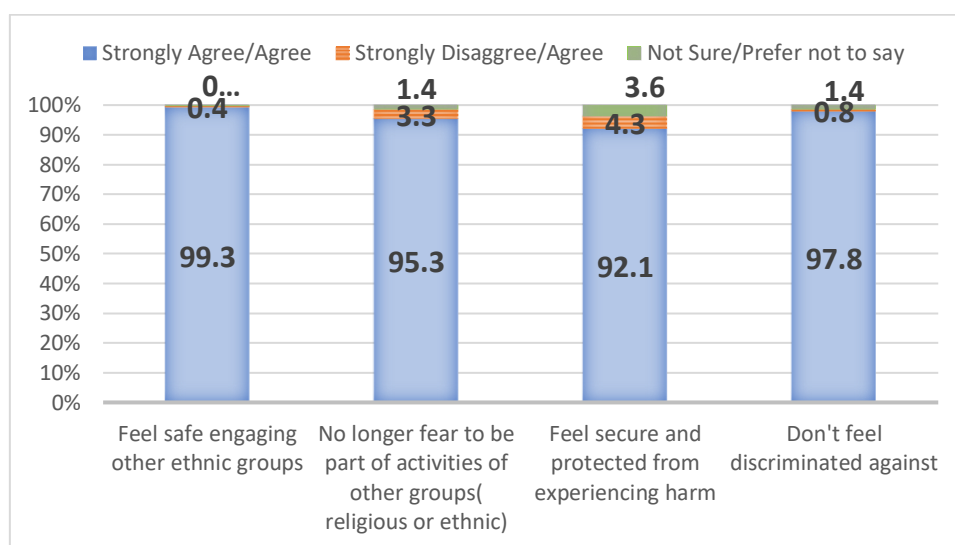
Table 12 presents respondents' level of agreement on the extent to which participation in the WFP-implemented activities has increased their personal sense of safety and security. It shows that more than 74% of respondents "strongly agreed" with all the statements related to improved safety and security for participating communities because of WFP's activities. Except for the parameter on feeling secure and protected from harm, results for the "very strong agreement" other three measures is above 80% .

Table 12: Respondents' Level of Agreement on the Extent to which Participation in the WFP-Implemented Activities Has Increased their Personal Sense of Safety, Security

Participation in the WFP-implemented activities	"Strongly Agree" =1 to "Prefer not to say" =6					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say
Feel safe engaging other ethnic groups	88.5%	10.8%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%
No longer fear to be part of activities of other groups (religious or ethnic)	80.2%	15.1%	2.2%	1.1%	0.7%	0.7%
Feel secure and protected from experiencing harm	74.1%	18.0%	2.9%	1.4%	2.2%	1.4%
Don't feel discriminated against	84.9%	12.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	0.7%

Table 13 presents the breakdown of responses by criteria by measure and country. These disaggregated results show that more than 90% of respondents in both countries said they agreed or strongly agreed that participation in WFP's activities makes them feel safe in engaging with other people and no longer fear being part of groups with people of different identities (ethnic, religious, cultural, etc.). Security-wise, they are protected and not discriminated against when they are in groups with persons from other identity groups. With respect to feeling secure, more respondents in Niger (93%) said they felt secure and protected than respondents in Burkina Faso (90.5%). This is the only finding in the table below that is statistically significant, with a chi-square p-value < 0.05 (actual figure = 0.046).

Table 13: Percentage Distribution of Respondents Agreeing on Safety and Security by Country

Country	Burkina Faso: = 106			Niger: = 172			Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Level of Agreement / Measurement	Strongly Agree/Agree	Disagree/Strongly Disagree	Not Sure/Prefer not to say	Strongly Agree/Agree	Disagree/Strongly Disagree	Not Sure/Prefer not to say	
Feel safe engaging other ethnic groups	100	0	0	98.8	0.6	0.6	0.657
No longer fear to be part of activities of other groups	96.3	2.8	0.9	94.8	3.5	1.8	0.444
Feel secure and protected from harm	90.5	8.5	0.9	93	1.8	5.2	0.046
Don't feel discriminated against	98.1	0.9	0.9	97.7	0.6	1.8	0.608

4.2   Horizontal Social Cohesion through Increased Engagements in WFP's Activities

Horizontal social cohesion is the product of engagements between individuals, groups, or communities of equal status. Internal (intracommunity) social cohesion engagements involve peers within the same community, e.g., individuals or groups of women from different ethnic groups or herders and farmers living in the same community. External horizontal social cohesion engagements are cross-boundary or intercommunity by nature, as they involve peers from different communities. The survey sought to gauge the state of horizontal social cohesion (HSC) between different communities, ethnic, and religious groups. It assessed the level of interpersonal, intercommunity, and interreligious dimensions of HSC engagements.

4.2.1   Increased Cross-Identity Participation in Social and Cultural Events

WFP activities created opportunities for people of different identity groups to work together to achieve intervention objectives. The extent to which such opportunities also led to social cohesion building through non-program engagements has remained anecdotal. To ascertain whether or not WFP activities did indeed lead to social cohesion building, the survey asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the statements that, as a result of the WFP-implemented programs, they had witnessed increased participation by people of different ethnic groups, villages, and religious affiliations in social and cultural events in participating communities. Participation in social events is defined to include attendance of funerals, weddings, and child naming ceremonies, among others; cultural events include but are not limited to seasonal festivities such as traditional end-of-year or postharvest festivals, and annual religious festivities such as Christmas, Easter, Eid-ul-Fitr, and Eid al-Adha, among others.

Figure 5 presents the percentage distribution of responses to these questions. Overall, more than 80% of respondents reported seeing increases in cross-identity (ethnic, village, and religious affiliation) participation in social and cultural events more than they did for religious events. For engagements across religious lines, more than 60% of respondents said they did not witness any increases in participation in religious events across identity lines.

Figure 7: Percentage of Respondents who Said WFP's Activities Increased Participation in Cross-Identity Social and Cultural Events
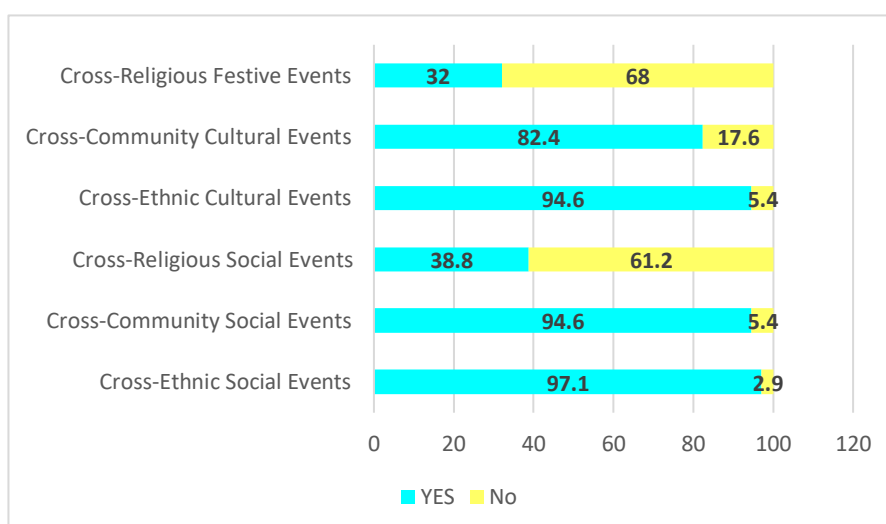
Table 14 below presents the percentage of respondents who said WFP's activities increased participation in cross-identity social and cultural events by country. More respondents from Niger reported seeing increased cross-ethnic and intervillage participation in social events than their counterparts in Burkina Faso. However, more respondents from Burkina Faso reported witnessing increased participation of community members in cultural events and festivities than their peers in Niger. Cross-identity participation in religious activities of ethnic groups, villages, and other faiths was very low across both countries. However, Burkina Faso fared better with observed increases in religious events and festivities at 59.4% and 52.8% respectively, compared to Niger where respondents observed increases for the same criteria at under half those rate (26.2% for social events, and l19.2% for religious festivities.

Table 14: Percentage of Respondents Who Said WFP's Activities Increased Participation in Cross-Identity Social and Cultural Events by Country

Country of Study	Burkina Faso		Niger	
Criteria and Responses	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Cross-Ethnic Social Events	95.3	4.7	98.3	1.7
Cross-Village Social Events	91.5	8.5	96.5	3.5
Cross-Religious Social Events	59.4	4.6	26.2	73.8
Cross-Ethnic Cultural Events	96.2	3.8	93.6	6.4
Cross-Village Cultural Events	88.7	11.3	78.5	21.5
Cross-Religious Festive Events	52.8	47.2	19.2	8.8

The findings were statistically significant across country and province, with p-values of 0.045 and 0.004 respectively. This suggests the observed changes in increased cross-identity participation in social events did not happen by chance.

4.2.2   *Contribution to Improved Cultural Accommodation, Diversity, and Inclusiveness*

To assess the contribution of WFP's activities to respondents' personal and collective *lived experiences, behaviors, and practices* of cultural accommodation, respect for diversity, and use of inclusive practices in participating communities, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statements that, As a result of participation in the WFP-implemented activities:
- I participate equally in cultural events of other groups
- I live my life according to my culture
- I can participate in social engagements of other groups such as birth celebrations, funerals, weddings
- I can practice my religion without fear
- We participate in each other's religious festivals at Christmas, Easter, Eid ul Fitr, or Eid ul Adha
- We now have a joint committee that manages conflicts between our different groups."

Table 15 provides an overview of the responses. Apart from the statement about participation in each other's religious festivities, more than 90% of respondents consistently said they agreed or strongly agreed (75%) that participation in WFP-implemented activities has enabled them to accommodate people of other cultures and diversities in various ways.

Table 15: Cultural Accommodation and Embracement of Diversity

As a result of participation in WFP-implemented activities I:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say
Participate equally in cultural events of others	80.2%	16.2%	1.4%	0.4%	1.1%	0.7%
Can participate in others' social engagements	93.5%	4.3%	0.4%	0.7%	0.4%	0.7%
Can participate in others' religious festivals	61.9%	15.5%	6.8%	9.4%	2.5%	4.0%
Can live based on my culture	89.9%	8.6%	0.4%	0.7%	0.4%	0.0%
Can practice my religion without fear	89.9%	7.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	1.1%
Have a joint committee of different ethnic groups that manage conflict	75.9%	18.7%	1.1%	0.4%	2.5%	1.4%

Table 16 presents the data by country. Although more than 75% of respondents across both countries strongly agreed that participation in WFP's activities has increased their personal accommodation and embracement of diversity across 5 of the 6 criteria assessed, it is noticeable that in Niger just over half of the respondents (50.6%) said they strongly agreed that they can now freely participate in the religious activities of other people in their environs as a result of their joint participation in WFP's activities. The weakest response rate for respondents in Burkina Faso was respect to equal participation in management committees for community pastures and other natural resources (i.e., 75.5% very strongly agreed). Levels of disagreement or uncertainty about what responses to give were about even across the two countries.

Table 16: Cultural Accommodation and Embracement of Diversity by Country

Assessment Criteria	Participate equally in management committees		Can practice my religion without fear		Participate equally in cultural events of others		Can live based on my culture		Can participate in others' social engagements		Can participate in others' religious festivals	
Country	Burkina	Niger	Burkina	Niger	Burkina	Niger	Burkina	Niger	Burkina	Niger	Burkina	Niger
Strongly Agree	75.5	78.5	85.8	92.4	85.8	76.7	89.6	90.1	87.7	97.1	80.2	50.6
Agree	17.9	15.7	13.2	4.7	11.3	19.2	9.4	8.1	7.5	2.3	9.4	19.2
Disagree	1.9	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.9	10.5
Strongly Disagree	1.9	1.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.6	3.8	12.8
Not Sure	2.8	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	4.1
Prefer not to say	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.7	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	5.7	2.9

A cross-tabulation of the findings on participation in religious activities of other groups with the respondents' countries was carried out to see what may have accounted for the deviations of this aspect from the other responses. Table 17 shows that the responses differed between Burkina Faso and Niger. While 80.2% of respondents in Burkina Faso (85/106) strongly agreed that they can participate in the religious activities of colleagues of different religions, only 50.6% of respondents in Niger (87/172) strongly agreed with the statement. Overall, while 89.6% of respondents in Burkina Faso (95/106) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, only 69.8% of respondents in Niger (120/172) agreed with the statement. Notably, 23.3% of respondents in Niger (40/172) disagreed (10.5%) or strongly disagreed (12.8%) with the view that they can participate in the religious festivities of other groups.

Table 17: Can Participate in Others' Religious Festivals, by Country

Can Participate in Others' Religious Festivals	Country of Study		Total
	Burkina Faso	Niger	
Strongly Agree	85	87	172
	80.2%	50.6%	61.9%
Agree	10	33	43
	9.4%	19.2%	15.5%
Disagree	1	18	19
	0.9%	10.5%	6.8%
Strongly Disagree	4	22	26
	3.8%	12.8%	9.4%
Not Sure	0	7	7
	0.0%	4.1%	2.5%
Prefer not to say	6	5	11
	5.7%	2.9%	4.0%
Total	106	172	278

4.2.3 *Increased Intermarriage as Social Bonds Due to Participation in WFP's Activities*

The rate of intermarriages between people of different ethnic, religious, community, and other demographic backgrounds is a measure of the nature and extent of bonding and bridging that exists between the different groups. It is a demonstration of behaviors and practices of acceptance, accommodation, tolerance, trust, and inclusiveness, all of which are essential ingredients for social cohesion building. Participants were therefore asked if they had observed any increases in the number of marriages between members of different identity groups as a result of their participation in the activities of WFP and its partners.

Table 18 below presents the results across the two countries. Overall, more than 89% of respondents in both countries said they had witnessed increased intermarriage between people of different ethnic groups and villages. However, only 36.3% of respondents in both countries said they had witnessed increased intermarriage between people of different religious backgrounds. The pattern is the same in both countries. However, while only 46.2% of respondents in Burkina Faso said they have not witnessed increased marriages between people of different faiths in their communities, 74.4% of respondents in Niger said the same thing. This finding on the role of religion in promoting social cohesion is consistent with findings on the role of religion in other factors for social cohesion in this study. Religion does not seem to be a strong bonding factor in all cases. The findings, however, must be contextualized in the reality that Niger's population is predominantly Muslim. See Subsection 5 (iii) of Chapter 5.

Table 18: Percentage of Respondents Witnessing Increased Intermarriage Due to WFP's Activities by Country

Country	Burkina Faso		Niger		Total	
Increased number of marriages	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed
Between People of Different Religions	53.8	46.2	25.6	74.4	36.3	63.7
Between People of Different Ethnics	96.2	3.8	91.3	8.7	93.2	6.8
Between People of Different Villages	90.6	9.4	89.0	11.0	89.6	10.4

4.2.4 *Increased Economic Engagements Due to WFP Activities*

Participation in economic activities across different identity lines is illustrative of the level of trust, shared interests, perceived interdependencies, and the potential for mutually beneficial engagements across dividing lines. To gauge this, respondents were asked if they witnessed any increase in collaboration in economic activities as well as socioeconomic associations such as *tontine*, parent-

teacher associations, among others, between persons of different ethnicity, religion, and village of origin because of their participation in activities that WFP and partners have implemented. Similarly, respondents were asked to indicate if they witnessed any increased engagement in friendly sporting activities between the youth of different ethnic, village, or religious groups because they participated in activities that WFP and its partners implemented.

Table 19 below shows that overall, less than 50% of respondents reported witnessing any increased collaborations or interactions between people of different religious backgrounds be it in economic activities, social and associational engagements, or sporting activities. Between the two countries, lower numbers of respondents from Niger consistently reported observing no changes in engagement in all three domains of assessment (i.e., collaboration in economic activities; engagement in social and associational activities, and participation in sporting activities) between members of different religious affiliations.

Table 19: Percentage Distribution of Respondents who Witnessed Changes in Economic Collaboration, Social and Associational Life, and Engagements in Sporting Activities by Country

Country	Burkina Faso		Niger		Total	
Measurement Criteria	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed
Witnessed Increased Collaboration in economic activities						
Between different ethnic groups	88.7%	11.3%	96.5%	3.5%	93.5%	6.5%
Between Different villages	84.0%	16.0%	84.9%	15.1%	84.5%	15.5%
Between people of different religions	56.6%	43.4%	33.7%	66.3%	42.4%	57.6%
Engagement in associations						
Between different ethnic groups	91.5%	8.5%	97.1%	2.9%	95.0%	5.0%
Between Different villages	81.1%	18.9%	71.5%	28.5%	75.2%	24.8%
Between people of different religions	46.2%	53.8%	24.4%	75.6%	32.7%	67.3%

4.3   **Collaborative Engagements for Mutual Interests.**

4.3.1   *Collaboration in Conflict Management*

The ability of multi-identity groups to manage and resolve conflicts is an important step to building social cohesion. It is also an important ingredient of the conflict carrying capacities of the identity groups. Respondents were asked if they had witnessed any increase in the ability of the different groups in communities participating in WFP activities to manage their differences and conflicts, because of their joint engagement in the activities.

Figure 6 presents the findings disaggregated by country. Essentially, more than 90% of respondents in both countries said they had witnessed an increase in collaborative conflict resolution engagements within communities participating in WFP's activities.

Figure 6: Percentage of Respondents who Witnessed an increase in Collaborative Conflict Management in Program Communities
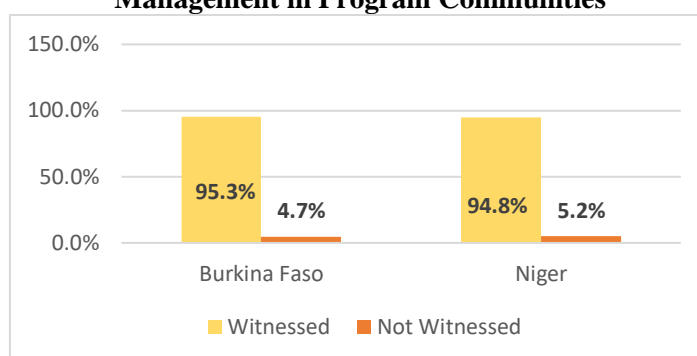
4.3.2   Shared Social Spaces – Education and Sports

The nature of co-occupancy and collaborative use of the same social spaces, such as schools and sports facilities, is indicative and also a determinant of the cohesiveness of society. Respondents were asked if they have witnessed any increases in the number of children of different ethnic groups attending the same schools, and the number of sporting events between the youth of different groups in communities that are participating in WFP's activities.

Table 20 provides an overview of the findings. While more than 80% of respondents said they had witnessed increased youth sporting activities and increased school attendance of children of members of different ethnic groups and villages in the same social spaces, the results for engagements by people of different religious backgrounds are less than 50% for both countries (i.e., 30% for youth sporting activities and 48% for school attendance). By country, a higher percentage of respondents in Burkina Faso affirmed seeing increased participation of youth from different religions in sports (48%) than in Niger (18%). A similar pattern is observed for attendance of children of different religions in the same schools (63% affirmative as against 38% for Niger).

Table 20: Percentage of Respondents who Witnessed Changes in Use of Social Spaces Arising from Co-participation in WFP

Country	Burkina Faso		Niger		Total	
Assessment Criteria	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed	Witnessed	Not Witnessed
Witnessed Increased Sporting Activities between Youth Of:						
Different ethnic groups	85	15	87	13	86	14
Different villages	84	16	79	21	81	19
Different religions	48	52	18	82	30	71
Witnessed Increased Attendance of the same schools by children of:						
Different ethnic groups	93	8	98	2	96	4
Different villages	88	12	85	15	86	14
Different religions	63	37	38	62	48	53

4.3.3   Participation in Joint Community Development Activities

Collective participation in community development initiatives provides opportunities for communities and groups to engage peers beyond their boundaries, (physical, psycho-social, cultural, economic, and political, among others) to (re)build relationships that advance causes for their mutual individual and collective benefits. To ascertain the existence and nature of such opportunities for building social bridges, the survey asked respondents to indicate to what extent they believed the activities of WFP and partners increased the participation of different identity groups in target communities in joint activities for the advancement of their individual and collective interests. Table 21 presents the findings. On

average, 79.3% of respondents said WFP's activities promoted opportunities for different identity groups to participate in joint activities to a very high or high extent.

Table 21: Contribution of WFP's Activities to Promoting Joint Activities

Promoted More Joint Activities Between Different	Very high/High	Moderate	Very low/Low
Ethnic Groups	80.2	11.9	7.9
Religious groups	79.1	9.0	11.8
Farmers and Herders	74.4	14.4	11.2
Men and Women	80.6	10.1	9.3
Youth and Elders	82.8	9.4	7.9
Government Agencies and Communities	75.5	13.7	10.8
External Organizations and Communities	82.8	9.0	8.3
Average	79.3	11.1	9.6

Although 74.4% of respondents said that joint participation in WFP 's activities increased herder-farmer collaborative engagement, this figure falls 4.9 percentage points below the average for other criteria assessed. The finding, nonetheless, reflects observations in the KII_01 data on how herders and farmers worked together to develop pasture lands and water sources, as well as create alternate grazing grounds and corridors for livestock movement, which reduced resource competition conflicts between them.

Table 22 below presents the results by country, which shows that more than 80% of respondents from Burkina Faso consistently said participation in WFP's activities has promoted more joint activities between different categories of co-citizens, while the rate in Niger is lower. When responses for the high and very high categories are combined, respondents from Burkina Faso are at least 6 percentage points higher than their colleagues in Niger, who were definite that participation in WFP's activities promoted more joint activities between different groups of people in their country.

Table 22: Contribution of WFP's Activities to Promoting Joint Activities by Countries

Country/	Burkina Faso					Niger					Chi.Sq.
Promoted More Joint Activities between	Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	P-value
Ethnic Groups	0.9	1.9	13.2	22.6	61.3	9.3	1.7	11.0	30.8	47.1	0.018
Religious groups	0.9	4.7	11.3	30.2	52.8	7.6	8.1	7.6	20.3	56.4	0.031
Farmers and Herders	0.0	0.9	8.5	34.9	55.7	7.6	9.9	18.0	31.4	33.1	0.000
Men and Women	0.9	3.8	5.7	35.8	53.8	9.3	2.9	12.8	34.3	40.7	0.009
Youth and Elders	0.9	0.0	6.6	33.0	59.4	4.1	8.1	11.0	30.8	45.9	0.005
Government Agencies and Community	0.9	3.8	13.2	35.8	46.2	4.1	10.5	14.0	34.3	37.2	0.120
External Organizations and Communities	0.0	0.9	12.3	36.8	50.0	10.5	2.3	7.0	26.7	53.5	0.003

Table 23 presents a summary of results for the Pearson chi-square test of significance for the cross-tabulation of various parameters by country of study for horizontal social cohesion explored in the study. Details of the test scores for each cross-tabulation are available in Appendix 8. The cross-tabulation results for increased marriages between ethnic groups; increased marriages between villages; collaboration in economic activities between members of different villages; engagement in sporting activities between members of different ethnic groups and different villages, as well as, collaborative conflict resolution efforts between different identity groups all have *p*-values greater than 0.05.

Similarly, cross-tabulation results for the attendance of children from different identity groups in the same school, as well as the measures for increased joint activities between participating communities and government agencies by country of study all have *p*-values greater than 0.05. This means the findings are statistically insignificant. Notable, there is a 10.6 percentage point difference between respondents in Burkina Faso who agreed to a very high/high level that participation in WFP activities

has increased joint actions between community members and government agencies, as compared to the level of agreement of respondents from Niger. With respect to the contribution of WFP's activities to joint activities by different identity groups with other stakeholders, however, a cross-tabulation of the responses by country of study showed significant statistical findings for all the parameters, with chi-square $p < 0.05$.

The results show that all parameters related to engagements between people of different religions (i.e., increased intermarriages; collaboration in economic activities; engagement in the same associations; participation of youth in the same sporting activities; and children attending the same school) are with $p = 0.000$. This means there are significant relationships between religion and the other parameters in each set of measures across the two countries. In other words, it is not accidental, for instance, that respondents in Niger differed in their perception of how WFP's activities have made it possible for them to participate in the religious festivities of their neighbors, collaborate on economic activities with person of other faiths, or send their children to the same school as those of other ethnic groups. There must be a strong reason why these observations exist.

Other parameters with significant findings (i.e., $p \leq 0.05$) between Burkina Faso and Niger are perceived collaboration in economic activities across ethnic lines; engagement in associations across ethnic lines; and children of different ethnic groups attending the same school. In other words, respondents believe there are significant relationships between ethnicity and the willingness to collaborate on economic activities, engage in social activities, and send one's children to a school together with other ethnic groups in Burkina Faso and Niger.

Table 23: Summary of Pearson Chi-Square Test Results

Variable Measured	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Increased marriages between ethnic groups	2.521a	1	0.112
Increased marriages between Villages	.183a	1	0.669
Increased marriages between different religions	22.534a	1	0.000
Collaboration in economic activities ethnic	6.644a	1	0.01
Collaboration in economic activities villages	.043a	1	0.837
Collaboration in economic activities religion	14.057a	1	0.000
Engagement in associations ethnic	4.275a	1	0.039
Engagement in associations villages	3.253a	1	0.071
Engagement in associations religion	14.165a	1	0.000
Youthful Sporting Activities ethnic	.295a	1	0.587
Youthful Sporting Activities villages	1.017a	1	0.313
Youthful Sporting Activities religion	28.553a	1	0.000
Collaborative Conflict Resolution	.036a	1	0.849
Children attending the same school ethnic	4.329a	1	0.037
Children attending the same school villages	.442a	1	0.506
Children attending the same school religion	16.990a	1	0.000

4.4   Contribution of WFP Activities to Equal Access to Economic Opportunities

4.4.1   *Equal Access to Economic Resources and Markets*

Unequal and inequitable access to economic opportunities is often a source of tension or disunity for diverse groups competing for such spaces, resources, or opportunities. Competition for access to land, markets, water resources, and pastures, among resources in agrarian livelihood systems such as those in WFP's operational areas in Burkina Faso and Niger has often led to violent clashes between different groups. To assess if and how WFP's activities may have promoted equal access to natural resources and economic opportunities, respondents were asked to indicate from their experiences how WFP activities have affected the ability of members of all identity groups (ethnic, religious, host communities, IDPs/refugees) to access the same or similar economic opportunities, such as access to existing or rehabilitated farmlands, inputs, credit, technical services, markets, etc.

In response to the questions, more than 90% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they have equal opportunities to access economic resources and markets because of their participation in the activities of WFP. Of these, more than 71% said they agreed strongly that they had equal economic opportunities as their colleagues from other ethnic groups. See Table 24.

Table 24: Access to Economic Opportunities because of WFP's Activities

Participation in the WFP-implemented activities	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say
Have equal access to resources	71.2%	19.1%	1.4%	2.9%	4.7%	0.7%
Have equal access to markets	84.5%	10.4%	1.4%	1.1%	1.4%	1.1%

A cross-tabulation (Table 25) of the responses by country shows that more than 92% of respondents in Burkina Faso strongly agreed that they had equal access to resources and markets as a result of their participation in the activities of WFP and its partners. In Niger, however, while 95.4% of respondents strongly agreed that they had equal access to markets, only 89% of respondents strongly agreed that they had equal access to natural resources.

Table 25: Access to Economic Opportunities because of WFP's Activities by Country

Country	Burkina Faso (n = 106)			Niger (n = 172)		
Parameter	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	Not Sure/ Prefer not to say	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	Not Sure /Prefer not to say
Have equal access to resources	92.5	3.7	3.7	89.00	4.60	6.40
Have equal access to markets	94.3	3.8	1.8	95.4	1.8	2.9

The chi-square test results were statistically insignificant for both parameters, given p-values of 0.876 and 0.880 respectively.

4.4.2   *WFP Contribution to Increased Participation in Decision-Making Processes*

The ability of members of all identity groups (ethnic, religious, host communities, IDPs/refugees) to participate in decision-making processes at their appropriate levels is a measure of the nature and inclusiveness of spaces, systems, rules, and processes for decision-making. It defines practices that promote or hinder the acceptance of different groups in spaces and forums where they can make their voices and views count on decisions that affect them. This is a critical factor in the building of social cohesion since the rules, regulations, processes, and practices emanating from such forums set the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the determination and definition of communal priorities and development goals. It determines equality and equity in access to and use of spaces and resources; and the forms of engagement that can promote social cohesion. This study, therefore, sought to establish how WFP's activities have affected the participation of different groups on equal terms in decision-making processes in their communities and/or relevant geographical units such as the district and regions or provinces. It also gauged the participation of community members in deliberations of forums such as parent-teacher associations (PTAs) or school boards; community water resource management boards; management committees for community pastures and other natural resource, among others. Specifically, respondents were asked to indicate whether they have the same opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes in the above-mentioned community level governance and administrative structures.

Figure 7 summarizes the respondents' views. More than 90% strongly agreed or agreed that WFP's activities have created greater opportunities for them to participate in decision-making processes within their communities. Notably, more than 70% consistently said they strongly agreed with the statement that WFP's activities have enabled them to participate more in decision-making processes in different structures and processes within their communities. A slightly higher percentage of respondents who agreed strongly that WFP's activities created opportunities for them to participate in natural resource management structures.

Figure 7: Increased Participation in Decision Making at Community Levels
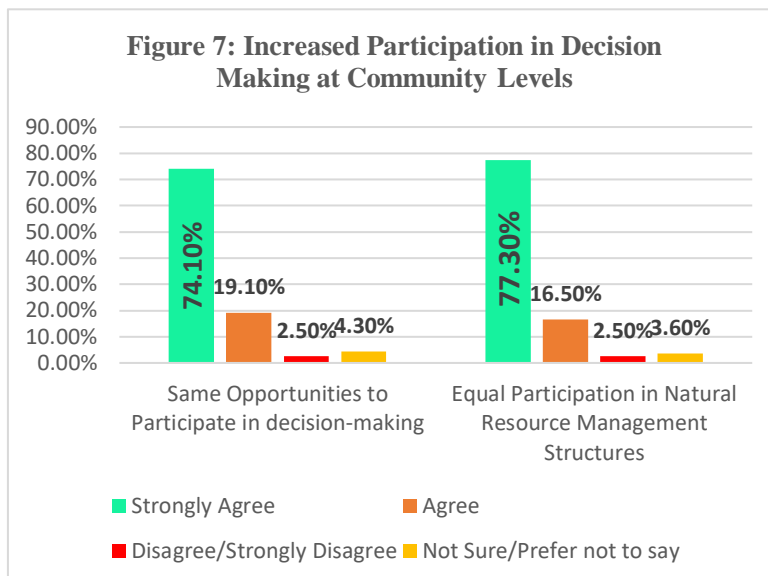
A cross-tabulation (Table 26) of the responses by country and by province shows that more than 90% of respondents in both Burkina Faso and Niger agreed that participating in WFP activities enabled them to have the same opportunity to participate in decision-making processes and to participate equally in management committees for community pastures and other natural resources. However, with respect to participation in decision-making processes, 6.6% of respondents in Burkina Faso either said they were not sure or preferred not to say whether or not they had the same opportunities to participate in the decision-making forums as a result of WFP's activities. The percentage of respondents with different opinions was relatively small for other categories. The Pearson chi-square statistics had p-values higher than 0.05 (0.296 and 0.629) respectively for the two parameters, which indicates the findings were statistically insignificant.

Table 26: Opportunities to Participate in Decision-Making Processes by Country

Country	Burkina Faso			Niger		
Assessment Parameter	Strongly Agree/Agree	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	Not Sure/Prefer not to say	Strongly Agree/Agree	Disagree/Strongly Disagree	Not Sure/Prefer not to say
Same opportunities in decision-making	92.4	0.9	6.6	93.6	3.4	2.9
Equal participation in resource management committees	93.4	3.8	2.8	94.2	1.8	4

4.5   Summary of Findings from Mini-Survey

The findings from the survey are largely consistent with those from the qualitative data from the KIIs and FGDs. Essentially, they confirm that the activities of WFP have had a net positive effect on the ability of participating communities to engage in actions that have promoted social cohesion within and between their communities. The community resource and conflict management structures and the joint activities in the construction of communal infrastructure created spaces of encounter and engagement that enabled participating individuals and communities to get to know each other better. This helped in reducing mutual suspicions and stereotypes. This, in turn, led to improved trust and respect between members of different identity groups. The resultant improvement in relationships and social bonding has contributed to increased intermarriages between members of different ethnic groups and triggered greater trust of participants in leaving their children and property in the care of their neighbors when they have to be absent from their homes.

Although the findings reveal some differences in response rates across the study countries (i.e., Burkina Faso and Niger), the Pearson chi-square test shows that most of these differences are statistically insignificant, given the p-values greater than 0.05. Parameters associated with the religious affiliation of respondents are the only ones that have consistently shown that the observed differences are statistically significant. The extent to which the religious demographics of the study countries influenced the results related to religion requires further exploration.

V. Discussion of Findings

5.1 Overview of Findings

5.1.1 Summary of Findings from Interviews and Mini-Survey

Intricate webs of natural and human-made agro-climatic and environmental shocks, cycles, and trends stemming from increasing desertification and recurrent droughts and floods continue to worsen the fragile and vulnerable conditions that underpin the lives and livelihood systems of the communities that WFP and partners worked with in Burkina Faso and Niger. Living on the fringes of the Sahara Desert, the dependence of most families in the area on rainfed cropping and livestock livelihood systems makes them extremely vulnerable when the rains fail or fall too much, too suddenly. Either way, the loss of crops and livestock increases the risks of deepening poverty and weakens the communities' resilience to the next round of shocks.

Added to this, the increasing competition for ever-dwindling arable land, pastures, and water resources often lead to violent confrontations between farming and herding communities. The onset and spread of violent attacks on some communities by extremist groups compound the conflict-related vulnerabilities of the communities participating in WFP's FFA interventions. The attendant loss of lives, livestock, and other property due to displacement of populations from their homes destabilizes livelihood systems further. In addition, the influx of refugees and IDPs, or the return of local residents from voluntary or forced migration, often put more pressure on the limited resources of the receiving communities.

Perennial and deepening food insecurity was the bane of most households in the participating communities before the introduction of WFP's activities. Inadequate food production due to the compound effects of floods, droughts, locust invasions, and other natural shocks pushed many able-bodied youths out of their communities in search of alternate sources of food and income to meet the needs of their families. Sites for small-scale, unregulated mining, which has devastating impacts on the environment, became the favorite destinations for the migrants. In addition to destroying the environment and exacerbating the conditions that create poverty, the outmigration of men, especially youth, negatively affected the peace and cohesion of families. The increased risks of attacks and associated insecurity of families and communities increased the fragility of the communities. The exodus of men broke up families, as evidenced by reported increases in divorce, and the absence of young men left communities defenseless against the violent extremist groups.

It is in this context that communities participating in WFP's FFA activities have voiced their appreciation for these interventions in helping them rebuild their physical, natural, social, financial, political, and human assets. The construction or rehabilitation of climate-resilient assets such as dams, zaïs, half-moons, and agroforestry fields has helped communities to rehabilitate, regenerate, or increase the quantity and quality of their physical and natural assets. While land reclamation and the soil and water conservation measures expanded the acreage of arable land, complementary soil fertility improvement interventions such as composting enhanced the quality and productivity of the existing and rehabilitated plots of land. Increased access to water for productive and domestic use helped to extend cropping cycles, as some communities were able to supplement annual rainfed food production and income-earning potential with dry season gardening.

The collaborative work embedded in WFP's activities brought individuals and groups of different identities together, enabling them to build tighter bonds and bridges within groups and across the lines that once divided them. Respondents in the study have reported that the processes of working across identity lines to create communal assets created spaces of encounter and engagement that allowed them to reach across pre-existing fault lines of division to establish stronger bonds between groups and communities that once lived in isolation. Such encounters have helped to reduce stereotypes, suspicions, and distrust among and between different groups. They have also led to greater trust between identity

groups. This has contributed to a greater sense of safety and security within participating communities in their dealings with members of other identity groups. Reported increases in intermarriage and greater tolerance and accommodation across ethnic and religious lines bear testimony to the improved social cohesion within and between communities participating in WFP's activities.

Through collaborative activities for natural resource rehabilitation and use, farmers and herders have found new grounds for symbiotic relationships. They have learned to develop and manage communal assets such as pasturelands and water resources in ways that ensure everyone has optimal and non-exclusive access to such resources to meet their needs. Farmer and herder communities have worked together to improve access to pasturelands and water for both crop production and the watering of livestock.

Improved soil fertility and agricultural practices have led to increased availability of crop residues and other forms of biomass as feedstock for livestock. Improved access to feedstock has reduced itinerant herding practices, which in turn has contributed to increased accumulation and availability of animal manure within the communities. The exchange of feedstock for animal manure between farmers and herders has reinforced the sense of *interconnections* and *interdependencies* between the livelihood systems of farmer and herder communities and increased mutually beneficial economic *interactions* between identity groups that once lived unconnected or even adversarial lives. The perceptible mutually beneficial collaboration in natural resource rehabilitation, regeneration, and development has led to reduced conflicts between herders and farmers.

Income earned directly from participation in the activities and/or from the sale of produce from increased production and productivity of farmlands has enhanced the financial assets of the communities, enabling many families to send their children to school, potentially increasing the number of children attending school. This, in turn, will enhance the human assets of the communities in the future. Improvements in human assets is a step toward longer-term enhancement of the resilience of the families. Increased incomes have also supported the acquisition of other assets such as land through the purchase or rental of land for productive purposes. This has contributed to improved food production and food security among participating households. The opportunities to earn income, while contributing to creating assets that enhance crop and livestock production and productivity, also persuaded young men to remain in their communities instead of migrating in search of alternate sources of income.

In the past, when men left for the mines or cities in pursuit of alternative sources of food and income because food stores were exhausted, their wives bore the burden of providing food and physical security for their children and other members of the household. Their tasks were compounded during the off-season when they had no means of generating extra food or income. However, in this study, women expressed a sense of empowerment through their participation in the WFP-implemented activities. Their enhanced knowledge in child nutrition management and their increased ability to contribute to household food and income security through the income-generation activities supported by WFP earned them greater respect and voice in their families and communities. Women in the study reported being invited to take an active part in discussions and decision-making at the family and community levels. Women were no longer treated as marginal assets valued only for their biological and domestic roles as wives, mothers, and housekeepers. Rather, community elders steadily recognized the important roles women can play in the community and created spaces for them to exercise their abilities by inviting them to decision-making forums.

The collaborative engagements have also enabled participating communities to receive and integrate newcomers (IDPs, refugees, and returnees) seamlessly into host communities. The newcomers as well as members of their host communities have confirmed the facilitating role of WFP's activities, which leveraged and enhanced their natural predisposition to support neighbors in need. Working together in the creation of communal assets allowed the host communities to see the newcomers as positive net contributors to the wealth and well-being of their communities, especially as the newcomers often brought with them new ideas, experiences, and energies that enhanced the work of their host

communities. In turn, through their inclusion and incorporation into the collaborative work structures, the newcomers felt accepted, respected, safe, secure, and integrated into the host communities.

WFP's role in facilitating dialogue between different groups was perceptible at two levels – *direct engagement and dialogue* and *the dialogue of action*. The creation of various cross-identity committees for the design and implementation of the WFP-implemented activities created multiple vertical and horizontal spaces and opportunities for *direct engagements and dialogue* between different groups and communities. The community-based participatory planning processes (CBPP), for instance, created unique *vertical opportunities* for community members to engage with state and non-state decision-makers and duty bearers in collaborative work that led to the choice and design of the natural resource rehabilitation and management activities that WFP and partners implemented. At the same time, the engagement of multiple communities in the same decision-making processes and subsequently in the work processes provided spaces for *horizontal social cohesion building*, as these groups worked together to identify, design, and implement activities that serve their common interests.

The *dialogue of action* came through the experiences and observed dividends of collective actions evident in the lives of participating groups and communities. As some respondents observed, **"**The activities supported by WFP have enabled us to live together and get to know each other better" (BF_KII_01_6808_M). In the view of another respondent, "The fact that we work together has allowed us to get closer to those we were not used to talking to" (BF_KII_01_6921_F). In addition, this collaborative approach to activity implementations delivered tangible dividends to participating groups because it "… allowed us to work together and have money to pay for our children's schooling" (BF_KII_01_6808_M; also, BF_KII_01_6810_F; BF_KII_01_0051_F; BF_KII_01_0053_F; BF_KII_01_1110_M; BF_KII_01_1114_F; BF_FGD_01_1414). These tangible benefits reinforced the dividends accruable from collaborative work and social cohesion.

Finally, WFP's activities also created local institutional capacities that communities have been able to leverage for increased engagement with duty bearers in the state and non-state spheres. This derived from the creation of community-level capacities through the different committees working on the interventions. The training in various asset rehabilitation and regeneration techniques and individual and collective learning from collaborative engagements have broadened and deepened the networks of relationships between individuals, groups, and communities across identity lines, and also improved the social engagement, knowledge, and skills of participating communities. This has increased local capacities and confidence for community members in engaging policy-makers and other duty bearers in decision-making processes.

In sum, all the activities that WFP supports create spaces of engagement that bring people of different identity groups together. The convening power of the activities may be context-specific or dependent on which activity was the primary or dominant one in a community. While land reclamation may be stronger convening and mobilizing force in one community, agroforestry and the creation of pasturelands may be a stronger magnet for bringing people together in another community. Irrespective of the differences in what brings people together, the fact that all communities found value in the way WFP's activities enabled them to work together for their collective interests points to how effective the CBPP processes been in supporting the contextualization of the choice, design, and execution of the different WFP activities.

5.1.2   *Significance of Findings*

The findings in this research raise a number of questions related to the attribution of the intervention outcomes and the contribution of WFP's activities to the observed social cohesion engagements in the participating communities in the two study sites. First, could the observed social cohesion have occurred in any other setting in the intervention countries outside the communities that participated in the FFA activities? If so, how, why, and to what extent would that have happened? Second, if the observed social cohesion outcomes occurred only in communities participating in WFP's activities, how unique is that

outcome in comparison with other communities confronted with the same contextual realities and similar interventions? In other words, were the activities of WFP the real triggers or merely catalysts for the emergence of social cohesion?

In answer to the question, whether WFP's contribution to social cohesion in the participating communities was unique, can only be assessed in the context of the extant literature related to social cohesion building in communities dealing with or emerging from the effects of shocks, such as those witnessed in the program communities. This contextualization is summarized below.

5.2   Extant Literature for the Interpretation of Findings

The broad conceptual and varied historical and theoretical origins of social cohesion derive from a myriad of factors that affected the concept's emergence, development, and sustenance, as established in the in-depth review of its origins (Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019). One seminal definition of social cohesion describes it as a product of "…groups having intimate face-to-face communications [and] substantial time spent together" (Cooley 1909 in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019, p. 233) to foster strong social organizations. However, context is an important determinant of individuals' and groups' ability to engage in social cohesion building, and the nature of such engagements (Lewin, 1946 in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019, p. 233). For instance, at the individual level, the power of participation in fostering social cohesion rests in the fact that, "Social cohesion is affected by how much the friendship networks of individuals of different groups overlap" (Granovetter 1973; in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019, p. 235).

Networks of friendships are built on trust rooted in shared values and a sense of community. However, the sense of community need not connote sameness or strong affiliations. On the contrary, Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier (2019) point out that for social cohesion to arise, it is not enough to have groups that have shared norms and values that bind and bond them. It is essential to incorporate acceptance of diversity, inclusion, tolerance, equity, equal opportunities, and accommodation of different, and even contradictory values, norms, and points of view that are, nonetheless, united by a common, higher-level goal of creating conditions in which each becomes the best of who they are and what they seek to achieve. This multicultural worldview of the precondition for social cohesion to develop highlights the transactional nature of social cohesion, both in its process and outcomes. Process-wise, social cohesion is the product of interactions and engagements between diverse individuals and groups who see value in collaboration for the achievement of a shared and higher-level goal. The participating individuals or groups may disagree about what goes on between them on a daily basis but see higher-level concrete rewards accruing from their engagements, either to themselves or to the collective. In terms of outcomes, the rewards need not be objective, tangible, material, or monetary; they can be as intangible as the subjective experience of peace, acceptance, and belongingness.

In sum, the view held in foundational theories of social cohesion that sameness breeds togetherness and diversity breeds conflicts no longer holds in the assessment of how social cohesion develops. On the contrary, difference or diversity can be an equally important trigger and motivator for sustained social cohesion, as social differentiation creates conditions for the appreciation of difference and interdependence, which in turn mandates increased interaction, collective actions, and trust-building across identity lines. Diversity, therefore, is a source of social cohesion, especially when the different groups have a shared experience of the material and nonmaterial benefits they stand to gain from engaging with each other.

Trust, safety, and security are also important preconditions for social cohesion building. In diverse societies, especially in those emerging from experiences of trauma, the individuals and groups must feel safe and secure in engaging with others to create overlapping networks of friendship and collaboration that seek to address their shared interests. In such contexts, above all, "trust becomes a fundamental precondition for the […] safety for the individual" (Larsen, 2014, p. 4). In particular, horizontal trust i.e., trust between peers, whether at the individual, group, or community levels, is

fundamental to creating spaces of engagement for collaborative actions that seek the collective interests (Axelrod and Hamilton 1981, Rothstein and Uslaner 2005). Trust, however, is a product of risk-taking behaviors. The perception of risk is, in turn, inversely proportional to the level of trust that exists between the parties i.e., the higher the level of trust, the greater the willingness to take a risk.

In post-traumatic contexts, experiences of deprivation from natural events such as floods or droughts that have rendered households' food and income insecure, increase risk aversion. Similarly, experiences of violent hostilities heighten suspicions and reduce levels of trust within and between communities trapped in or emerging from such contexts. Added to this, the influx of strangers fleeing from agro-climatic shocks or violence conflicts into neighboring communities expose host communities to the risk of increased stress on households with already limited access to food, housing, and social services, as well as pressure on local subsistence assets from increased resource competition for land and water resources for domestic and productive use. The persistence of memories of the hostilities; the perceptions of risk of the spreading violence; or the fear of importation of the violence from conflict affected zones by the incoming populations increase anxieties. These factors raise the risk perceptions in affected communities and affect the levels of generalized trust (i.e., trust of previously unknown people) and specific trust (i.e., trust of neighbors or people one already knows (Larsen, 2014).

On the other hand, an increased sense of collective victimhood, actual or vicarious, may increase trust levels in communities emerging from violent conflicts. This is because, usually, "… violence-affected communities exhibit higher levels of prosocial motivation, measured by altruistic giving, public good contributions, investment in trust-based transactions, and willingness to reciprocate trust-based investments" (Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii, 2014 in Fonseca; Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019, p. 238). Additionally, there is a predisposition in low-income communities to develop mechanisms for "…collective efficacy (the sharing of norms and values), trust one another, and willingness to intervene to address common problems" (Ohmer 2016 in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier 2019). Put together, the direct or indirect experience of violence for communities that share a common denominator of climate and environment induced poverty creates a great mix of factors that predispose communities participating in WFP's activities to engage in actions that bind and bond them to build social cohesion. The scale may be small, and the process may be slow without WFP's activities, but the will is there. In other words, communities will do what they know best to do and/or believe is the right thing to do, with or without external prompting or support. They will reach out and help others in need at their space, means, and on the scale, they can afford. They will make the effort, no matter how insignificant it is in addressing the challenges their neighbors face.

Such social cohesion building, however, does not happen in a vacuum. Accepted values, norms, traditions, rules, regulations, and other elements that mediate interpersonal relationships are essential to the trust-building processes. This mandates the presence of institutional frameworks (structures, systems, processes, rules, and regulations) and the actors (traditional and contemporary; state and non-state; formal and informal) that define, institutionalize, and ensure the functioning of the setup that regulates interpersonal engagements in the building of the bonds and bridges. Hence, the building of social cohesion requires the presence and action of formal institutions (including governmental, private/public agencies, and NGOs) as well as, informal ones (chiefs, religious leaders, leadership of women's and youth associations, leadership of economic interest groups such as herders or farmers, etc.) that facilitate inclusive processes, reduction in inequalities, creation of equal opportunities for all, and the establishment of fair and equitable pathways for the upward mobility of members of the community (Beauvais and Jenson, 2002; Europe, 2008; OECD, 2011).

As the product of interaction, social cohesion building is a learning process in which the participant identity groups collect and use information from present realities and engagements to reinterpret historical narratives and make new meanings that advance or constrain the building of new relationships. As people learn to see each other in different lights, trust, accommodation, and tolerance may replace, reinforce, or lessen mutual suspicions, stereotypes, and exclusionary attitudes, behaviors, and practices. The reverse is also true, as new information from present engagements can reinforce

negative perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and practices that entrench or worse intolerance, mistrust, exclusion, and hostility between the groups.

The need for this study centered on the fact that WFP did not set out to intentionally promote social cohesion through its FFA activities. Rather, anecdotal evidence emerged about how groups participating in the FFA activities are engaging in actions that foster social cohesion building within and between participating communities. The findings of this study are, therefore, better understood when viewed through the lenses of what the participating communities learned through their engagements, and how that learning led them to improve their relationships. For this, Dewey's theory on collateral learning (1938, 1986) as well as Bandura's theory on social learning (Bandura, 1977), both of which highlight unplanned and unintended learning outcomes that intervention environments create, offer appropriate theoretical frameworks for understanding the social cohesion outcomes in WFP's activities in the study communities. While Dewey's theory of collateral learning emphasizes extra-curricular learning that occurs when targeted participants in a structured learning process acquire, integrate, and internalize new knowledge, experiences, skills, behaviors, attitudes, and practices that tend to influence them beyond the expectations of what they originally planned to learn, Bandura's social learning theory highlights how untargeted individuals in the learning environment uptake the knowledge, skills, and practices offered in learning programs in which they are not participants. They do this through "observing, modelling, and imitating the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others" (McLeod, 2016, p.1) who are participating in or benefiting from the structured learning programs.

The collateral theory allows us to explore how targeted participants in the FFA interventions used the spaces and opportunities of the WFP-implemented community assets construction and other collaborative engagements to appreciate, share, and increase awareness of the need to work across different identity groups for mutual benefits through building or reinforcing relationships between them. Social learning theory, on the other hand, provides the framework for understanding how individuals and communities that were not direct participants in WFP-supported activities, assessed the benefits of the new knowledge, skills, and technologies the FFA activities were offering to participant groups and how they resolved to learn, adapt, and apply the observed best practices from the participant groups to improve their own lives. Together, the two theories allow us to examine what and how different contextual factors may have influenced the extended collateral and social learning outcomes within and between study countries and communities.

5.3 Limitations

The literature discussed above sets interpretive boundaries for the findings of this study. In addition, the following factors further limit the interpretation and generalization of the findings.

Geographic Scope and Sample Criteria Restrictions: The geographic scope and sampling restrictions of the data collection processes impose limitations on the interpretation and generalizability of the findings of this study. First, the study was limited to provinces/regions and communities in which WFP is implementing activities. Next, the access and security criteria for selecting data collection sites/communities meant that communities most affected by violent conflicts and/or are less accessible through regular transport services were deselected for the study. Finally, the sample frame of respondents was limited to individuals closely associated with WFP's activities, either as direct community-level participants/beneficiaries in the activities; NGO/CSO implementing partners; district and regional-level state actors collaborating with WFP and partners in the design and implementation of the various activities, and regional and subregional WFP staff with direct oversight responsibilities for activity design and implementation.

Exclusion of Outsider/Outlier Voices and Views: The respondent selection criteria outlined above mean that the views expressed by respondents are "insider" views that have not been validated against outsider perspectives. The study had no control group (i.e., nonparticipant/beneficiaries of the FFA) nor were persons that were targeted but decided to opt out or leave the program been reached for their

views. Similarly, the voices and views of people in outlier FFA communities that are most affected by the conflicts are not heard in the findings. Also, the experiences of communities differ, depending on the severity of the impact of the traumas they have experienced. Hence, the exclusion of critical voices and views from communities most affected by violent conflicts -- which could not be reached for security and accessibility reasons -- is a critical limitation on the findings. The "outsider" views of members of communities within the provinces/regions that were not participating in WFP's activities were also excluded from the findings. In sum, the study has been unable to access potentially different views and voices on how the processes and outcomes of WFP's FFA activities in their environs have contributed or not to improving social cohesion. Thus, the largely positive findings of this research must be interpreted within the confines of these limitations.

Since the study did not have direct access to nonparticipant individuals and groups, assessment of the social learning opportunities is also limited. What is reported on the proactive engagement and adaptation of WFP-implemented technologies, techniques, and skills by nonparticipant groups is based on recall by participating individuals and groups in this study. A larger and better picture will emerge if subsequent studies expand the sampling frame to catch the views of the nonparticipant groups on if, how, and why they engaged in social learning activities.

Duplication in Data Sources: The multiple data collection tools (KIIs, FGDs, and mini-surveys) used in the study engaged the same set of study participants in different permutations. For instance, all participants in the mini-surveys were recruited from participants in all the KII and FGDs and some participants in KIIs may have participated in FGDs. The views participants expressed in each segment of the study are based on their direct knowledge and lived experiences of the context of the interventions and the outcomes of WFP's activities. Hence, the findings from the different data sources provide a strong basis for data saturation through triangulation and internal validation of the knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, and practices reported as contributing to social cohesion as a result of WFP's interventions. However, outsider views that confirm or challenge those views were limited. In the absence of perspectives from nonparticipant communities or individuals, there is limited external validation or contradiction of the views expressed by the participant community. The interpretations and meanings derived from the findings of this study must therefore be tempered with the caveat that they are based on what those closely associated with the program have offered; no external perspectives confirm or challenge the findings.

The need for outsider perspectives on the findings is particularly pertinent, given the example of one KII participant in Burkina Faso, who repeatedly answered questions with hazy statements and conjectures such as: [I have] "no idea [of WFP's activities] because I don't follow WFP's activities directly, given my status as parish priest"; "I'm a priest so I'm not too informed. We weren't involved so it's difficult." The respondent who said he had no knowledge of the WFP program had a narrow vision of it as one that simply distributed money. As he recalled, he only heard "how they distributed money for agriculture and animal husbandry; I understood that but didn't see (it for myself) and that's what I heard… The distribution of money anyway that's what I know" (BF_KII_01_7061_M).

Box 84: The Outsider's Insights

"Since we didn't have to work together I can't talk too much about that. All I know is their contribution but the method I can't talk too much about since I didn't attend directly. […] I don't know all the members of my community and I can't evaluate, but I tell myself that it allows them to take charge of themselves and be resilient in food […] It's to energize the community but I don't know if it's really the activities of WFP [that] produces that. […] I'm a priest so I'm not too informed. We weren't involved so it's difficult. I can't comment on that. When we see people here, we are told that it is WFP that is distributing money. […] I didn't notice anything but I think everything is fine and working between the young people and the chiefs/elders" (BF_KII_01_7061_M).

The responses from this respondent, who self-identified as a parish priest (i.e., head of the Catholic Church in the area) is instructive because if in his position he has limited information about the participation of population groups he regularly works with, as well as about the activities of WFP in his area, could there be other key nonparticipating residents in the program communities who are similarly

unaware of the activities of WFP and how they are supporting the social cohesion works in the communities? To what extent is this peculiar to one province or region of Burkina Faso? Is this ignorance of WFP's activities by outsiders specific to leaders of particular faith denominations, given that Muslim religious leaders in Niger were reported to be actively involved in land allocation regulation, among other things?

Demographics and Narrative Interpretations: The findings from the interviews and mini-survey suggest that WFP's activities did not have as strong an impact in promoting interreligious engagements such as intermarriage and reciprocal participation in cross-identity social events such as funerals, weddings, and naming ceremonies as it did for inter-ethnic and intercommunity engagements across the two study countries. The strength of the findings, however, differs across the two countries. The results from the mini-survey, for instance, show that 60% of respondents from Burkina Faso reported witnessing increased participation in social events (such as funerals and weddings) between members of different religious affiliations because of the WFP-implemented programs. Conversely, only 26% of respondents from Niger reported seeing the same effects in their country.

Interpretations of the results must, however, be situated within the religious demographics of the two countries. The extent to which differences in the religious composition of the populations of Burkina Faso and Niger contribute to the observed disparities requires further investigation. For instance, it is noteworthy that while Niger is estimated to be 98.3% Muslim, Burkina Faso has a more varied religious composition with an estimated 61.5% being Muslim.[14] The extent to which religious homogeneity factors into the findings for Niger needs further investigation.

Agro-Seasonality and Impact on Responses: Respondents' recall of knowledge and experiences often use the present as the reference point. Hence, the timing of the primary data collection in the field for this research (end of February through early March) is also important for the interpretation of the findings. February and March are midpoints of the dry seasons in Burkina Faso and Niger – a period when family food stocks are low but not yet into the annual hungry season – the "*soudure*" in French or "lean season" in English, running from June to September. Similarly, while local biomass for livestock feed may be running low, the shortage may not yet be dire. In addition, herders would normally have reached the most southern point in their annual transhumance cycle at this time, and would normally be preparing to return northward. Hence, pressure for feedstock at home would be low. Respondents' assertions that WFP's activities have contributed positively to increased food and biomass production must be read within this context, especially in the absence of supporting evidence of quantifiable increases in household food and livestock feed production. Would time-varied research including periods deeper into the *soudure* or lean season produce the same results?

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[14] Source: https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/muslim-population-by-country.

VI.   Emerging Lessons Learned

Notwithstanding the limitations to the interpretation and generalizability of the findings, the study offers important lessons on how WFP's activities have contributed to promoting social cohesion within communities participating in the FFA activities in Burkina Faso and Niger. Key among these are:

6.1   Catalytic versus Triggering Effects of WFP Activities on Social Cohesion Building

WFP's activities in participating communities had two kinds of effects on social cohesion building in the participating communities – *catalytic and trigger* effects. Catalytic interventions leverage opportunities of pre-existing dispositions, attitudes, behaviors, and cultural values, among other factors to amplify the scope of an intervention or magnify its outcomes. Trigger interventions, on the other hand, give spark new insights, reignite interests, stimulate motivations, and/or animate people to mobilize for actions that they had not contemplated before.

6.1.1   Catalytic Effects of WFP's Activities for Social Cohesion Building

WFP Activities Harnessed Local Beliefs, Values, and Practices to Promote Cohesion between Hosts and IDP/Refugee Communities: The findings section of this research report is replete with statements from participants which highlighted predisposing factors that created the foundation for social cohesion building in participating communities. Respondents cited existing cultural values, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors that evoked empathy, compassion, acceptance, inclusion, accommodation, and relationship building across identity lines. For instance, the findings have established how considerable empathy on the part of host communities toward IDPs, refugees, and returnees, who have relocated among them, moved the hosts to share the little they had with the newcomers. Respondents asserted that members of host communities saw the IDPs as their parents, brothers, and sisters who did not ask for the traumas that had expelled them from their homes. Therefore, they welcomed and integrated them into their communities. Their natural empathy drove their willingness to accommodate and incorporate the newcomers into the host communities. Respondents repeatedly described how they shared the little food and shelter they had with the displaced persons before the advent of WFP activities. The feelings of co-victimhood or empathy dissolved identity boundaries and created the sense of "brotherhood" that has been captured several times in the interviews.

A common refrain from the study in both countries is that droughts, floods, and food insecurity affected everyone. The literature suggests that this reported propensity of host communities to receive, accommodate, and share what they have with IDPs, refugees, and/or returnees may not be unique to the study communities. Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii (2014) observed that communities that have experienced violence tend to be more altruistic and willing to engage in trust-based activities. Hence, the shared experience of the same agroclimatic shocks and violent conflicts generated a sense of common victimhood for members of host communities and generated empathy from those that were witnesses to the effects of loss on their neighbors. In other words, apart from the cultural predisposition to empathy, care, and sharing in the study communities in Burkina Faso and Niger, there were contextual predisposing factors that created fertile ground for the budding of social cohesion prior to the arrival of WFP and its partners. The question of interest is: how and to what extent did the activities of WFP and its partners, intentionally or unintentionally, leverage these pre-existing cultural beliefs, values, and norms, as well as the contextual factors that predispose trauma-afflicted communities to empathize with, receive, and accommodate those fleeing the violence or other traumatic circumstances to simulate social cohesion building in the context of the FFA activities?

Findings from this study clearly establish the **catalytic contribution** of WFP's activities to social cohesion building in the participating communities. By creating opportunities that brought people of different communities and identity groups together, and through the provision of resources (food, cash, and technology) that facilitated cross-identity engagement, WFP's support created the spaces for the

sustained face-to-face interactions that helped the participating communities to intensify their engagements and make new meanings of their collective trauma and victimhood from natural and human-made disasters. The opportunity to work together to address or mitigate the effects of these traumas provided new or different views of their interdependencies and the need to work together for their mutual benefit. The spaces and opportunities for encounter and collective action that WFP and partners created, as well as the material and nonmaterial support the communities received played catalytic roles in expanding the scope and accelerating the pace of social cohesion building in the participating communities.

In other words, despite their shared sense of victimhood from the shocks of agroclimatic disasters and conflicts, as well as their natural willingness to empathize with, receive, and accommodate displaced persons and others, participating communities lacked the opportunities and resources to sustain and grow their altruism and inclusivity. They had limited opportunities for collaborative engagements that foster mutually beneficial outcomes. What WFP's activities did was leverage this fertile ground of altruism and willingness to enable the communities to cooperate for the collective good. The processes of cooperation stimulated social cohesion building. The creation of opportunities for members of participating communities to have intense and sustained face-to-face engagements enabled them to encounter each other, make new meanings of their shared experiences, and (re)build relationships. Close and sustained engagements through collective work dispelled suspicions, stereotypes, and intolerance, and fostered trust building. This in turn reinforced the value of cross-identity networks for solving collective problems.

Harnessing Preexisting Local Leadership Capacities: The existence of local leadership structures comprising state and non-state actors provided a key substructure on which WFP built the initiation, coordination, and management of its activities. In particular, respondents in this study repeatedly cited the important roles that traditional leaders (chiefs and elders), religious leaders (imams and traditional priests), and local political leaders (CVD) played in mobilizing and organizing participating communities to engage in the collective WFP activities that brought people from different communities and identity groups together. The participation of district, regional, and/or provincial state actors and institutions in the CBPP processes both provided technical support and legitimacy to the activities identified and implemented and created vertical pathways for community members to interact with state policy- and decisionmakers. It also contributed to the establishment of procedures that documented, validated, and legitimized hitherto undocumented transactions in land. The transition from oral land agreements to formally documented transactions increased transparency. This promoted trust and credibility in the relationships between landowners, tenants, renters, and other land users.

Local leaders have always existed in the program communities but have been unable to mobilize their communities in Burkina and Niger for collective action on the scale that WFP interventions enabled them to do. The preexistence of local leadership and foundational institutional frameworks in the program communities eliminated the need for WFP and partners to invest time and resources in building requisite structures, systems, processes, rules, and regulations to facilitate the emergence of social cohesion (Beauvais and Jenson, 2002; Europe, 2008; OECD, 2011). Recognizing and leveraging the capacities of local leadership was therefore a good first step for WFP to root its intervention in local leadership. Beyond that, however, the technical, leadership, and material support that WFP and partners brought enhanced the convening powers of the local leaders. It gave them a higher-level purpose and enhanced their legitimacy and authority for mobilizing community members for collective action. This enabled the engagement of communities for social cohesion building to happen at a rate faster than it would have otherwise.

Leveraging Existing Networks and Relationships: The preexistence of social networks and relationships are credited with facilitating social cohesion building (Granovetter 1973; in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019). Respondents in this study cited multiple overlaps of inter-clan and inter-ethnic friendship networks through religion, historical engagements, ethnicity and family ties, or different permutations of joking relationships between ethnic groups, among others that created opportunities for diffusing tensions and building relations. However social networks in and of

themselves may not produce the levels of interactive engagement that create cohesion on a large scale, unless they are activated and sustained by external stimuli such as new insights that create higher-level and mutually beneficial outcomes for collective action. In particular, dormant or weak networks need investments of knowledge and resources that create new visions and motivations for the relationships, build their capacities, and redirect actions.

Respondents noted for instance that as a result of the traumatic events communities experienced, "the well-being is not stable; because there is a food insufficiency, [hence] the 'cousinage' to joke is lowered" (NR_KII_01_1655_F). This contributed to "the decline of joking cousinhood, [as] everyone stays in their corner, others go on an exodus" (NR_KII_01_1559_M). However, WFP's interventions revived "a good improvement in relations, especially the respect of the joking cousin" (NR_KII_01_1655_F). The opportunity to engage in collective activities contributed to increased "teamwork, [as] communities tease each other, [using] joking cousinhood" (NR_KII_03_4117_M) during the communal work. In sum, WFP's FFA activities provided the spark that reactivated preexisting but dormant inter-ethnic and intercommunity social networks in the participating communities through the training and resources it injected into the communities. It enabled the communities to find new value and purpose in working together.

6.1.2 *Triggering Effects of WFP Activities on Social Cohesion Building*

WFP Activities Triggered Collective Actions for Communal Assets Creation and Improvement: Respondents across all data collection strata consistently pointed out how effectively the different activities of WFP and partners created opportunities and spaces for collective action that allowed different groups to collaborate in advancing their common interests. Communal construction activities such as the digging of half-moons, construction of zaïs, and stone bunds, and work on community gardens, have been particularly effective in mobilizing different groups to work together. As a result of this cross-identity mobilization, program participants saw increases in arable land and water catchment and retention devices such as dams, ponds, and ponds. They enjoyed the concrete dividends of working together through the increase in food production, fodder for livestock, and water resources for domestic and productive use, among other things.

The literature anticipates that shared interests in material and non-material benefits of collaborative engagements are the bedrock of social cohesion (Durkheim, in Larsen, 2014). Having shared interests, however, is not enough to trigger social cohesion building. The interests must be activated through the injection of ideas, resources, and capacities that stimulate and sustain actions to translate the interests into concrete benefits. This is what WFP's activities did – not only creating the opportunities for collective actions, but also providing the knowledge, skills, and financial and non-financial resources that mobilized and guided the communities to translate their interests into collective actions that produced tangible results to meet their common material interests.

WFP Activities Created Opportunities that Triggered Social Bridging: Associational forms of engagement are important for the existence and quality of social cohesion. Participation in WFP activities, through direct work and/or the planning and implementation processes, increased the number, variety, and frequency of engagement of different groups of people in cross-identity social, economic, and sporting activities. Respondents cited multiple examples of how participation in joint activities promoted the development of effective cross-identity associations that managed the development, protection, and use of communal natural resources (arable land, pastures, and water sources), as well as the management of conflicts. Respondents noted that management committees, for instance, have helped them to organize across identity groups for collective actions. These WFP-implemented activities created and strengthened cross-identity community organizations and management structures that reinforced the building of social cohesion.

The ability of individuals and groups to reciprocally attend social events such as funerals, birth celebrations, weddings, etc. across different lines of division without fear was an important building

block for social cohesion. These engagements helped identity groups to build bridges between them. Respondents recognized these as important contributors to the building of social bonds and bridges within and between participating communities. Similarly, the ability of individuals and groups of once disparate communities to have equitable access to and use of common spaces such as pastures, water bodies, schools, or markets for the advancement of their individual and collective interests was also cited as important pathways to social bridging.

6.2   Reconstruction of Narratives and Perceptions of the Other

While the catalytic and triggering contributions of WFP's activities happened at the material level, the FFA interventions also stimulated changes at the psychosocial level that promoted social cohesion. The catalytic and trigger interventions helped participating communities to satisfy their material interests i.e., the needs for food, income, shelter, fodder for livestock, and water for domestic and productive use, among others. However, participating communities and groups also shared non-material interests that include beliefs, values, norms, and moral codes that create and sustain "the conscience collective [based on] …strong religious fundament and close monitoring [to make] the member of society believe that they shared a moral community [and] enable them to trust each other" (Larsen, 2014, p. 3). Such collective conscience often breeds strong pro- or anti-social cohesion outcomes for identity groups. Aho (1994), for instance, outlines how the existence of group stereotypes and prejudices facilitates the construction of enemies. Intergroup stereotypes, suspicions, prejudices, and distrust create and sustain physical and psychological boundaries of separation by perpetuating negative perceptions and reactions to the other. These erect stumbling blocks to social cohesion-building, as they make acceptance of diversity, accommodation, and inclusion of the other difficult. Narratives of the other can only be deconstructed through face-to-face encounters that provide new perceptions of the other (Cooley, 1909 in Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier, 2019). Reinforcing positive aspects of collective conscience or deconstructing negative ones must be nurtured and sustained through the creation of opportunities and injection of resources.

Respondents in this study have noted that although the different groups lived together or in close proximity and shared the same development, safety, and security challenges, they never met and discussed how to confront and address the issues that created the social and psychological distances between them. Hence, the stereotypes, suspicions, and mutual mistrust remained strong, making it difficult for the different groups to meet and know each other and to chart a common path for getting out of their shared predicaments – natural and human-made disasters. It is the activities of WFP that brought them together. WFP's activities made it possible for people from different backgrounds to work together; it created spaces of close encounters that community members never had before. The close encounters helped participants to deconstruct preexisting perceptions of the other and create new ones that helped to break down pre-existing stereotypes, mutual suspicions, prejudices, and mistrust. This allowed participants to dismantle barriers to social cohesion and led to the construction of new relationships that foster cohesion between the different groups. This is why, whether intended or not, respondents have positively credited WFP's activities as being instrumental in creating opportunities for the emergence of social cohesion.

6.3   Reassessing Motivation and Level of Sustainability in Community Engagements

While respondents highly commended WFP's activities as triggers that enabled them to create community-level structures and spaces for collective and inclusive cross-identity engagements, they also lamented the potential negative effects of delayed payments of allowances to members of the committee and work groups on communal assets creation initiatives. They viewed this as a serious potential demotivator to participants. For instance, while one respondent acknowledged that, "We receive payment, we wish it continues, we have seen the importance of working with WFP" (BF_KII_01_1285_M), a colleague lamented that the contract with WFP for payment of CFA 2,000 to members was not on schedule (BF_KII_01_6923_M; also, NR_KII_01_0408_M; NR_KII_01_ 0427_M). Another added that, as the "payment is often late […] the workers often murmur"

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(BF_KII_01_9660_M). Other respondents complained about the lack of transparency in the payment amount and processes, while some thought the amount being paid required an upward adjustment, as it was too small (BF_KII_01_9749_M; NR_KII_01_2958_M).

These concerns raise questions about the extent to which the existence and operation of these community-level structures or the participation of community members in communal activities are more dependent on extrinsic than intrinsic motivations they get from participating in WFP's FFA activities. To what extent are perceived direct and indirect benefits of program activities to community members the true motivators for their engagement in collective actions? How long would the committees and/or activities survive or outlive the program funding? How or what plans are in place to sustain interests and motivation when payments from WFP end?

VII.   Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1   Conclusion

WFP's interventions in Burkina Faso and Niger did not set out to promote social cohesion. The Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) activities were designed to reduce land degradation, promote water conservation, and improve soil fertility, and thus aimed to expand access to land and associated natural resources to improve agricultural production and productivity, promote food security, and increase the resilience of the targeted communities to the shocks, cycles, and trends of natural and human-made disasters – droughts, floods, and conflicts – that confront them. The interventions also aimed to reduce natural resource competition and associated intra- and intercommunity tensions and conflicts by expanding access to productive resources such as land and water that support the livelihood systems in the communities WFP works with.

WFP is keenly aware that interventions that improve the quantity and quality of communal assets come with potential conflicts from claims of ownership and usage rights. Accordingly, interventions designed to improve community management structures that promote equitable access to and use of communal resources for everyone also aimed to ensure access to resources for vulnerable groups such as women, internally displaced persons, and refugees living in or close to the target communities. The expanded access to productive land and other resources, it was hoped, would ease pressure on existing resources, reduce competition over such resources, and contribute to peaceful and collaborative management of the natural resources for the common good. For this reason, WFP required members of participating communities to work in groups, irrespective of their ethnic, religious, and livelihood backgrounds. WFP understood that activities that support collective action have the potential to strengthen the cohesion of participating groups.

Over the course of implementing the FFA activities, WFP and partners heard anecdotes that social cohesion was indeed beginning to happen within and between groups and communities participating in the FFA activities. However, without empirical evidence, the extent and reasons for this development could not be established. Hence, WFP commissioned this research to "…investigate and identify the exact programming nuances and conditions under which social cohesion within communities is likely to be strengthened while unintended tensions and new sources of conflict can be avoided" (WFP, 2021, TOR, p. 2).

The findings from this study indicate that WFP has met its objectives of helping communities to create assets that bolster their resilience against food insecurity. Study participants in all communities recalled positive and tangible benefits they have received individually and collectively from participating in the project. They cited increases in agricultural production and productivity as a result of increased access to land through land reclamation and soil water retention activities; provision of surface and subsurface water from the ponds, dams, wells, and boreholes for domestic and productive use; support with fertilizers and compost manure that improved soil fertility; as well as access to improved seeds that enhanced yields, all as positive contributors to increased food and biomass production that led to enhanced household food and income security.

Study participants also pointed out that working together for the achievement of the higher, shared goals and objectives often prompted the acceptance of diversity, inclusion, tolerance, equity, and the creation of equal opportunities for all categories of participants. It allowed participants to embrace diversity, accommodation of cultural and religious differences, and sometimes contradictory values, norms, and points of view for the achievement of communal goals and objectives. These achievements have helped them see value in collaborative work with other identity groups; dispelled stereotypes and mutual suspicions; and increased the sense of trust, safety, and security between different identity groups participating in the FFA activities. This in turn has enhanced relationships with their neighbors and offered greater freedom of action and interaction in their communities. Participants cited improvements

in herder-farmer relationships, the evolution of symbiotic relationships between the farmers and herders through trade in livestock feed and animal manure, as well as observed increases intermarriage across identity lines as evidence of the new, cohesive relationships that emerged from their participation in the FFA activities.

The development of community-level management structures has enabled the diverse groups participating in the FFA activities to evolve collective conflict management mechanisms that allow them to address differences between members of different identity groups. Research participants saw this as an indication of the social bridges that the communities have been able to build to support the growth of social cohesion. Similarly, the community-based participatory planning (CBPP) processes allowed community members to build bridges of relationships with state and non-state actors with responsibility for supporting community development but who, hitherto, were beyond their reach.

Respondents noted that although there has always been the will to share what they have and to collaborate to improve their lives, the pace and scale of any such engagements have been limited. They credited WFP for the resource injections and technical support services that triggered and/or catalyzed community members to self-mobilize for participation in the collective actions that have produced changes that they never imagined could happen. The choice of activities that directly responded to the needs of the communities rallied hitherto disparate groups to collective action. WFP's support with food, cash, seeds, skills development, and other resources sustained the interest and engagement of communities in the activities.

Section 5.3 of this report lays out the limitations and caveats in interpreting the overwhelmingly positive results from WFP's FFA activities captured in this report. The recommendations below include suggestions for complementary studies could provide a more holistic assessment of the contribution of FFA activities to social cohesion building, especially in relation to groups and communities that were not direct participants in the current set of interventions. That said, this report offers strong evidence that members of communities participating in WFP's activities in Burkina Faso and Niger who have worked together to build or rehabilitate physical assets that reinforce their resilience against food insecurity have also leveraged the opportunities to (re)build their social assets through engagements that reinforce social cohesion among different groups.

7.2   Recommendations for Future Activities

7.2.1   Respondents' Recommendations for Improving Social Cohesion

Respondents gave lots of recommendations that clustered around three main themes, namely:

1)   Expand, enhance, and intensify existing activities

A large number of recommendations were about the need to intensify and expand the composition and scope of WFP's current portfolio of activities, especially those that create opportunities for collective action among members of different groups in the participating communities to address food and livelihood security needs. While some respondents "… want WFP to extend its duration, help us with water towers, with food as well, create more community gardens to strengthen social cohesion in the communities, give us fertilizer" (BF_KII_01_0051_F), others want to see WFP and partners "…enlarge the area of intervention of the activities, for example, enlarge the community gardens and take a lot of women because we

> **Box 85: A Recommendation for Reinforcement of WFP's Activities**
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> "The types of activities already initiated by WFP and its partners must be strengthened. It is necessary to act in the direction of the reinforcement of the agricultural yield […] to better make available food. For this support, [WFP must focus] on agricultural inputs such as motor pumps, fertilizers, etc. The (food) shortage is a factor of social tensions. But when families are fed, people are more development-oriented" (NR_KII_01_3544_M).

are many and it is only 60 women who work there" (BF_KII_01_8177_F). Other views expressed can be summed up as the need to "… increase the number of materials for work in the gardens, multiply (increase) the gardens and the drilling so that we can integrate other women into the work and increase our production, which would be beneficial for the whole community and even for the region" (BF_KII_01_6923_M). Thus, one recommendation states the following:

> "We suggest that the WFP program and its partners plan other large-scale activities such as the development of basins to undertake intracommunity market gardening activities throughout the area so that the communities have access to market garden products and as much as possible to the practice of arboriculture. When we take the environmental aspect [into account] we propose to the WFP the continuity of the activities of fixing dunes to protect the land intended for agriculture because they are threatened, and demography is galloping. The area is already insufficient to cover the needs of the community" (NR_KII_01_8783_F).

2) *Expand opportunities for off-farm food production and income-generation activities*

Respondents also recommended the expansion of opportunities for program participants to earn income during the off-farm periods. They "… want to have more training in order to develop our economic profitability and ensure a very good cohesion between us and the others of the village" (BF_KII_01_1614_F). There is a need to "support communities in off-season cultivation because young people are idle, unemployed [and] this is yet another opportunity for communities to come together to work as a group (NR_KII_01_4130_M; also, NR_KII_01_4137_M). Among the most frequently cited ways of doing this is the recommendation for more training, equipment, and financial support to "set up income-generating activities such as livestock, trade, and even more boreholes, and [other] activities that will allow us to work together" (BF_KII_01_6731_M). With respect to "…economic activities for the displaced [the recommendation is to] extend the period of their intervention in the village" (BF_KII_01_6733_F). Associated recommendations for the development of the income-generating activities include the construction of dams and food storage facilities in the communities (BF_KII_01_8182_F); cash support for the livestock sector, including the fattening of small ruminants for sale (NR_KII_01_1660_F); provision of seedlings to support rice production and the gardening activities (NR_KII_01_5803_M); and the continuation of dune fixing activities (NR_KII_01_4130_M).

While supporting the recommendations for a "rush" to relaunch the land recovery and other income-generating activities (NR_KII_01_1546_M), one respondent gave a cautionary recommendation that "WFP must avoid giving a lot of money directly to farmers, but I prefer that it supports them with fertilizers, seeds, and irrigation" facilities (BF_KII_01_7061_M). While no reason was offered for this recommendation, another participant suggested that the essence of supporting income-generation activities is to create paid activities for the communities so that they find something to eat by themselves. In the equivalent of the adage that it is better to teach people to fish rather than giving them fish, the respondent offered this proverb which translates as follows "If we want the man to arrive (be independent), we must stop giving to him [to eat] while [he is] sleeping, and we must make him work. If we continue to maintain [him] sleeping, 2 or 3 years after we leave it's over for him, he will always remain poor" (NR_KII_01_1553_M).[15] In other words, they want to see interventions that create opportunities for participants to earn their living, rather than relying on distributed food for their subsistence.

> **Box 86: The Need to Intensify and Expand Off-Farm Income Generation Activities**
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> "Communities must be supported in off-season cropping practices to further reduce exposure to the risk of food shortages: as an alternative to food production. Food security is the main source of social cohesion. It avoids contempt between communities. Strengthening community meetings to discuss community issues. Train actors on the transparent management of collective assets" (NR_KII_01_0887_M).

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[15] Field agents have offered the following re-interpretation and translation of the proverb in French in the following words: 1) il est plus important d'apprendre à l'autre de travailler ses propres capacités afin d'être autonome plutôt que lui répondre à ses demandes. Une aide qui n'aide pas la personne à être autonome. 2) Il faut créer des emplois pour les hommes, afin qu'ils deviennent autonomes que de compté sur les aides déterminer.

3) Invest in the development of complementary infrastructure

Respondents also advocated for the construction or rehabilitation of supporting infrastructure such as roads and water sources. In one case, a participant would like to see the "Construction of dams, gardens, [and] roads linking Diaka and Banogo, [as well as] water reservoirs" (BF_KII_01_6961_M). Another "… would like the WFP to develop roads for our village to make it accessible to everyone during the rainy season. Because during the rainy season, we are a little disconnected from the neighbors (BF_KII_01_7965_F), or a farm-to-market road to enable community members to sell their produce (NR_KII_01_8677_M). Others would like to see the construction of water towers to provide potable water to their communities; or "…a learning center for in-school and out-of-school youth" (NR_KII_01_1665_M) and women (NR_KII_01_1544_M) to enhance their "skills on the techniques of carrying out WFP's activities" (BF_KII_01_5943_M) or "building sewing skills in their communities" (NR_KII_01_1632_F).

4) Focus on agribusiness capacity development for young people

Some recommendations highlighted the need to focus attention on the youth, particularly in respect of their training, upbringing, and employment. Hence, the recommendation for promoting income-generating activities in part targeted the creation of job opportunities for the youth during "the off-season […] because young people are idle, unemployed" (NR_KII_01_4130_M). Hence, "Young people have to be helped [to have a] trade" (NR_KII_01_8677_M) such as "livestock training [and] training on agricultural techniques [that] create exchange centers for all young people" (BF_KII_01_ 3576_M) will create "…jobs for young people and [engage them in] joint activities" (BF_KII_01_1378_M).

Training in gainful agricultural techniques will stimulate will also help to strengthen social cohesion (NR_KII_013206_M) because it will help to keep people at home (NR_KII_01_3204_M) instead of joining the exodus to the cities and mining areas, where they will learn bad behaviors (NR_KII_013206_M) that can threaten the peace of their communities on their return. For this reason, some responded that WFP gives priority to the training of "… young people and not women in trades such as animal husbandry, gardening, soap production, and others" (BF_KII_01_9801_M). Giving young people something to do to earn a living is "…a source of social cohesion" (45) because it "is yet another opportunity for communities to come together to work as a group" (NR_KII_01_8677_M) as it "create[s] a framework for exchanges between beneficiary communities, especially young people" (NR_KII_01_2257_M) working with colleagues across identity lines to advance their personal and collective business interests. Business engagements create spaces of engagement that "allow young people to better discuss the development issues that concern them" (208).

5) Intensify peace education

Respondents also recommended the intensification of peace education that emphasizes "the importance of good social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_8178_F; also BF_KII_01_8175_M; NR_KII_01_4132_M) "and the implementation of other activities allowing more collaboration between each other" (BF_KII_01_ 8180_M) "… because activities that bring together many people strengthen social cohesion between communities" (NR_KII_01_4114_M). Peace education must go hand-in-hand with "…training in professional trades [and] support for entrepreneurship" (NR_KII_01_4128_M) to reinforce the relationship between peace, development, and prosperity.

Respondents took had a broad conception of peace education. They considered the community sensitization efforts of WFP and partners that included community meetings for discussions on conflict awareness and prevention, peaceful collaboration for communal interests, and the need for coexistence as part of peace education. They extensively cited how WFP's "…sensitizations made to the community [have helped them] to unite and work together to meet their needs" (NR_KII_01_0776_F). Another pointed out how through the sensitization talks, community "…members have experienced the benefits

of living together, [and witnessed] social cohesion" (BF_KII_01_9952_F; also, BF_KII_01_7065_F; BF_KII_01_6808_M; BF_KII_01_6967_M; NR_KII_01_0776_F). The sessions allowed members to collaborate on conflict prevention education (NR_KII_01_8901_M). Another respondent summed up this holistic view of peace education by stating that, "I recommend to WFP the intensification of community meetings and sensitizations leading to community life, i.e., a space where everyone feels important to the life of the other and vice versa" (NR_KII_01_3546_F).

It is instructive to note that the broad perspectives on peace education espoused by the respondents is consistent with the definitions of peace education that UNESCO and others have offered. According to their definition, peace education is the process of creating spaces and processes for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors that promote harmony and a culture of peace. The values and practices absorbed from peace education enable individuals and communities to manage and resolve conflicts in their everyday engagements. This includes the ability to resolve economic or business-related conflicts.

Respondents' call for the extension of peace education, therefore, is for WFP and partners to explore all possible avenues of community engagements to infuse messages of peace and social cohesion. It is an indication of a need for more intentional peace programming that leverages existing and potential platforms that bring different identity groups together for collective actions. Intentionality in peace programming may include the identification of spaces of engagement on peace dialogue on issues that divide communities; creation and diffusion of themed messages of peace on identified conflict flash points; promotion of interactions between different groups, among others.

7.2.2   Researchers' Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study, we recommend that WFP and partners consider the three broad areas of actions listed below, together with their sub-recommendations, to better position the Sahel FFA interventions as vehicles that promote more intentional and structured social cohesion building in the participating communities
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1)   Continue, consolidate, and spread

Section 7.2.1 described respondents' suggestions for a number of activities that they would like to see WFP continue in order to consolidate and extend the social cohesion benefits of WFP's activities to other communities. These included the need to i) expand, enhance, and intensify existing activities for the development of agricultural assets through land reclamation, soil fertility improvement, and water conservation initiatives; ii) expand opportunities for off-farm food production and income generation activities such as gardening and income-generation activities; iii) intensify peace education to create greater awareness of the benefits of peaceful coexistence of different identity groups; iv) focus on agribusiness capacity development for young people; and v) increase investment in the development of complementary infrastructure. In addition to these, we recommend that WFP consider expanding and deepening the following activities to consolidate the gains made in catalyzing social cohesion building in current and future interventions:

- *Continue and deepen the CBPP processes*: The CBPP process makes communities active participants in determining what activities best meet their needs. This increases participation in the implementation processes and ownership of the outcomes.

- *Continue and enhance cross-identity work groups*: This creates spaces for multi-identity engagements that have fostered collaboration, stereotype and suspicion reduction, and the building of trust between members of different identity groups.

- *Support formalization of land transaction and documentation processes:* The transition from oral transactions on land ownership, allocation, and usage to more formalized processes of

documentation is an important step toward mitigating and peacefully mediating land-related agreements and disputes. Documentation of land transactions is particularly important for marginal groups such as women, whose only means of owning land, according to respondents, is through purchase. It is essential, therefore, that WFP and partners continue to support processes for the institutionalization of structures, systems, and procedures that ensure women and other marginal groups can have documented title to lands they have acquired, be that through grants, transfers, or purchase.

2) *Review, reorient, and retool*

The findings suggest the need for WFP and partners to consider various ways to review, reorient, or retool their interventions to optimize the outcomes. Specifically, we recommend that WFP and its partners consider actions along the following lines:

Mainstream intentionality of social cohesion action in FFA activities: WFP's involvement in peacebuilding focuses on (i) investing in institutional capacity for risk analysis, (ii) using conflict-sensitive programming, and (iii) engaging with peacebuilding partners in operational settings in which communities are transitioning from violent conflicts. WFP's FFA interventions in the Sahel initially did not set out to create opportunities for social cohesion building in participating communities. Rather, they aimed to expand the availability of and equitable access to natural resources as well as participatory planning processes as a measure to reduce tensions and prevent violent encounters over ownership and use of such resources. Accordingly, WFP's activities in Burkina Faso and Niger did not create formal dialogue avenues for members of different identity groups to discuss their differences and find ways to dispel their negative perceptions of the outgroups. In other words, WFP's requirement of multi-community and cross-identity participation in the activities they implemented were not specifically designed to pursue social cohesion objectives. They were merely social mobilization and collective action tools that literally compelled previously unassociated groups to come together as a precondition for accessing the support offered by WFP and partners.

This non-intentionality notwithstanding, respondents in this research consistently pointed out how effective the different activities of WFP and partners — such as the digging of half-moons, work on community gardens, the construction of stone bunds and income-generating activities — have been in creating spaces of encounter that "…enabled us to live together and get to know each other better. They allowed us to work together and have money to pay for our children's schooling" (BF_KII_01_6808_M). In particular, WFP's "…activities such as the construction of a stone bund, the half-moons and the zaï [that created the opportunities for communities to] … work together has allowed us to get closer to those we were not used to talking about [and now] there was no problem" (BF_KII_01_6921_F).

These unintended but desirable social cohesion outcomes of WFP's activities point to the need for WFP and partners to more intentionally plan and embed activities that promote social cohesion in their activity mix. We, therefore, recommend that WFP and partners be more intentional in the identification, design, and implementation of activities that directly support social cohesion building. The intentionality of such action will not only enable WFP and partners to identify and develop more concrete sets of social cohesion interventions on their own, but it will also create opportunities for networking and leveraging the expertise and capacities of other organizations best situated to provide critical ancillary services to complement what WFP can offer. The synergy of actions between WFP and such partners will expand the scope of their activities for greater impact.

Reorient and complement infrastructure development initiatives: WFP's land rehabilitation techniques focus on harvesting, retention, and use of rainwater. While the promotion of dams, ponds, half-moons, and zaïs are good water harvesting techniques, they are directly dependent on rainwater sources. Consequently, in years of drought, they are less effective sources of water catchment for domestic and productive use. In years of floods, the risk of washouts and breaking of the protective

walls of dams and other water catchment devices are high. Either way, vulnerability to rain-related hazards remains high for communities participating in the FFA asset-building initiatives. To reduce such risk, WFP and partners would have to explore complementary means of protecting communities from dependence on rainfed agricultural livelihood systems. Collaboration with other agencies with competencies in alternative water retention or minimal water usage techniques for gardening should be explored.

Retool cash incentives: While the distribution of cash incentives was recognized as an important motivator for participation in the activities of WFP, it also represented a source of demotivation, especially when participants had issues with the transparency related to the amounts to be paid, payment schedules, who qualifies for cash payments, or the adequacy of what was paid out. Respondents noted how such issues affected their morale. Others suggested that nonmonetary motivators, such as support for income-generation activities, would be more sustainable motivators than cash payouts.

To ensure that incentive packages are best targeted to the needs of different categories of participants, we recommend that WFP and partners review the policy of cash incentives with participant groups to determine what incentive packages are best suited for which categories of beneficiaries. This should include consideration for time-phased incentive schemes in which cash incentives might be more useful at one stage of WFP activities than others.

3) *Recognize, validate, and leverage local capacities and potentials*

Strengthen indigenous social safety and resilience networks: The FFA activities of WFP and partners focused on the recovery, rehabilitation, or building of tangible community assets such as arable and pastoral lands, water sources, and forests, among others. However, communities usually have preexisting stocks of intangible assets for social cohesion building that need to be recognized, harnessed, or leveraged as stems for grafting interventions for enhanced outcomes. These assets include the stock of indigenous and acquired knowledge; sociocultural and religious beliefs, values, and practices; and cross-identity relationships, such as the joking relationships between different ethnic groups (NR_KII_03_0499_M; NR_KII_03_6886_M). Existing structures of socioeconomic, cultural, and political organizations such as traditional authorities and religious institutions and leaders; men's, women's, and youth groups, among others, are important parts of the community's social and political assets that create predispositions for acceptance, tolerance, and accommodation of different people and points of view, making it easy for communities to accept and practice principles of social cohesion with or without external prodding or motivation.

For instance, throughout this study, respondents emphasized how members of already impoverished families and communities served as first responders in welcoming and taking care of IDPs, refugees, and returns fleeing from violent conflicts and other disasters. A web of beliefs, values, and practices, as well as the indigenous institutional structures such as the family heads, elders, chiefs, and religious leaders, constituted the institutional fabric of resilience that allowed the communities to rally together to reach out to those in need even in their own poverty. These social safety nets have their own stresses and strains. As respondents noted, there are limits to how much host communities can be of help to those in need by themselves. And yet, opportunities may also exist for strengthening the capacities of such local and indigenous safety nets to make these communities more effective first responders to persons in need.

Harness diversity of local institutions: It is important to recognize the diversity and capabilities of these institutions for supporting (or hindering) social cohesion building up front. This allows for a more intentional design of interventions that permits WFP and partners to co-opt, leverage, strengthen, and/or retool these local structures to create greater local ownership of and participation in advancing or enhancing the social cohesion outcomes of WFP's FFA activities. We recommend that WFP and partners actively search out these local capacities within the communities in which they engage to ascertain what strengths may be harnessed and what weaknesses can be addressed.

4) Leverage, innovate, and deepen

Support development of collaborative community peace and security infrastructure: A key element to promoting resilience is the institution of robust early warning systems that enable communities to stave off or mitigate the impact of shocks and stressors.

Some communities in the WFP catchment areas live under threat of frequent attacks from violent extremist (VE) groups. State security systems lack the human, material, and logistical resources to provide effective security and protection to most communities affected by VE activities. Such communities are often left to protect themselves. Effective early warning and response systems would be of immense help to them. Incidentally, transhumance groups, itinerant traders, and transport operators that travel within and between such communities often have knowledge of the landscapes, travel routes, campsites, and movements of VE groups as they move between their operation bases and attack sites. Their knowledge, if properly collated, processed, and channeled, could provide invaluable input into community-based early warning and response systems that enable communities to avert or minimize their losses from VE attacks.

We recommend that WFP and partners work with other human safety and security agencies to train, equip, and support communities along transhumance corridors who are exposed to VE activities to build data collection, sharing, and alert systems that will protect them from attacks. The building of multi-community human security, early warning, and early response mechanisms against the activities of VE groups should include support for vulnerable communities living along transhumance corridors to build effective alliances between them and herders traveling along the corridors to build information gathering and sharing systems for community-led early warning and response. Where applicable, these systems should include localized herders, commercial transport operators, IDPs/refugees, and itinerant traders for training as local early warning agents.

Support Development and Institutionalization of Market-led Extension Service Provision Systems: Findings from this study have established the demand from nonparticipant individuals and communities for access to the climate-adaptive agricultural technologies that WFP and its partners provide to beneficiary communities. Given resource and time limitations for WFP and partners to scale up service provision to such communities, we recommend that WFP and partners co-opt and develop local capacities to provide extension services to the nonparticipating groups in the vicinity of program communities. For this, we further recommend the adaptation and use of the farmer-to-farmer extension (FFE) approaches to train and deploy extension service providers who will facilitate the spread and uptake of the climate-adaptive agricultural technologies that WFP offers. WFP and partners would identify and train contact farmers and other youth to provide extension and other technical services to nonparticipant individuals and communities that want to undertake the construction of half-moons, zaïs, stone-bunds, and agroforestry plots, among other activities.

To sustain interest and the flow of services, we further recommended that WFP and partners support the contact farmers and prospective clients in negotiating a fee structure and payment system that provides equitable remuneration for the FFE agents while ensuring that clients have access to the services they need at affordable prices. Such demand-driven, incentive-based, and community-led peer technical and extension support systems will contribute to the scaling-up and spreading out of the FFA interventions at lower costs. In addition, the peer learning approach will promote intercommunity engagements that would spread and deepen social cohesion outcomes among different communities.

Grow Entrepreneurship for Peace Initiatives (E4P): Respondents asked for greater investments that increase the scale and profitability of income-generating activities in order to reduce over-reliance on agricultural livelihood systems for food and income security. Investments in entrepreneurial capacity development can also be an important route to promoting and extending social cohesion building, if carefully targeted. We recommend that WFP and partners focus on and use non-farm and off-farm small and medium-scale income-generating opportunities to create or deepen cross-community and cross-

identity shared interests, interdependencies, and mutually beneficial interactions. This could be done through the identification and use of key economic activities with long and cross-sectional value chains that can bring multi-identity stakeholders together to work toward achieving individual and collective interests. For instance, the tomato and onion production and marketing value chains in Burkina Faso and Niger, respectively, can bring together producers, input sellers, off-take buyers and bulking agencies, and transporters, among others, who see value in protecting the peace and promoting peace and security in the interest of their businesses.

Fodder development and trade is another sector in which WFP and partners could deepen economic interdependencies, integration, and relationships as a means of reinforcing shared interests and economic interactions that build social cohesion. Respondents noted how the increased availability and trade in feedstock from increased farm residues reinforced relationships between herders and farmers, especially in contexts such as Niger, where the two livelihood systems are distinct. Technical and technological support that expand the development of fodder crops; hay collection, processing, storage and trade; and the development of commercial pasture lands hold promise got mobilizing diverse groups of people along the livestock value chain for more intense and collaborative engagements that reinforce social cohesion. Expanded and intensified fodder production and trade can trigger and sustain more structured intra- and intercommunity economic engagements that rally not only herders and farmers, but also other stakeholders in the livestock value chain, such as the meat and dairy sectors, as well as local and regional transport services to see value in working together to promote social cohesion and protect the peace for the interest of their businesses.

5) *Further learning*

This study was designed as a pilot to explore the scope and dimensions of social cohesion building in WFP's FFA communities in the Sahel. While establishing how some processes and practices of the FFA activities have contributed to promoting social cohesion, some of the findings point to the need for further investigations into how and why some contextual and social factors may enhance the building of peace and social cohesion in more cost-effective and sustainable ways in the participating communities. This section offers recommendations on some of these factors that WFP and partners may consider including in future studies.

Expand Scope to Include Outlier Views and Voices: The limitations of the study highlight the need to expand its scope — geographically, by sample pool, and thematically — to capture the voices and views of groups that were deselected from participation in the study but who would have provided useful alternate views of the effects of WFP activities on social cohesion building within programming communities, and with nonparticipating communities. Such insights are critical to how WFP and partners can stimulate and sustain social cohesion building through their FFA activities. We recommend, therefore, that WFP and partners consider a follow-up study that captures the voices and views of groups of the unselected groups, communities, and regions with similar characteristics and experiences as those that participated in this study, and includes nearby communities that have not participated in WFP programs, as a comparator. This will enable WFP to tap into their additional or alternative views on how WFP's activities may or may not have contributed to social cohesion building. The expanded research should include increasing the geographical scope of the study to include more communities, provinces in Burkina Faso and Niger, or even other countries (e.g., Mali), in order to access different viewpoints. The research design should include control groups that help to validate the findings.

Understand and Harness Potential of Joking Relationships and Cousinhood for Social Cohesion: Joking relationships have long histories and intergenerational binding power. Their origins often remain myths, but their practices are taken seriously across generations. Respondents recalled how the network of joking relationships or "cousinage" between different ethnic groups enabled them to smooth out relationships and reinforce cohesion, especially during communal work. Such relationships also have social control functions, as they allow leaders of paired ethnic groups to mediate conflicts between

members. However, the network of relationships between the ethnic groups in the FFA programs, including the history, beliefs, values, rules, regulations, and practices that govern their relationships, have not been explored. For instance, to what extent are intra- and inter-clan joking relationships among the Fulbe in Burkina Faso the same as or different from joking relationships between Fulbe and other ethnic groups in Niger? How do the rules of engagement for intra- and inter-clan joking relationships compare with those governing inter-ethnic relationships within the same geographical space or across different spaces, e.g., countries? Are there similarities or differences in the rules of engagement governing the joking and cousinhood relationships of the different permutations of ethnic groups, e.g., do the rules of engagement between the Fulbe and Mossi differ from that of the Dagara and Mossi in Burkina Faso? Are there common threads (positive enforcers or limits of jokes) within and across different groups that may be harnessed to support social cohesion region with or across countries?

Given that an understanding of cross-cultural, intergenerational, and cross-boundary potentials of joking and cousinhood relationships for social cohesion building can provide strong cords for binding different groups of people together, we recommend deepening the substance of the second phase of research to reveal and harness the potential of joking relationships and cousinhood for social cohesion within and across countries. The research should aim to provide further insight into the nature, distribution, strengths, and weaknesses of these joking relationships as binding factors for promoting social cohesion. Greater insight will allow for more intentional programming that harnesses these strands of unity and friendship to promote stronger cross-ethnic and cross-territorial relationships that build and grow peace and social cohesion.

Reassess the Role of Religion in Social Cohesion Building: Of the different demographic characteristics of the study population, religion shows little variation across the two countries. In both study countries, Islam is the dominant religion. However, while an estimated 61.5% of the population in Burkina Faso is Muslim, Niger is estimated to be 98.3% Muslim. Not surprisingly, given the largely homogenous religious composition of the population in Niger, the findings of this study have established that religion is a weaker binding, bonding, and bridging factor in relationships between different groups in the program communities in that country than other factors such participation in social events, including funerals, naming ceremonies, intermarriages, and sporting activities. In other words, investments in promoting interreligious social cohesion building in Niger are not likely to trigger any significant changes. This is less so in Burkina Faso, where a more diverse religious composition creates opportunities for interreligious engagements. At the same time, religious leaders in Niger seem to have a stronger say in the governance of FFA program activities than in Burkina Faso. In Niger, imams formulate and oversee policies and rules that govern land allocation decisions. This is not evident in Burkina Faso.

The degree of ethnic, cultural, or religious heterogeneity or homogeneity of a population offers different, sometimes counterintuitive opportunities and constraints to social cohesion building. While different diversities in heterogenous populations may be sources of binding, bonding, and bridging through the realization of interdependencies, homogeneity may be an instrument of exclusion of outgroups, as the homogeneous groups try to preserve some forms of purity among themselves (negative social cohesion). In other words, no assumptions can be made of the openness of any society to embracing or rejecting social cohesion by virtue only of its composition. Thus, further investigation is needed regarding why religion has not been a strong factor in social cohesion building, especially in Niger. Additionally, this study did not enquire on inter-sect relationships as a factor in social cohesion building. It is important to address this omission, especially since internal ideological and theological differences or factional ritual preferences often create tensions and conflicts within seemingly homogenous religious groups. We, therefore, recommend a more critical look at the role of religion as a factor for social cohesion building in both Niger and Burkina Faso. In what way does the religious composition of the two countries strengthen, weaken, or create opportunities and constraints for social cohesion building? How might the positives be harnessed and the negatives retooled to promote social cohesion?

6) *Other recommendations for further research and learning opportunities*

Deepen Understanding of Intra- and Intercommunity Equity and Distributional Justice Issues:
The research findings are ambiguous about the extent to which women, and in some cases, young men, can own and use land, either through inheritance or purchase. While respondents generally asserted that women have access to land, the nature of that access has been variously contextualized within local cultural worldviews and practices, even within the same countries. Similarly, it was generally asserted that IDPs and refugees can have access to land. However, some respondents clarified that such access precludes the right of ownership. The nature and duration of tenure rights did not come up in this research. In addition, customary regulations, rules, and practices cloud the declarations that everyone, including women and young men, can have access to land for their own use. It is essential, therefore, that the next stage of the research focus on the role of culture and gender in the rights of ownership of, access to, and use of the land, especially for women. A greater understanding of the cross-cultural and cross-territorial nuances will be vital to support community efforts that ensure greater transparency and equity in the allocation of land, especially those redeveloped under WFP activities, in favor of marginalized groups. Research on this should include power analysis to increase understanding of the issues of culture, gender, and women's and minority rights in land ownership and other forms of social and economic participation in the intervention areas.

Assess Role of Extrinsic Versus Intrinsic Motivation: Respondents frequently cited the motivational role of the food and cash incentives that WFP provided and how motivation was affected when there were delays, reductions in payments, or other unexpected administrative constraints to the flow of incentives. Together, these raise questions about the sustainability, growth, and replicability of the FFA activities in the WFP model without equal or higher injections of resources. Questions that arise include: To what extent is the level of community participation in WFP activities dependent on the external motivation participants receive from WFP, e.g., the cash payments WFP makes to support the participation of members in some of the activities, including those supporting community-level management structures? What would sustain the existence and effective operations of these structures beyond the WFP program cycle? Will community members continue to engage and sustain actions on various FFA activities once WFP's cash and food incentives cease? Research that deepens understanding of these issues will greatly support the efforts of WFP to ensure that the community participation in FFA activities continues after the cessation of WFP support to sustain the social cohesion building efforts of communities ends.

Identifying Core FFA Activities that Promote Social Cohesion: The findings suggest that different FFA activities elicited different response rates in different settings. For instance, while the construction of zaïs, half-moons, and other soil conservation and improvement facilities were appreciated in one community, other communities highlighted improving access to water through the construction or dredging of dams, wells, and water ponds, among other activities. However, within the scope of this research as a pilot, it was not possible to identify a set of activities from which we might generalize about which specific ingredients in WFP's mix of interventions can have the greatest catalytic or trigger effects to maximize community engagement for asset creation and social cohesion building under similar contexts within or beyond the study countries. We, therefore, recommend further work in this area to provide greater clarity on what in WFP's FFA activities should be standard practice to include in interventions that seek to stimulate social cohesion building.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1 Terms of reference (Excerpt)

Study to Increase Conflict-Sensitivity and Contribute to Social Cohesion Within WFP's Integrated Resilience Programs in Niger And Burkina Faso

This study will be conducted as part of a research partnership established between WFP and IFPRI under the regional MoU signed in January 2021.

Context and Challenges – Deteriorating Security in the Sahel

Overall, security is deteriorating in the Sahel. The Liptako Gourma region, for example, has experienced a surge of violent attacks in the first half of 2020 – the number of fatalities recorded between January and June accounts for a third of all fatalities recorded since 2014 (see July VAM Sahel brief and a recent analysis by WFP (https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000117788/download/). Recently, more than 160 civilians were killed in a small village in the province of Yagha (Burkina Faso), close to the border with Niger, which is recorded as the most lethal Jihadist attack since 2015.

The uptick in violence causes widespread displacement, not only across borders but also internal and tertiary displacement. In Burkina Faso, in addition to the 20,000 refugees, more than 1 million people were internally displaced as of January 2021 – almost double the number compared to the same period in 2020 – which is turning the country into the fastest growing IDP crisis globally (UNHCR). Displacement at this scale may challenge previous conditions regulating the access to and management of natural resources, adding to the pressure in already competitive environments.

Disrupting livelihoods and markets as well as heightening the pressure on ecosystems and natural resources, conflict and displacement have a dire impact on food security. For instance, a recent analysis of satellite image revealed significant cropland losses in the Liptako-Gourma region, now one of the hotspots of conflict, compared to pre-crisis years (https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000117788/download/).

COVID-19 as an Exacerbating Factor

Unlike in other regions COVID-19 has not coincided with a decrease of conflict and violence against civilians in the Sahel. On the contrary, "the reality – the conflict dynamics at play in the Sahel – continues to exist and unfold outside of the COVID-19 bubble, and independently of it" (IISS, 2020). Further, the pandemic and its repercussions may be an exacerbating factor: the impact of lockdowns and movement restrictions on jobs, incomes and people's ability to engage in livelihood activities might increase tensions within communities, including those not considered fragile before. The necessary scope of the response might surpass governments' capacities or divert resources that were allocated to tackle longer-term challenges, thus further stressing already fragile relations between citizens and the state.

Drivers of Conflict – Centrality of LAND and Natural Resources

The underlying drivers of conflict and violence can seldom be reduced to one factor and the Sahel is no exception. There are various factors coming together and interacting at different levels – long-term and new ones, national, regional and local ones. However, it seems to be clear that land and resource-related conflict is one of the main root causes of violence across the region, and increasingly intensified because

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of population growth, land degradation and climate change/variabilities. This includes conflicts between farmers and herders, which often coincide with ethnic cleavages, but also within groups. Prior to the 2014 uprising in Burkina Faso, for example, 76 percent of the communal conflicts were related to land disputes, and almost half of the conflicts were between farmers and herders (ICG, 2020). Access to resources and other issues are also used to galvanize narratives around pre-existing societal cleavages and to further radical or ethno-centric agendas (see e.g. www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2018-07/under-the-gun.pdf).

To address conflict (as one of the root causes of hunger in the region) at its source, one has to look at land and water resources, not only at their supply but also at their distribution and management within communities.

Conflict-Sensitive Programming of WFP's FFA activities

Contributions to peace and social cohesion could be made through multiple pathways, of which the following two are particularly pertinent to explore further (based on 2019 SIPRI studies on WFP's contribution to improving the prospects for peace globally):
- By reducing land degradation and water loss, Food Assistance for Assets (FFA) activities enhance the availability and productivity of natural resources, thus easing the pressure on and reducing competition over such resources.
- By strengthening access to resources for vulnerable groups (e.g. with land agreements), FFA activities contributes to accepted and equitable use of natural resources, thus preventing tension and conflict over the ownership and usage of such resources.

Apart from lacking access to natural resources as a source of conflict, there is also evidence that creating new or enhanced resources and infrastructures can provoke tension within communities as regards the management, distribution and accessibility to them (see e.g. ICG, 2020). Of course, there is no question on the imperative and urgency of addressing environmental degradation in the Sahel, which is why restoring degraded landscapes and improving water harvesting is a cornerstone of WFP's integrated resilience programs. Meanwhile, proper management of the restored landscapes or created assets however does not come as a given, especially in areas where governance of such issues is poor.

Therefore, it is crucial to further investigate and identify the exact programming nuances and conditions under which social cohesion within communities is likely to be strengthened while unintended tensions and new sources of conflict can be avoided. Of particular importance in this investigation is the scale and comprehensiveness of WFP's ongoing resilience programs, which aim to generate multiple benefits for various beneficiaries at different time intervals. As such, a holistic analytical approach is required to grasp the fuller picture of the (change in) access and exclusion to different resources provided through WFP's interventions, which in turn allows to assess the likelihood of (sustained) success.

The following aspects should be considered in this assignment:
- in-depth understanding of the national, sub-national land tenure and regulatory mechanisms, and local conditions (including customary law) of access to resources and of related grievances and conflict;
- assessing land resources stewardship in rehabilitated areas, including formal and/or customary tenure agreements and management conditions, benefits and accountability aspects, implications of the vulnerable groups, gender aspects and respect of agreements made as well as WFP's concrete role in facilitating equitable non-conflictual access;
- anticipating potential changes to these conditions and conflict dynamics (increase or decrease) if the value of specific resources such as land is increased through FFA and the risk of benefit capture;
- based on that understanding, consideration of how further planning of rural development can be made more inclusive of all or specific target groups claiming the right over a particular area including those marginalized and/or not present all year around (e.g. pastoralists) – incl. approach of community-based participatory planning (CBPP);

- considering the rights or arrangements made for use of resources for specific groups such as newly arrived (in case of displacement) and anticipating potential sources of tensions whilst ensuring specific land use agreements are made to avert such tensions;
- considering who will ultimately benefit from FFA interventions – considering not only the benefits of direct participation in FFA (e.g. seasonal employment) but also the benefits of the rehabilitated land and constructed assets;
- promoting accepted, realistic and equitable distribution of the benefits created, including supporting the development of consensual resource management and conflict-resolution mechanisms.

Main Research Questions
- How do WFP interventions contribute to reduced scarcity and more equitable access to natural resources (e.g. by gender, age, religion, citizenship, migrant status) in Niger and Burkina Faso? How do these, in turn, contribute to reducing tensions and improving social cohesion?
- What could be WFP's role in facilitating intra- and inter-community dialogues and support measures related to access to and management of land and water resources in Niger and Burkina Faso? For instance, to what extent and effect are land usage agreements part of current FFA interventions, do these agreements hold, and how do those involved perceive their equity? What could be WFP's involvement in resource-related policy development and implementation, with a specific emphasis on legislation related to land?
- How can WFP promote stronger equity in benefits of rehabilitated land and created assets, particularly for the most vulnerable groups (e.g. by supporting the development of common and consensual resource management mechanisms)?
- Can good practices observed in Niger and Burkina Faso be extracted to help develop a compendium of possible measures aimed at enhancing access and improved equity in the use of increased natural resources? What are the risks of WFP's role in such issues and how can they be reduced or mitigated?

Methodology

To address the main research questions, multiple data collection methods will be employed, including:
- A desk review of relevant literature and existing WFP data and documentation. The latter comprise annual surveys conducted in December/January in Niger and Burkina Faso, as well as two lighter Post Distribution Monitoring (PDM) surveys per year.
- Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with beneficiaries, other community members as well as direct and indirect stakeholders (including village chiefs, landowners, cooperating partners, public administration and government authorities). A more detailed sampling overview with the number of KIIs by stakeholder type can be found in Annex 1.

The methodology will be further refined following discussions with WFP country offices in Niger and Burkina Faso as well as the regional office in Dakar while taking into account current access constraints in both countries. While past studies like the one conducted by WFP and SIPRI have already explored how WFP interventions may contribute to strengthening social cohesion and conflict sensitivity, the focus of this research effort should be on building more and stronger evidence to test these theoretical considerations.

Activities, Deliverables, and Timeline

The timeframe for this study runs from June 2021 to end of March 2022, covering the following activities and deliverables.

Date	Activities and deliverables
15 June – 30 July 2021	• Activity: Desk review of relevant literature and existing WFP data and documentation • Deliverable: Inception report, covering the study protocol and exact budget estimates for both countries
August - September 2021	• Activity: Design of qualitative data collection protocols and tools, and preparation of training material for fieldwork to be submitted to IFPRI's IRB board for ethics clearance • Deliverable: IRB approval to conduct fieldwork in both countries, considering security measures and COVID-19 situation
October - November 2021	• Activity: Training of fieldwork staff and launch of field study in first country (October) • Activity: Training of fieldwork staff and launch of field study in the second country (November)
December 2021 - January 2022	• Activity: Data coding and analysis • Deliverable: Draft final report
February – March 2022	• Activity: Preparation and organization of validation workshop • Deliverable: Final report

Appendix 2: Excerpts on Methodology Considerations and Study Approach[16]

• **Methodological Considerations**

• **Contextual Determinants of Study Methodology**

WFP's sets of interventions in this study have multi-tier actors and processes comprising:
• Different contexts - different livelihood systems; displaced persons versus host communities.
• Multi-layered (community, regional/provincial, and national levels) engagement processes.
• Multiple stakeholders (farmers-herders; sedentary and itinerant groups; community-level actors; state officials at different levels; NGO/CSO implementing partners, etc.
• Multiple institutional actors comprising of community, state, and nonstate institutions, associations, and groups operating at the local, regional, and national levels.
• Multiple and often intertwined developments and conflict issues include:
    • land and natural resource degradation accompanied by increased competition for access to and usage of dwindling land and natural resources from i) herder-farmer competitions for pasture and water resources; ii) population displacements due to conflicts and security issues;
    • increasing intra and inter-communal tensions exacerbated by population movement and resettlements due to migration, internally displaced persons, and refugees fleeing climate change factors such as droughts and floods, or violent conflicts from extremist groups;
    • security concerns from extremists activities that constantly threaten and destabilize communities.
• Multi-layered and integrated invention mixes that include:
    • land reclamation initiatives and associated land tenure, access, usage, and management rights;
    • community asset development and management (e.g. dredging of ponds);
    • human asset development including the promotion of school feeding to increase enrolment and retention of children in schools;
    • community-led participatory approaches that prioritize the voices and views of community members through engagements with policy level actors on development issues that may be beyond the purview of communities.

• **Evaluation Approach**

The foregoing methodological considerations called for the use of a complexity model of study design to identify the presence and interaction of multiple foreseeable and unexpected intervening factors and events that can affect the quantum, quality, pace, and direction of WFP's contributions to the (re)building of social cohesion and resilience in the participating project communities. A complex systems approach allowed us to see how project interventions can simultaneously stimulate change in multiple directions, for good or bad, as well as identify different levels of actors with actual/potential power to cross-influence actions and behaviors at other levels. The complexity model allowed us to see what capacities different subgroups of actors have to self-organize to initiate or manage change on their own outside project interventions. It allowed for the incorporation of elements of contribution analysis that enables the study to isolate what aspects of WFP's interventions have contributed to or hindered the growth of social cohesion, at what levels, and under what conditions.

For instance, WFP and partners did not have predetermined interventions to support social cohesion building. Hence in respect of social cohesion building, the FFA interventions have no theories of change in respect of social cohesion building. Therefore, there are many unknowns for expected intervention outcomes on social cohesion in the project communities. Besides, social change is a nonlinear process, as change seldom happens as planned or expected. Hence, it is critical to understand the push and pull factors that stimulate or constrain the building of social cohesion from the different intervention mixes. Similarly, an activity that successfully increases the stock and quality of a community's physical and

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[16] Excerpt taken from Inception Report of this study

natural assets could either simultaneously generate positive feedstock for social cohesion building or trigger negative consequences. This is critically important in this study, given the focus of the FFA activities on (re)building assets for increased resilience in the participating communities. For instance, though not concretely stated, it is discernible that WFP's concept of building assets for resilience may not have looked beyond the enhancement of the physical and natural assets through the construction of zaï, half-moons, land reclamation, dredging of water ponds, and agroforestry and pastoral activities, among others.

However, it is not clear whether the various WFP-sponsored activities are aimed at building individual assets, family assets, communal or collective (community-level) assets, or supra-community level assets (those that talk about getting communities together). Hence, it is critical to understand how participating communities measure success, at what levels they consider an observed measure of success important, and the sequence in which they measure it (from individual to community and then supra-community levels), since activities and investments (of time and resources) required to trigger maximum success at different levels will differ. Additionally, these created or improved physical and natural assets, many of which are designed as public goods or intended for communal use may be located on private (individual or family) lands. This raises questions on issues such as what mechanisms have been put in place to i) compensate land owners for the release of their private lands for public use; ii) mediate questions of ownership, control, access, and usage rights that will arise; iii) resolve any conflicts related to the management of the communal property. This mandates the inclusion of rights-based dimensions in the analytical frame guiding the study.

For the above reasons, the study was keen to learn how participating communities that face challenges of managing private rights versus the common good have evolved appropriate structures, systems, processes, procedures, and rules to govern the management of such properties and the rights thereto associated. Understanding how the structures evolved, how effective they are in mediating the ownership and usage rights, and how they have been able to manage conflicts that arise to maintain peace and cohesion was critical to enhancing WFP's understanding of what it takes to stimulate and sustain sustainable social cohesion building through its interventions. Conversely, WFP and partners can learn important lessons from their sponsored interventions, if the study unearths instances of increased conflicts or disruptions in participating communities due to the inability of the communities to evolve appropriate structures, systems, and regulations to effectively respond to such project-induced disruptions.

Similarly, food and cash distribution were the major instruments for community mobilization and incentivization. These undoubtedly contributed to increasing the food and income security of the participating households, which translates to enhancing the financial assets of the households through direct cash disbursements or the income transfer from the cash value of the food received. However, to what extent could the acts and processes of increasing financial assets through food and cash transfers lead to unintended outcomes at the level of social assets/capital - better organized, more united social groups or increased discontent between groups due to perceived relative exclusion from access to intervention resources; enhanced community confidence and capacity for greater engagement with political actors and public officeholders to demand rights (political assets); or the acquisition of knowledge and skills that enhance the quality of human assets? Such findings are more likely to emerge from unprompted responses from participants than from responses to predetermined questions. To remain open to learning from the respondents about the intended and unintended outcomes of the WFP interventions, the study used a grounded theory approach to learning what we can from the respondents.

Appendix 3: List of Study Sites by Country

Sites d'étude proposés au Niger

Region	Proposed sites	Nature of community	KII	Type of FGD	Local Language(s)
Diffa	Kadelaboa	Pastorale ; Population hôte	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women	Kanuri
	Kosseri	Pastorale ; Population hôte	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Men	Kanuri
Zinder	Mai Gardayé	Agricole ; 408 ménages Population hôte	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Hausa
	Daneki	Agro-sylvo-pastorale ; 480 ménages, Population hôte.	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women	Hausa
	Boulia	Agricole ; 290 ménages ciblées, Population hôte	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Hausa
Maradi	DOUMANA ARA	Agropastorale ; 151 menages ciblées	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Men	Hausa
	MOURNEY	Agro-pastorale 1306 beneficiaires soit 187 menages	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Pastoralists	Hausa
	KOUROUNGOUSSAOU	Agro-pastorale 183 menages ciblées	8 (4 men, 4 women)		Hausa
Tahoua	Tourouft (Tacha Agali , Tetis Gangaré, Tourouft)	Agro-pastorale. La population cible de 1218 composé à 100% de population autochtone.	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Pastoralists	Hausa et Tamasheq
	Illimazak, (Igoran Adernager Chibital, Tarbadan , iIllimazak, Intezak, Tagaroum, Ofarass, Abandarom; chiinborian et Illimazak Hameau)	Agro-pastorale. La population cible de 511 composé à 100% de population autochtone.	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Hausa et Tamasheq
	Changassou (deux villages Changnassou et Gao)	Agricole. La population cible de 3507 composé à 100% de population autochtone () repartie dans les deux villages (Changnassou et Gao).	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Population autochtone + repartie dans les deux villages	Hausa
Tillaberi	Simiri	agro-pastorale(oui) avec une population de 892 habitant	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women	Zarma
	Satara population de: 2408=(koum:913 + lima:670 + satara:825)	Agro-pastorale (oui) avec une Population mixte (specifier les groupes: hôte, deplacés, refugiés) ?	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women (y compris femmes des populations hôte, deplacés, refugiés) ?	Zarma
	Tondikiwindi	: Agro-pastorale 4556 Population hôte	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Pastoralists	Zarma

Sites d'étude proposés au **Burkina Faso**

Province	Name of Site	Nature of Community	KIIs	Type of FGD	Local Language(s)
Centre-Nord	Nessemtenga	Familles hôtes + PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Men	Moore
	Pissiga	Familles hôtes	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Moore
	Goulghin	Familles hôtes + PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	IDPs	Moore
	Tagalla	Familles hôtes + PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women & IDPs	Moore
Nord	Bassi	Familles hôtes	8 (4 men, 4 women)		Moore
	Tilba	Familles hôtes	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Men	Moore
	Séguénéga	Familles hôtes	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Moore
Est	Banogo	Familles hôtes +PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	IDPs	Gulmancema
	Diaka	Familles hôtes +PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Men	Gulmancema
	Sessin	Familles hôtes +PDI	8 (4 men, 4 women)	IDPs	Gulmancema
Sahel	Kallo	Familles hôtes +Retournés	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Youth	Gulmancema
	Orounoma	Familles hôtes +Retournés	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Returnees	Fulfulde
	Koria	Familles hôtes +Retournés	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women	Fulfulde
	Babirka Ourou Esso	Familles hôtes +Retournés	8 (4 men, 4 women)	Women	Fulfulde

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Appendix 4: Sample Maps of Data Collection Sites

General Map of KII_01 Sites in Burkina Faso and Niger
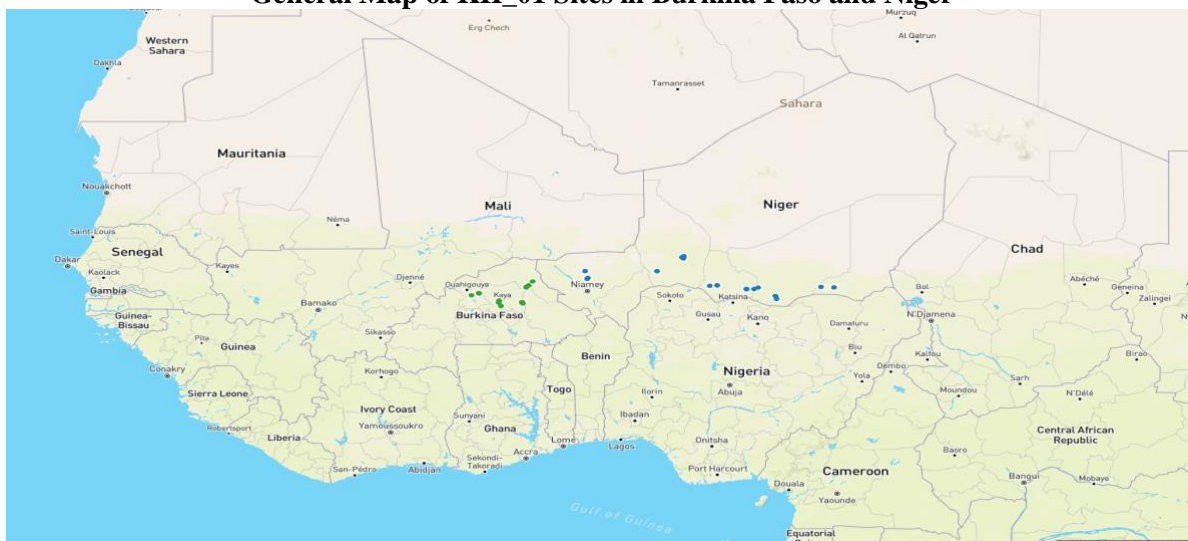
General Map of KII_02 Sites in Burkina and Niger
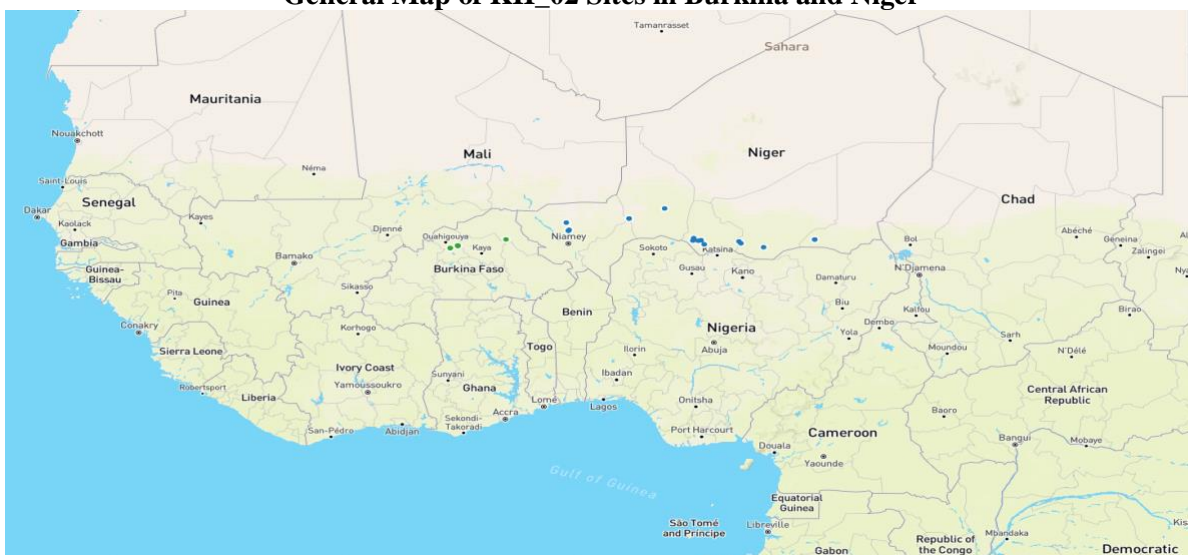
General Map of KII-03 Sites in Burkina Faso and Niger

General Map of FGD_01 Sites in Burkina Faso and Niger
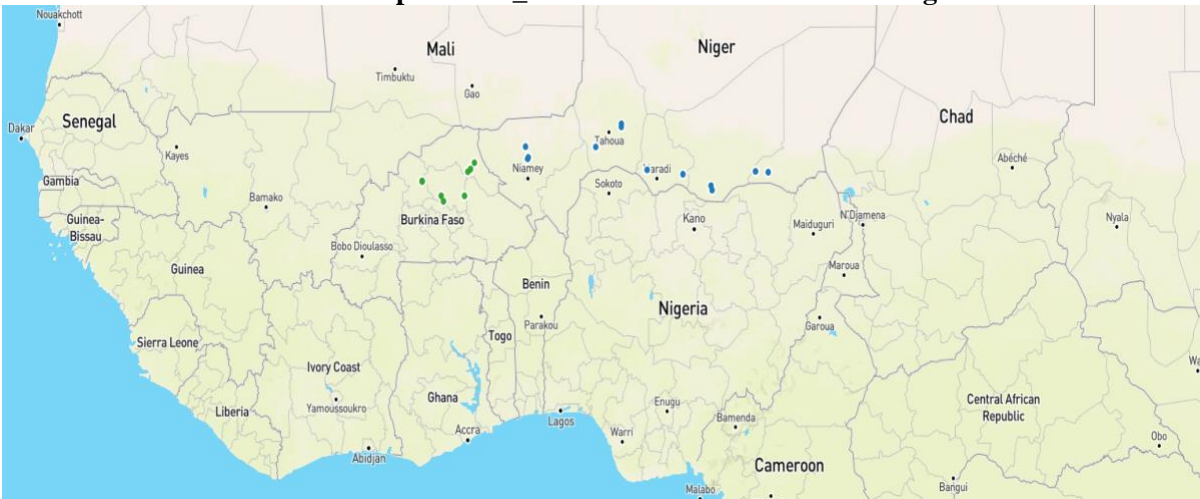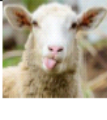
Map of Mini-Survey Sites in Burkina Faso and Niger
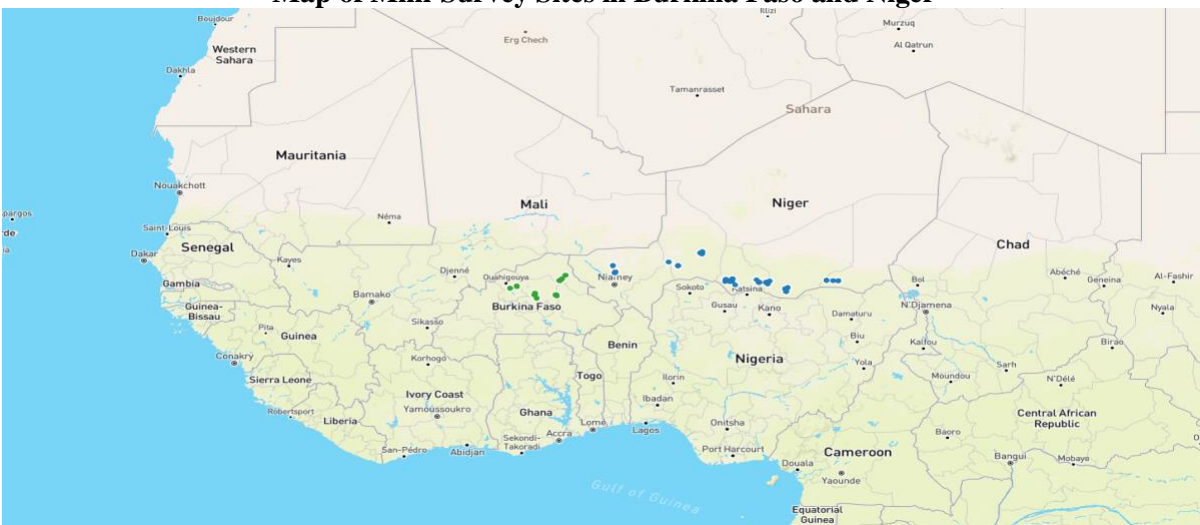
Appendix 5: Sample Questionnaire Using Local System of Ranking

In the training of data collectors in Niger, the latter indicated that community members would have difficulty grasping the concept of rating responses to questions from 1 to 5, with one being the least value and 5 the highest rating. In place of that, they suggested using the indigenous scheme of ranking or rating the value of things, based on the perceived value of various livestock. The data collectors then developed a scheme of prioritization in which respondents indicated their ratings by the value of the livestock they would give to each response. Hence for a rating of 1 as least and 5 has highest, to each question, respondents offered either: 1. a chicken, 2. a goat, 3. a sheep, 4. a cow, or 5. a camel.

Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins de " **Augmentation Des Mariages** entre	1 : Poulet	2 : Chevre	3 : Mouton	4 : Vache	5 : Chameau
Membres de différents groupes ethniques?					
Membres de différents villages/ communautés?					
Membres de différents groupes religieux?					
Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins de " **Participation accrue aux funérailles, mariages et autres événements sociaux de**					
Différents groupes ethniques?					
Différents villages/ communautés?					
Différents groupes religieux?					
Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins de " **Collaboration accrue dans les activités économiques entre**					
Différents groupes ethniques?					
Différents villages/ communautés?					
Différents groupes religieux?					
Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins des **Engagements accrus dans des associations telles que la tontine, les associations parents-enseignants** de					
Différents groupes ethniques?					
Différents villages/ communautés?					
Différents groupes religieux?					
Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins "**Des efforts accrus pour résoudre les conflits entre**					
Différents groupes ethniques?					
Différents villages/ communautés?					
Différents groupes religieux?					
Grâce au projet parrainé par le PAM, nous avons été témoins " **Augmentation du nombre d'activités sportives amicales entre les jeunes de**					
Différents groupes ethniques?					
Différents villages/ communautés?					
Différents groupes religieux?					

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Appendix 6: Dauda Sidibe's (Not Real Name) Lived Experiences of the Compounded Shocks

The different types of shocks are low rain, locust attack on millet, bush fire in 2021 and flooding of fields each year following the passage of water currents. Low rainfall: This is an almost recurrent phenomenon, especially in recent years. It is characterized in two ways, including the delay of the rain and/or the early cessation of it. When the climate was good, the area recorded a rainy season of three to four months. While today there are only three to four good rains per season. Added to this is the drying up of the water tables. That is to say that they recede more and more to the point where when we plant onions or other vegetables, watering them requires enough means (at least a motor pump to pump water from a depth of up to 20 meters or more). - The attacks of locusts suspend the development of the plant. This attack acts on the yield of crops already subject to climatic variability. - The millet eaters present themselves as the crickets and attack just at the last part of the reproductive phase. They attack the plant and eat all the first seeds of millet or whatever. - The bush fire: three weeks ago, it carried away (burnt) all the straws and plants in the area over approximately 5 hectares. [This happened] Three times including Tourouft, Assalmou aleikoum, Dan goumar 4 hectare and another was recorded in Soumboua. They [bushfire] carry [burn up] the cattle feed. - The phenomenon of floods. It happens almost every year when a heavy rain falls. During its flow, this stream of water destroys everything in its path …" (NR_KII_01_3784-M).

Appendix 7: Test Results of Mini-Survey

Increased number of marriages between ethnic groups * Country of study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.521[a]	1	.112		
Continuity Correction[b]	1.804	1	.179		
Likelihood Ratio	2.732	1	.098		
Fisher's Exact Test				.144	.087
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.24.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Increased number of marriages between villages * Country of study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.183[a]	1	.669		
Continuity Correction[b]	.051	1	.822		
Likelihood Ratio	.185	1	.667		
Fisher's Exact Test				.840	.416
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.06.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Increased number of marriages between different religious groups * Country of study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.534[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	21.332	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	22.393	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 38.51.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Ethnic Social Events BY Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.275[a]	1	.039		
Continuity Correction[b]	3.188	1	.074		
Likelihood Ratio	4.124	1	.042		
Fisher's Exact Test				.049	.039
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.34.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Village Social Events by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.253[a]	1	.071		
Continuity Correction[b]	2.758	1	.097		
Likelihood Ratio	3.341	1	.068		
Fisher's Exact Test				.086	.047
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.31.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Religious Social Events by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.165[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	13.192	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.989	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 34.70.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Ethnic Cultural Events by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.883[a]	1	.347		
Continuity Correction[b]	.444	1	.505		
Likelihood Ratio	.926	1	.336		
Fisher's Exact Test				.422	.257
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.72.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Village Cultural Events by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.691[a]	1	.030		
Continuity Correction[b]	4.015	1	.045		
Likelihood Ratio	4.936	1	.026		
Fisher's Exact Test				.035	.021
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.68.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Cross-Religious Festive Events by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.691[a]	1	.030		
Continuity Correction[b]	4.015	1	.045		
Likelihood Ratio	4.936	1	.026		
Fisher's Exact Test				.035	.021
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.68.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Collaboration in Economic Activities Ethnic by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.644[a]	1	.010		
Continuity Correction[b]	5.413	1	.020		
Likelihood Ratio	6.421	1	.011		
Fisher's Exact Test				.013	.011
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.86.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Collaboration in Economic Activities Villages by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.043[a]	1	.837		
Continuity Correction[b]	.001	1	.972		
Likelihood Ratio	.042	1	.837		
Fisher's Exact Test				.865	.482
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.40.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Collaboration in Economic Activities Religion by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.057[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	13.136	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	14.054	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 44.99.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Engagement in Associations Ethnic by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.275[a]	1	.039		
Continuity Correction[b]	3.188	1	.074		
Likelihood Ratio	4.124	1	.042		
Fisher's Exact Test				.049	.039
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.34.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Engagement in Associations Villages by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.253[a]	1	.071		
Continuity Correction[b]	2.758	1	.097		
Likelihood Ratio	3.341	1	.068		
Fisher's Exact Test				.086	.047
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.31.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Engagement in Associations Religion by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.165[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	13.192	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.989	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 34.70.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Youthful Sporting Activities Ethnic by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.295[a]	1	.587		
Continuity Correction[b]	.132	1	.716		
Likelihood Ratio	.292	1	.589		
Fisher's Exact Test				.594	.355
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.49.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Youthful Sporting Activities Villages by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.017[a]	1	.313		
Continuity Correction[b]	.725	1	.395		
Likelihood Ratio	1.036	1	.309		
Fisher's Exact Test				.348	.198
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.21.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Youthful Sporting Activities Religion by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.553[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	27.124	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	28.158	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 31.27.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Collaborative Conflict Resolution by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.036[a]	1	.849		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.037	1	.848		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.544
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.34.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Children Attending the Same School Ethnic by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.329[a]	1	.037		
Continuity Correction[b]	3.157	1	.076		
Likelihood Ratio	4.179	1	.041		
Fisher's Exact Test				.064	.040
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.58.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Children Attending the Same School Villages by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.442[a]	1	.506		
Continuity Correction[b]	.237	1	.626		
Likelihood Ratio	.449	1	.503		
Fisher's Exact Test				.595	.316
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.87.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Children Attending the Same School Religion by Country of Study

Chi-Square Tests					
Statistics	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.990[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	15.986	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	17.140	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
N of Valid Cases	278				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 50.33.					
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Appendix 7A

Table A1: Test of association between country and More Respect between Ethnic Groups

		More Respect between Ethnic Groups					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	2	1	11	26	66	106
	Niger	15	8	20	57	72	172
Total		17	9	31	83	138	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 15.015, Pr=0.005							

Table A2: Test of association between country and More Respect between Religious Groups

		More Respect between Religious Groups					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	0	2	10	22	72	106
	Niger	21	8	19	36	88	172
Total		21	10	29	58	160	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 17.701, Pr=0.001							

Table A3: Test of association between country and increased inter-religious marriages

		More Respect between Farmers and Herders					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	0	1	11	29	65	106
	Niger	9	16	32	59	56	172
Total		9	17	43	88	121	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 29.374, Pr=0.000							

Table A4: Test of association between country and More Respect between Men and Women

| | | More Respect between Men and Women | | | | | |
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	1	0	7	31	67	106
	Niger	18	5	6	59	84	172
Total		19	5	13	90	151	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 16.154, Pr=0.003							

Table A5: Test of association between country and More Respect between Youth and Elders

| | | More Respect between Youth and Elders | | | | | |
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	
Country of study	Burkina Faso	0	2	5	38	61	106
	Niger	11	9	9	54	89	172
Total		11	11	14	92	150	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 9.471, Pr=0.050							

Table A6: Test of association between country and More Respect between Government and Community

| | | More Respect between Government and Community | | | | | |
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	0	2	11	40	53	106
	Niger	15	6	14	59	78	172
Total		15	8	25	99	131	278
Pearson chi2(4)= 10.712, Pr=0.030							

Table A7: Test of association between country and More Respect between Organisations and Community

| | | More Respect between Organisations and Community | | | | | |
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	
Country of study	Burkina Faso	0	4	9	36	57	
	Niger	19	4	10	34	105	
Total		19	8	19	70	162	
Pearson chi2(4)= 18.718, Pr=0.001							

Table A8: Test of association between province and More Respect between Ethnic Groups

| | | More Respect between Ethnic Groups | | | | | |
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	0	6	7	8	21
	Dori	1	1	3	9	22	36
	Fada N'gourma	1	0	5	9	11	26
	Kaya	0	0	1	6	19	26
	Maradi	0	0	3	24	16	43
	Ouhigouya	0	0	2	2	14	18
	Tahuoa	0	1	1	13	23	38
	Tillabery	14	7	2	2	9	34
	Zinder	1	0	8	11	16	36
Total		17	9	31	83	138	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 165.929, Pr=0.000							

Table A9: Test of association between province and More Respect between Religious Groups

		More Respect between Religious Groups					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	3	1	1	3	13	21
	Dori	0	1	5	9	21	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	3	8	15	26
	Kaya	0	0	1	4	21	26
	Maradi	1	1	5	14	22	43
	Ouhigouya	0	1	1	1	15	18
	Tahuoa	0	1	2	9	26	38
	Tillabery	17	5	2	1	9	34
	Zinder	0	0	9	9	18	36
Total		21	10	29	58	160	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 149.156, Pr=0.000							

Table A10: Test of association between province and More Respect between Farmers and Herders

		More Respect between Farmers and Herders					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	0	9	10	2	21
	Dori	0	0	4	9	23	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	3	6	17	26
	Kaya	0	0	2	5	19	26
	Maradi	0	0	3	22	18	43
	Ouhigouya	0	1	2	9	6	18
	Tahuoa	0	4	13	15	6	38
	Tillabery	9	9	3	2	11	34
	Zinder	0	3	4	10	19	36
Total		9	17	43	88	121	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 167.723, Pr=0.000							

Table A11: Test of association between province and More Respect between Men and Women

		More Respect between Men and Women					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	0	1	2	18	21
	Dori	0	0	3	14	19	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	4	9	13	26
	Kaya	0	0	0	5	21	26
	Maradi	0	0	1	24	18	43
	Ouhigouya	1	0	0	3	14	18
	Tahuoa	1	0	1	19	17	38
	Tillabery	16	5	1	2	10	34
	Zinder	1	0	2	12	21	36
Total		19	5	13	90	151	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 179.176, Pr=0.000							

Table A12: Test of association between province and More Respect between Youth and Elders

		More Respect between Youth and Elders					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	0	1	2	18	21
	Dori	0	1	2	15	18	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	2	14	10	26
	Kaya	0	0	1	4	21	26
	Maradi	0	0	1	23	19	43
	Ouhigouya	0	1	0	5	12	18
	Tahuoa	0	0	1	17	20	38
	Tillabery	11	9	2	2	10	34
	Zinder	0	0	4	10	22	36
Total		11	11	14	92	150	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 174.675, Pr=0.000							

Table A13: Test of association between province and More Respect between Government and Community

		More Respect between Government and Community					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	0	2	8	11	21
	Dori	0	0	3	14	19	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	3	14	9	26
	Kaya	0	2	1	5	18	26
	Maradi	0	0	2	24	17	43
	Ouhigouya	0	0	4	7	7	18
	Tahuoa	0	1	1	16	20	38
	Tillabery	15	4	3	1	11	34
	Zinder	0	1	6	10	19	36
Total		15	8	25	99	131	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 160.226, Pr=0.000							

Table A14: Test of association between province and More Respect between Organisations and Community

		More Respect between Organisations and Community					
		Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	Total
Province	Diffa	0	1	0	3	17	21
	Dori	0	1	1	9	25	36
	Fada N'gourma	0	0	2	16	8	26
	Kaya	0	2	3	5	16	26
	Maradi	0	0	3	12	28	43
	Ouhigouya	0	1	3	6	8	18
	Tahuoa	0	1	2	14	21	38
	Tillabery	19	2	2	0	11	34
	Zinder	0	0	3	5	28	36
Total		19	8	19	70	162	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 190.629, Pr=0.000							

Appendix 7B

Table B1: Test of association between province and the sense of safety engaging other ethnic groups

		Feel safe engaging other ethnic groups				
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Total
Province	Diffa	17	4	0	0	21
	Dori	30	6	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	22	4	0	0	26
	Kaya	26	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	32	11	0	0	43
	Ouhigouya	18	0	0	0	18
	Tahuoa	36	1	1	0	38
	Tillabery	33	0	0	1	34
	Zinder	32	4	0	0	36
Total		246	30	1	1	278
Pearson chi2(24)= 38.319, Pr=0.032						

Table B2: Test of association between province and the sense of no fear to be part of activities of other groups (religious or ethnic)

		No longer fear to be part of activities of other groups (religious or ethnic)						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	18	0	2	1	0	0	21
	Dori	31	4	1	0	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	23	1	0	2	0	0	26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	22	18	2	0	1	0	43
	Ouhigouya	10	7	0	0	0	1	18
	Tahuoa	28	8	1	0	0	1	38
	Tillabery	33	0	0	0	1	0	34
	Zinder	33	3	0	0	0	0	36
Total		223	42	6	3	2	2	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 91.319, Pr=0.000								

Table B3: Test of association between country and the sense of feeling secure and protected from experiencing harm

		Feel secure and protected from experiencing harm						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	79	17	6	3	0	1	106
	Niger	127	33	2	1	6	3	172
Total		206	50	8	4	6	4	278
Pearson chi2(5)= 11.271, Pr=0.046								

Table B4: Test of association between province and sense of feeling secure and protected from experiencing harm

		Feel secure and protected from experiencing harm						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	13	4	0	1	1	2	21
	Dori	16	13	6	1	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	25	0	0	1	0	0	26
	Kaya	24	2	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	20	19	2	0	1	1	43
	Ouhigouya	14	2	0	1	0	1	18
	Tahuoa	30	7	0	0	1	0	38
	Tillabery	33	0	0	0	1	0	34
	Zinder	31	3	0	0	2	0	36
Total		206	50	8	4	6	4	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 110.406, Pr=0.000								

Table B5: Test of association between province and sense of not feeling discriminated against

		Don't feel discriminated against						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	17	3	0	0	0	1	21
	Dori	25	9	0	1	1	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	23	3	0	0	0	0	26
	Kaya	26	0	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	26	16	1	0	0	0	43
	Ouhigouya	16	2	0	0	0	0	18
	Tahuoa	33	3	0	0	1	1	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	36	0	0	0	0	0	36
Total		236	36	1	1	2	2	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 69.604, Pr=0.003								

Table B6: Test of association between province and having equal access to resources

		Have equal access to resources						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	11	2	0	5	2	1	21
	Dori	18	13	1	2	2	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	24	1	0	0	1	0	26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	20	18	3	0	2	0	43
	Ouhigouya	11	5	0	1	0	1	18
	Tahuoa	27	10	0	0	1	0	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	28	3	0	0	5	0	36
Total		198	53	4	8	13	2	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 125.933, Pr=0.000								

Table B7: Test of association between province and having equal access to markets

		Have equal access to markets						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	17	2	0	1	1	0	21
	Dori	25	8	1	2	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	22	1	1	0	1	1	26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	27	12	2	0	1	1	43
	Ouhigouya	16	2	0	0	0	0	18
	Tahuoa	35	2	0	0	0	1	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	34	1	0	0	1	0	36
Total		235	29	4	3	4	3	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 61.079, Pr=0.018								

Table B8: Test of association between province and having same opportunity to participate in decision making processes

		Have same opportunity to participate in decision making processes						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	14	2	0	3	2	0	21
	Dori	23	8	0	1	4	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	23	1	0	0	1	1	26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	22	18	3	0	0	0	43
	Ouhigouya	8	9	0	0	0	1	18
	Tahuoa	25	11	0	0	2	0	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	32	3	0	0	1	0	36
Total		206	53	3	4	10	2	278

Pearson chi2(40)= 119.243, Pr=0.000

Table B9: Test of association between province and having to participate equally in community pastures and other natural resources management committees

		Participate equally in community pastures and other natural resources management committees						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	17	3	0	1	0	0	21
	Dori	23	10	2	1	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	23	2	0	0	1	0	26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	25	14	1	1	1	1	43
	Ouhigouya	9	6	0	1	2	0	18
	Tahuoa	29	7	0	0	0	2	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	30	3	0	0	3	0	36
Total		215	46	3	4	7	3	278

Pearson chi2(40)= 71.463, Pr=0.002

Table B10: Test of association between province and religious freedom devoid of fears

		Can practice my religion without fear						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	20	0	0	0	0		21
	Dori	29	7	0	0	0		36
	Fada N'gourma	21	4	1	0	0		26
	Kaya	25	1	0	0	0		26
	Maradi	35	7	0	1	0		43
	Ouhigouya	16	2	0	0	0		18
	Tahuoa	35	1	0	0	0		38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0		34
	Zinder	35	0	0	0	1		36
Total		250	22	1	1	1		278

Pearson chi2(40)= 55.788, Pr=0.050

Table B11: Test of association between province and having to participate equally in cultural events of others

		Participate equally in cultural events of others						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	15	5	0	1	0		21
	Dori	26	9	0	0	1		36
	Fada N'gourma	23	1	0	0	0		26
	Kaya	26	0	0	0	0		26
	Maradi	22	18	3	0	0		43
	Ouhigouya	16	2	0	0	0		18
	Tahuoa	29	7	1	0	1		38
	Tillabery	33	0	0	0	1		34
	Zinder	33	3	0	0	0		36
Total		223	45	4	1	3		278

Pearson chi2(40)= 91.195, Pr=0.000

Table B12: Test of association between country and participation in social engagements of others

		Can participate in others social engagements						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Country of study	Burkina Faso	93	8	1	1	1	2	106
	Niger	167	4	0	1	0	0	172
Total		260	12	1	2	1	2	278
Pearson chi2(5)= 11.366, Pr=0.045								

Table B13: Test of association between province and participation in social engagements of others

		Can participate in others social engagements						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	20	0	0	1	0	0	21
	Dori	28	7	0	1	0	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	23	0	1	0	1	1	26
	Kaya	26	0	0	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	42	1	0	0	0	0	43
	Ouhigouya	16	1	0	0	0	1	18
	Tahuoa	35	3	0	0	0	0	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	36	0	0	0	0	0	36
Total		260	12	1	2	1	2	278
Pearson chi2(40)= 67.370, Pr=0.004								

Table B14: Test of association between province and caring for children of neighbours of other ethnic groups

		Leave my children in the care of neighbours of other ethnic groups					
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure	Prefer not to say	Total
Province	Diffa	16	3	0	1	1	21
	Dori	28	6	0	2	0	36
	Fada N'gourma	21	4	1	0	0	26
	Kaya	19	7	0	0	0	26
	Maradi	30	12	1	0	0	43
	Ouhigouya	17	1	0	0	0	18
	Tahuoa	34	2	0	2	0	38
	Tillabery	34	0	0	0	0	34
	Zinder	31	4	0	1	0	36
Total		230	39	2	6	1	278
Pearson chi2(32)= 46.701, Pr=0.045							

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