

# Youth Employment in Value Chains in Burkina Faso

Opportunities for Youth in High-Potential Value Chains in the Cities of Dori and Fada  
N’Gourma



**WORLD BANK GROUP**



**RAPID SOCIAL RESPONSE**



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## Abbreviations

CONASUR	National Council of Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation ( <i>Conseil National de Secours d'Urgence et de Réhabilitation</i> )
EHCVM	Harmonized Household Living Standards Survey ( <i>Enquête Harmonisée sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages</i> )
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVC	Global Value Chain
HFPS	High-Frequency Phone Survey
IDA	International Development Association
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INERA	Environment and Agriculture Research institute ( <i>Institut de l'Environnement et de Recherches Agricoles</i> )
JET	Jobs and Economic Transformation
MAAH	Ministry of Agriculture, Hydro-Agricultural Amenities and Mechanization ( <i>Ministère de l'Agriculture, des Aménagements Hydro-Agricoles et de la Mécanisation</i> )
MJPEJ	Ministry of Youth and Youth Entrepreneurship Promotion ( <i>Ministère de la Jeunesse et de la Promotion de l'entrepreneuriat des jeunes</i> )
NEET	Not in Employment, Education, or Training
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
PADEL-B	Burkina Faso Livestock Sector Development Support Project ( <i>Projet d'Appui au Développement du Secteur de l'Élevage au Burkina Faso</i> )
PEJDC	Youth Employment and Skills Development Project ( <i>Projet d'Emploi des Jeunes et du Développement de Compétences</i> )
PNDES	National Economic and Social Development Plan ( <i>Plan National de Développement Économique et Social</i> )
S4YE	Solutions for Youth Employment
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SPJ	Social Protection and Jobs
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
WFP	World Food Programme

## Executive Summary

**More than half of Burkina Faso's population is made up of young people, and employment opportunities are insufficient to absorb the country's growing population.** In 2019, 78 percent of Burkina Faso's 20.5 million inhabitants were below the age of 25, and 45 percent were younger than 15 years of age.<sup>1</sup> The population aged between 15 and 64 years, that is, those in their productive years, is expected to increase by 140 percent from currently 11 million to 26 million by 2050.<sup>2</sup> However, already today employment opportunities are insufficient. Almost half of the population is currently unemployed or underemployed. Four in ten youth are not in employment, education, or in training (NEET). The vast majority of those employed are underemployed and most are engaged in low-productivity, low-earning, and unstable activities.

**Discontent is high among youth in Burkina Faso who aspire to more.** Burkinabe youth are not satisfied with their current employment opportunities. Overall, 38 percent of the rural population consider their present living conditions to be "fairly" or "very" bad (compared to 36 percent in urban areas) and express disappointment in the government. Yet youth aspire to more. Youth interviewed for this study repeatedly expressed their hope to increase their employment opportunities, access better-paid jobs, or grow their own income-generating activities.

**Fragility, conflict, and violence generate additional pressures to create economic opportunities for the country's youth.** Reported fatalities linked to violent incidents have increased significantly since 2018. Violent events are concentrated in the Sahel region and, to a lesser extent, in the Est region, the two regions on which this study focuses. The resulting displacement has further increased pressures on scarce public services and limited employment opportunities. To combat potential drivers of conflict and provide a future for youth, the government will need to provide economic opportunities.

**The objective of the study is to identify sustainable (self-)employment opportunities for youth in selected value chains in two fragile areas of Burkina Faso.** It focuses on Dori and Fada N'Gourma, the two capital cities of the Sahel and Est regions. The value chains selected are cowpeas and small ruminants in both cities as well as dairy products in Dori and garments in Fada N'Gourma.

### Conceptual framework and methodology

**Acknowledging the importance of integrated approaches to employment, the analysis uses the lens of high-potential value chains as a meeting point for labor supply and demand.** The removal of bottlenecks to the development of value chains is often expected to enhance investment, in turn leading to more employment. However, this link is not automatic. Few existing value chain analyses, therefore, offer actionable advice to policy makers to increase employment along value chains, and interventions often struggle to generate a clear impact on employment creation. The study overcomes these shortcomings by explicitly incorporating youth employment considerations into its value chain analysis.

**The analysis is based on a combination of methods,** including desk reviews and consultations with the government and within the World Bank, analysis of available quantitative data, and the collection and

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<sup>1</sup> Recensement Général de la Population et l'Habitat (RGPH) 2019.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations World Population Prospects ([https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/1\\_Demographic%20Profiles/BurkinaFaso%20Faso.pdf](https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/1_Demographic%20Profiles/BurkinaFaso%20Faso.pdf)).

analysis of qualitative data. The combination of these methods has allowed the report to probe the question of youth employment in value chains from different perspectives.

### **Current state of (youth) employment in Burkina Faso**

**While unemployment is low in Burkina Faso, underemployment and inactivity remain a significant challenge.** The national-level unemployment rate stands at 3 percent, and 58 percent of working age individuals have a job. However, underemployment remains high with 44 percent of the working age population considered underemployed (equivalent to 75 percent of those who are gainfully employed). Underemployment is particularly pronounced in rural areas, among men and those aged between 36 and 64 years. Youth exhibit a high inactivity rate (34 percent) compared to the age group of 36–64 years (25 percent). The national NEET rate of youth in Burkina Faso stood at 38 percent in 2018/19.

**Most workers earn their living through self-employment activities in which underemployment is particularly pronounced.** Salaried employment represents only 15.5 percent of employment whereas 54 percent of working age individuals are self-employed. Another 25 percent work in the context of the family. Underemployment is of relevance in all types of employment, but self-employed individuals and family workers are particularly concerned, with 76 percent of the former and 97 percent of the latter working less than 40 hours a week.

### **Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic**

**While the COVID-19 pandemic has not led to a discernible decrease in employment, there are indications that underemployment increased at the beginning of the pandemic.** About one in ten households reported having to reduce their working hours, particularly at the beginning of the pandemic, suggesting that the pandemic has led to an increase in underemployment.

**Nonagricultural income has seen a significant decline due to the pandemic, leading to a reliance on undiversified agricultural income.** At the beginning of the pandemic, 86 percent of households reported lower than usual or no incomes from nonagricultural activities, possibly due to having to cease income-generating activities or a decrease in demand as a result of the socioeconomic impacts of the pandemic. Throughout the pandemic, households continue to report decreasing revenue from month to month but at a lower rate than immediately following the onset of COVID-19. Between June 2020 and January 2021, the share of individuals reporting self-employment activities decreased from 61 percent to 12 percent and only began to recover in February 2021. Instead, individuals report a significant increase in agricultural activities.

**Youth interviewed emphasized the negative impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on their earning opportunities.** In both cities, youth evoked a deterioration in their economic opportunities. Some report having lost their employment due to the pandemic, highlighting various transmission channels. The overall economic downturn decreased demand. Government actions to contain the spread of the virus, such as border closures and a curfew, further affected economic activities. Youth observed a reduction in activity, particularly in the transport sector which plays important roles in both cities given their proximity to borders. Others reported that while they were able to keep their jobs, their working hours and consequently their salaries had been reduced.



## Youth portrait

**More than half of youth in the age group of 16 to 35<sup>3</sup> years have never gone to school and only about half are literate.** About 55 percent of youth have not completed any level of education. Literacy nationally stands at 49 percent. In the Est and Sahel regions, literacy is below the national average (37 percent and 23 percent, respectively).

**Youth are primarily occupied in informal employment.** At the national level, only 17 percent of youth are employed in wage labor. Instead, most youth work in a family activity (33 percent) or are self-employed (42 percent). In the Est and Sahel regions, family or self-employment are even higher than at the national level. In the Est region, 67 percent of youth work for a family member and 26 percent are self-employed. Only 4 percent work in wage labor. In the Sahel region, most youth are self-employed (50 percent) while 42 percent work for a family member.

**Young women tend to be disadvantaged on the labor market.** At the national level, literacy is significantly lower among women between 16 and 35 years of age than among men of the same age. Literacy of young women is only 41 percent compared to 58 percent for young men. As a result, women are much more likely to have precarious jobs than men, with 84 percent of women either self-employed or working on the family farm, compared to 67 percent for men.

## Value chains and their youth employment potential in Dori

**The cowpea value chain in Dori faces a series of constraints to its further development, but youth perceive employment opportunities nonetheless.** One constraint youth interviewed highlighted as a primary concern is that cowpeas are highly susceptible to spoiling and correct storage is costly. The available base seed does not meet the need for improved seeds in Dori and surroundings, and funds provided by the government to seed producers tend to incur delays. Actors are not sufficiently trained on the use of herbicides and pesticides and related sanitary and phytosanitary considerations. Subsidized seeds and fertilizers tend to arrive with delays. Access to finance remains limited as does access to land. Lastly, the government's price referential for agricultural equipment has not kept up with increased input prices, squeezing the margins of equipment producers. Nonetheless, youth identify opportunities for their participation all along the chain. The analysis suggests that there is demand for improved storage services, which could provide youth with the opportunity to expand their current activities in the commercialization of cowpeas. Another employment opportunity identified lies in providing services such as threshing, which is still largely carried out manually by producers. As threshing is required for grains other than cowpeas, such an activity could be used to add value in other value chains as well. Incorporating cowpea production into the milk and small ruminant value chains to increase the supply of animal feed could also be considered. Repair and maintenance of agricultural equipment could represent another opportunity with potential beyond the value chain. Finally, the production of higher-value products based on cowpea flour could be explored for the expansion of youth employment opportunities.

**In the small ruminants value chain, while the shortage of animal feed is an important constraint, potential for youth employment exists in various segments.** Supply of nutritious feed does currently not meet the need, which is in part due to the lack of training on feed production, lack of adequate equipment

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<sup>3</sup> The report makes use of a definition of youth often employed in Burkina Faso and elsewhere in the region (for example, Côte d'Ivoire) that differs slightly from the United Nation's definition (15-24) and that of the African Union (10-35).

for feed production (for example, bundling machines, scythes, and sickles), a challenging provision of inputs for improved feeds, and the resulting high costs of improved feed. Youth furthermore identify the lack of access to water as a constraint to growth in the value chain. Access to finance remains a challenge as well. With growing overall demand and improved access to finance, youth could expand their involvement in the trade of small ruminants, an activity they are already highly familiar with. Innovations in producing improved feeds and inputs to improved feed production provide another opportunity to generate employment and tackle a concrete bottleneck to the overall development of the value chain. Youth furthermore highlight the lack of expertise and activity in harvesting natural vegetation for feed production and suggest that this could be a value chain segment supporting their employment. The absence of value addition to skins and leathers appears to represent a missed opportunity as well although the challenges remain complex.

**The dairy value chain is also one where youth perceive employment opportunities, despite various constraints.** Insufficient animal feed constrains the development of the value chain. Furthermore, work in the value chain requires specialized equipment like jerrycans, which youth identify as a primary obstacle. The lack of access to finance and training on the use of such equipment weighs particularly heavy on the value chain. The absence of a cold chain, which relies on access to electricity, is another challenge. Furthermore, the lack of competition in the milk collection segment impedes new entrants to the value chain and introduces a distortion to the market. Feed production could be expanded to provide employment opportunities. The activity would furthermore benefit from its cross-cutting nature and the synergies with other value chains. A broader reform to the market collecting milk could furthermore open the activity for competition and new entrants and improve the overall functioning of the value chain. Processing of dairy products is growing, creating opportunities for youth to be employed in existing and future small and medium enterprises (SMEs) engaged in the segment. With expanded value addition, opportunities for commercialization and export will furthermore present themselves.

### **Value chains and their youth employment potential in Fada N’Gourma**

**Obstacles to the development of the cowpea value chain exist at all its segments, and the insertion of youth appears most promising in cross-cutting functions and the commercialization of products.** Similar to the situation in Dori, input markets remain distorted by government intervention, seeds often do not meet quality requirements, access to finance remains insufficient, actors lack entrepreneurial expertise, and access to land and insecure land titles risk creating constraints to investment in the value chain. Lastly, actors along the value chain highlight the low quality of agricultural equipment. Demand for equipment is stated to be low although this might be related to the low quality of locally produced equipment. Opportunities might therefore exist for youth to receive training in metalworking and other areas to enhance the quality and competitiveness of locally produced equipment. This would furthermore support the development of value chains beyond cowpeas and, as a cross-cutting activity, offer youth a broader market base. Moreover, the increasing commercialization of cowpea-based products beyond Fada N’Gourma suggests potential for youth employment in these downstream functions.

**Potential youth employment opportunities exist in the trade and fattening of small ruminants and in up- and downstream products despite the lack of access to finance and insufficient animal feed.** The absence of storage for animal feed leads to its perishing and further shortages. Actors in the value chain also highlight the lack of a certified and refrigerated slaughterhouse, limiting the production of larger volumes of value-added meat products. In addition to the insufficiency and high costs of animal feed,

youth interviewed in the context of the study highlight the decreasing availability of freely accessible land in the city and its outskirts. The cultivation, collection, and transformation of animal feed, for example, represent an opportunity to tap into an undersupplied market. On a larger scale, the use of waste products from the local cotton ginnery could be explored and provide opportunities for youth (self-)employment. The growing meat production market, including the possibility of producing higher-value-added meat products, could provide another avenue for youth employment.

**The garments value chain, focused mainly on the production of cloth and tailored clothing, continues to offer employment opportunities for youth, despite various constraints.** In addition to competition from cheaper imports, youth highlight the difficulty in accessing finance to expand existing activities as a major constraint to their further development in the value chain. Nonetheless, the increasing international attention and growing market suggest that the value chain will remain a key contributor to youth employment in Fada N’Gourma, for example, in the production of looms, weaving of cloth, tailoring of clothing, or the increasing commercialization and export of Faso dan fani products.

## Recommendations

**Detailed recommendations for each high-potential value chain<sup>4</sup> suggest the need to bundle activities in an economic inclusion-type intervention.** Such an intervention should be composed of at least the following measures:

- **Group savings facilitation** to improve access to finance
- **Cash grants** to improve access to finance and enable investments
- **Coaching and entrepreneurship training** to enable creation of new enterprises and enhance the productivity of existing ones, which should be gender sensitive
- **Support in accessing markets** for selected activities
- **Psychosocial support** to enhance soft and noncognitive skills
- **Targeted technical training** focused on the activities identified as high potential in Table 1
- **Literacy and numeracy support**, particularly for women who indicated lower educational attainment than men.

**A particular focus on the identified value chains could be ensured through communication and sensibilization, while (simplified) business plans could be used to screen for activities in the high-potential value chains.** Clear communication highlighting the prioritization of identified high-potential value chains would be required to ensure a focus on these proven activities. Eligibility for participation in a potential intervention (or parts of it like a cash grant component) could be moderated through youth preparing (simplified) business plans. This would build on evidence that suggests that screening beneficiaries of youth employment enhances success of interventions. Simplified business plan competitions could therefore be used to target motivated youth while allowing screening for activities in the identified high-potential value chains.

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<sup>4</sup> Presented in Table 1 at the end of the report.

**To ensure that any demand-side constraints are identified early on and alleviated where possible, the formal private sector and government agencies should be included in the preparation and implementation of any potential intervention.** This would concern sector associations, private sector representatives like local and national chambers of commerce, and the ministries responsible for the relevant value chains. Including them in the preparation and implementation of the intervention could ensure that constraints affecting the value chain as a whole can be identified and addressed jointly, thereby guaranteeing an integration of supply- and demand-side measures.

**Similarly, youth should be involved in the design of the proposed intervention.** Youth are rarely consulted systematically, but the research for this study has shown their eagerness to participate and take control of their future.

## Introduction

- 1. More than half of Burkina Faso's population is made up of young people who tend to live in rural areas and have low levels of skills.** As of 2019, 78 percent of Burkina Faso's 20.5 million inhabitants were below the age of 25 years, and 45 percent were younger than 15 years of age.<sup>5</sup> The majority of young Burkinabe live in rural areas.<sup>6</sup> Less than half of youth between the ages of 16 and 35 years have completed primary school or a higher form of schooling.
- 2. Employment opportunities are insufficient to absorb the country's growing population.** In a median growth scenario, the country's population is expected to roughly double from currently around 21 million to 43 million by 2050. Over the same period, the population between 15 and 64 years of age, that is, those in their productive years, is expected to increase by 140 percent from currently 11 million to 26 million.<sup>7</sup> However, already today employment opportunities are insufficient. Almost half of the population is currently unemployed or underemployed. Four in ten youth are not in employment, education, or in training (NEET). The vast majority of those employed are underemployed and most are engaged in low productivity, low earning, and unstable activities.<sup>8</sup>
- 3. Economic development and employment outcomes have taken a hit due to the COVID-19 pandemic and persistent insecurity.** The economy is estimated to have grown by 2 percent in 2020, 4 percent less than projected before the onset of the pandemic.<sup>9</sup> The poverty headcount ratio increased, for the first time in years, by 0.5 percentage points, which is equivalent to an additional about 300,000 poor people in 2020.<sup>10</sup> The security situation continues to deteriorate which negatively affects economic opportunities and employment in affected areas and beyond. Both the economic impact of the pandemic and the persistent insecurity have further increased the precariousness of employment, particularly for young people.
- 4. Youth in Burkina Faso aspire to more.** Discontent among youth is widespread in Sub-Saharan African countries, particularly in rural areas.<sup>11</sup> This is mostly due to low pay and the precarious nature of their employment.<sup>12</sup> Those working in agriculture tend to be the least satisfied, particularly when they contribute to family work and carry out low-skilled occupations.<sup>13</sup> Burkina Faso is no exception. Qualitative data collected for this report indicate that youth are not satisfied with their current employment opportunities. Overall, 38 percent of the rural population consider their present living conditions to be

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<sup>5</sup> Recensement Général de la Population et l'Habitat (RGPH) 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Between 63.4 and 81.5 percent depending on the age group. See UNFPA. 2018. Adolescents and Youth Dashboard - Burkina Faso. <https://www.unfpa.org/data/adolescent-youth/BF>.

<sup>7</sup> See United Nations World Population Prospects ([https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/1\\_Demographic%20Profiles/BurkinaFaso%20Faso.pdf](https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/1_Demographic%20Profiles/BurkinaFaso%20Faso.pdf)).

<sup>8</sup> Based on the Harmonized Household Living Standards Survey (*Enquête Harmonisée sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages*, EHCVM) 2018/19.

<sup>9</sup> World Bank. 2021. *2021 April Economic Update*.

<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/667441623270219232/pdf/BurkinaFaso-Faso-Protecting-the-Poor-During-the-Recovery-and-Beyond.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> World Bank. 2021. *2021 April Economic Update*.

<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/667441623270219232/pdf/BurkinaFaso-Faso-Protecting-the-Poor-During-the-Recovery-and-Beyond.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> OECD. 2018. *The Future of Rural Youth in Developing Countries: Tapping the Potential of Local Value Chains*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p.29.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29ff.

“fairly” or “very” bad (compared to 36 percent in urban areas).<sup>14</sup> Yet youth aspire to more. Youth interviewed for this study repeatedly expressed their hope to increase their employment opportunities, access better-paid jobs, or grow their own income-generating activities.

5. **Lack of opportunities for youth and disappointment in government institutions risk contributing to driving conflict and violence.** The qualitative research carried out in the context of the study shows that youth in fragile areas are disappointed with the government, which is in line with a larger national trend.<sup>15</sup> Discontent over the perceived lack of sufficient social progress and economic opportunities, in particular for youth, already led to widespread social unrest in Burkina Faso in 2011. Recently, rising insecurity and radicalization have underlined the need to provide socioeconomic development and opportunities to the Burkinabe population and youth in particular. Following the recent attack on the Solhan village of the Yagha Province in the Sahel region that left at least 160 villagers killed, protests in the region’s capital Dori erupted decrying a perceived lack of government support as well as highlighting the lack of jobs and opportunities.<sup>16</sup>

6. **The study focuses on two areas of the country hit particularly hard with fragility and displacement.** Carried out in Dori and Fada N’Gourma, the analysis focuses on the two secondary cities in two of the most fragile areas of the country, the Sahel and Est regions, which have come under pressure in part due to their borders with Mali and Niger.<sup>17</sup> Reported fatalities linked to violent incidents which have increased significantly since 2018 are concentrated in the Sahel region and, to a lesser extent, in the Est region.<sup>18</sup> Both regions host sizable numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs), of whom 50,431 and 53,167, respectively, lived in Dori and Fada N’Gourma alone as of July 2021.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, over 11,000 of the about 22,000 mostly Malian refugees are currently sheltered in the Goudoubou refugee camp about 10 km outside of Dori.

7. **The Government of Burkina Faso has recognized the need to create jobs and increase productivity in its development strategy, including through the development of value chains.** The National Economic and Social Development Plan (*Plan National de Développement Économique et Social*, PNDES) 2016–2020<sup>20</sup> has three main axes, of which the third is to promote growth sectors for the economy and job creation. This axis calls for the development of agroforestry and pastoral value chains.<sup>21</sup> The development of value chains is promising and attractive because it provides a holistic approach to economic development as it brings together market demand and supply, can achieve large impacts, and

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<sup>14</sup> 2018 Afrobarometer Round 7 dataset. <https://afrobarometer.org/data/311>

<sup>15</sup> World Bank. 2020. *Eligibility Note for Access to the Prevention and Resilience Allocation (PRA) for Burkina Faso*.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.france24.com/fr/vid%C3%A9o/20210614-massacre-de-solhan-des-manifestations-dans-le-nord-pour-d%C3%A9noncer-l-inaction-des-autorit%C3%A9s>

<sup>17</sup> The two cities were selected in consultation with the government which is focusing employment generation efforts on areas subject to fragility.

<sup>18</sup> Based on data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (2021).

<sup>19</sup> According to data provided by the National Council of Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation (*Conseil National de Secours d’Urgence et de Réhabilitation*; CONASUR).

<sup>20</sup> Value chains such as sesame, meat, cashews, shea nuts, mango, onion, tomato, skins and leathers, textiles and clothing, and honey were selected on the basis of their production levels, their socioeconomic importance including their contribution to gross domestic product (GDP), export growth, and global import growth (see <https://www.pndes2020.com/pdf/filieres-porteuses.pdf>). The meat, skins and leathers, and textiles and clothing value chains overlap with those prioritized for the present study. The government is currently updating the national development plan.

<sup>21</sup> Government of Burkina Faso. 2016. *Plan National de Développement Économique et Social (PNDES) 2016–2020*.

can accommodate varying levels of skills depending on the complexity of the value chain segment. It can therefore achieve improved employment outcomes for low-skilled as well as high-skilled labor.

8. **The objective of the study is to identify sustainable (self-)employment opportunities for youth in selected value chains in two fragile areas of Burkina Faso.** In doing so, the study intends to support the government in enhancing employment opportunities for youth and combat potential drivers of conflict. The value chains selected are cowpeas and small ruminants in both cities as well as dairy products in Dori and garments in Fada N’Gourma. Despite the geographic focus and in line with the value chain approach, the analysis takes into account upstream and downstream value chain functions that take place outside of the two cities. While the selected value chains overlap with those identified in the PNDES and in other national strategy documents, they were selected to reflect the specific youth employment constraints and needs in the two cities.

9. **This study builds on three innovations to enhance the government’s ability to respond to the increasing youth employment challenge.** First, the study follows an integrated approach that aims to consider constraints and opportunities on the demand and supply sides of the labor market simultaneously, with value chains serving as the integrating framework. Second, the study employs a participatory approach with youth between the ages of 16 and 35 years as the group of interest of the study having directly participated in all steps of the analysis. Third, aspirations of youth were analyzed to ensure that recommendations correspond to expectations and are in line with the wishes of the target population.

10. **The study aligns with World Bank’s approach to the Jobs and Economic Transformation (JET) agenda and the current strategic priorities for the Western and Central Africa region and contributes to future operations.** The JET framework has two building blocks, which broadly correspond to the labor demand and labor supply sides: (a) “creating and connecting to markets” and (b) “building capabilities and connecting workers to jobs.”<sup>22</sup> By analyzing (agricultural) value chains and providing recommendations toward their improved performance and by assessing the capacities and aspirations of youth, the study contributes to both building blocks.<sup>23</sup> The study furthermore aims to contribute to the Western and Central Africa region strategic priority for 2021–2025 of “creating more and better jobs.”<sup>24</sup>

## Conceptual framework: An integrated approach to youth employment in value chains

11. **To ensure a holistic view of the labor market, consensus is growing that integrated approaches that tackle both supply- and demand-side constraints to employment are needed.** The 2013 World Development Report finds that supply-side interventions are likely to be less effective and sustainable when institutional and market failures on the demand side that affect the entry and growth of firms are not addressed. Similarly, according to a 2018 World Bank study, “promoting job creation requires targeted interventions on the demand side that address specific constraints or market failures facing informal

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<sup>22</sup> IDA19. 2019. *Special Theme: Jobs and Economic Transformation*.

<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/381791564075012778/pdf/Special-Theme-Jobs-and-Economic-Transformation.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> Figure 33 summarizes the JET framework.

<sup>24</sup> The World Bank. 2021. *Supporting a Resilient Recovery: The World Bank’s Western & Central Africa Region Priorities 2021–2025*.

sector enterprises, formal sector firms, and farms. Important firm specific constraints or market failures include, inter alia, insufficient access to finance, capacity and information gaps, coordination failures, and failure to capture social externalities of jobs.”<sup>25</sup>

12. **By simultaneously tackling supply- and demand-side constraints, integrated approaches can contribute to improving access to jobs and creating new jobs through jobs-oriented private sector development.** The relief of supply-side constraints can enhance the employability of youth and ensure their ability to access existing job opportunities. Demand-side interventions can improve the environment for the private sector and lead to the creation of additional employment while contributing to economic diversification and growth.

13. **Until recently, few youth employment projects have attempted to integrated demand- and supply-side perspectives.** Traditionally, youth employment interventions have tended to focus on constraints to labor market integration of youth like skills or access to finance (that is, the supply side of the labor market) with little attention being paid to labor demand. While all 19 innovative youth employment projects reviewed by the Solutions for Youth Employment (S4YE) initiative had trainings and skills development components, only some included demand-side interventions such as enterprise promotion or private sector subsidies.<sup>26</sup> A meta-analysis by Kluve et al. (2016) found that training is by far the most prevalent labor market intervention, with 65 percent of programs reviewed in the 107 evaluations analyzed containing a skills development component.<sup>27</sup>

14. **Previous attempts to linking supply and demand sides in youth employment interventions have faced challenges.** Many youth employment projects, also in Burkina Faso, include apprenticeships in enterprises or technical and vocational education and training (TVET) components designed in collaboration with the private sector. It is assumed that the private sector is best placed to assess where labor demand is strongest and what skills young people will need to ensure their employability. However, such approaches often suffer from low levels of formality and a lack of capacity of TVET institutions or private sector associations in low-income countries. Furthermore, while the inclusion of the private sector in youth employment programs is key to signaling expected demand for skills,<sup>28</sup> it does not solve the problem that important constraints outside of the influence of private sector enterprises tend to hold back the demand for skilled youth. An uncondusive legal, institutional, and policy environment; the inability to access international markets; inadequate infrastructure; lack of access to finance; and many other constraints to private sector and value chain development might hold back the growth of markets and the diversification of the economy into sectors in which youth might find sustainable employment opportunities.

15. **Integrated approaches to (youth) employment are highly complex as they require information on supply- and demand-side constraints as well as interventions that tackle both simultaneously and therefore come with high coordination and transaction costs.** Demand-side or private sector development interventions focusing on better jobs outcomes must consider a plethora of factors,

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<sup>25</sup> World Bank. 2018. *Integrated Youth Employment Programs: A Stock-take of Evidence on What Works in Youth Employment Programs*, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> S4YE. 2017. *New and Promising Approaches in Youth Employment Programs: The S4YE Impact Portfolio*.

<sup>27</sup> Kluve, J., S. Puerto, D. Robalino, J.M. Romero, F. Rother, J. Stöterau, F. Weidenkaff, and M. Witte. 2016. “Do Youth Employment Programs Improve Labor Market Outcomes? A Systematic Review.” IZA Discussion Paper 10263.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, World Bank. 2018. *Integrated Youth Employment Programs: A Stock-take of Evidence on What Works in Youth Employment Programs*, p. 23.



including macroeconomic, fiscal, firm-level, and cross-cutting constraints. Supply-side interventions, on the other hand, tend to require large investments in the training and mentoring of youth to equip them with the skills necessary to compete on the labor market. As a result, integrated interventions require important up-front coordination and high transaction costs to bring together different stakeholders and types of interventions.

16. **In addition, integration faces the challenge of misaligned time horizons between demand- and supply-side interventions as well as different target groups.** Improving the macroeconomic, institutional, and regulatory environment necessary for private sector development and the creation and growth of firms generating labor demand is generally a slow process. The need for employment, however, tends to be immediate, especially in countries with high birth rates and a large proportion of young people such as Burkina Faso. Furthermore, private sector development interventions tend to work with the firm as the unit of analysis, whereas supply-side interventions target individuals. In doing so, private sector development interventions have tended to regard employment—particularly for young people—as a by-product of enhanced firm productivity.

17. **The analysis uses the lens of high-potential value chains as a meeting point for labor supply and demand.**<sup>29</sup> While numerous value chain analyses of diverse sectors exist in Burkina Faso, few include a perspective on potential skills development and employment interventions. Instead, as with broader private sector development approaches, the removal of bottlenecks to the development of value chains is expected to enhance (private) investment, which is assumed to lead to more employment. However, this link is not automatic as investments can be capital-intensive as opposed to labor-intensive in nature. In practice, therefore, few existing value chain analyses offer actionable advice to policy makers that seek to increase employment along value chains, “value chain development projects seldom apply an employment lens, and even less a youth employment lens,”<sup>30</sup> and, as a result, interventions often struggle to generate a clear impact on employment creation.<sup>31</sup>

18. **The present analysis explicitly incorporates youth employment considerations into its value chain analysis.** Youth employment potential has been included in the selection of value chains and has framed their analysis. Concretely, youth employment potential featured among the selection criteria of value chains, taking into account the fact that youth tend to have low levels of education and skills as well as limited access to resources. Identifying in particular activities requiring little to no prior skills or resources also ensures that particularly vulnerable populations such as displaced youth and women are able to access identified employment opportunities. As a result, the analysis provides a tool to assess overall constraints to value chain development as well as specific constraints to youth employment in these value chains. By integrating supply-side constraints, the value chain lens can provide

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<sup>29</sup> In doing so, the present report draws on similar studies and methodological foundations elaborated previously by the World Bank, including World Bank. 2018. *Jobs in Value Chains Survey Toolkit*; World Bank. 2020. *Agriculture, Jobs, and Value Chains in Africa*; World Bank. 2017. *Jobs for North Lebanon: Value Chains, Labor Markets, Skills and Investment Climate in Tripoli and the North of Lebanon*; World Bank. 2020. *Medicinal and Aromatic Plants in the North-West of Tunisia: Findings from a Value Chain and Jobs Survey*.

<sup>30</sup> OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2018. *The future of rural youth in developing countries: Tapping the potential of local value chains*, p. 72. <https://www.oecd.org/dev/the-future-of-rural-youth-in-developing-countries-9789264298521-en.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, GIZ (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*). 2018. *Employment Promotion as Part of VC Development*.

recommendations on value chain development that benefits youth employment in particular from both the demand and supply sides.

19. **The study assumes that youth can benefit from job creation (through firm expansion, new firm entrants, and self-employment), higher quality of existing employment, and enhanced access to employment opportunities.** Regarding the creation of jobs, the expansion of existing firms and the hiring of additional staff provide the first avenue for the creation of jobs for youth. In these cases, it is crucial that overall conditions for value chain development and private sector growth are improved and that youth possess the required skills to be able to access the created jobs. The second avenue relies on new entrant firms to the market regardless of whether they are led by youth or not. In these cases, youth might need the skills required for specific positions created within new firms as well as entrepreneurial skills. Self-employment in the value chain builds on entrepreneurial aptitude as well as seed capital. Beyond the creation of employment, youth can benefit from enhanced employment outcomes by increasing the quality of their existing employment, including through increased productivity and higher earnings. Lastly, providing youth with better access to existing employment opportunities can improve their employment outcomes.

## Methodology

20. **The analysis is based on a combination of methods.** The study is informed by desk reviews and consultations with the government and within the World Bank, analysis of available quantitative data, and the collection and analysis of qualitative data. The combination of these methods has allowed the report to probe the question of youth employment in value chains from different perspectives, adapting the methodology to the type of question asked.

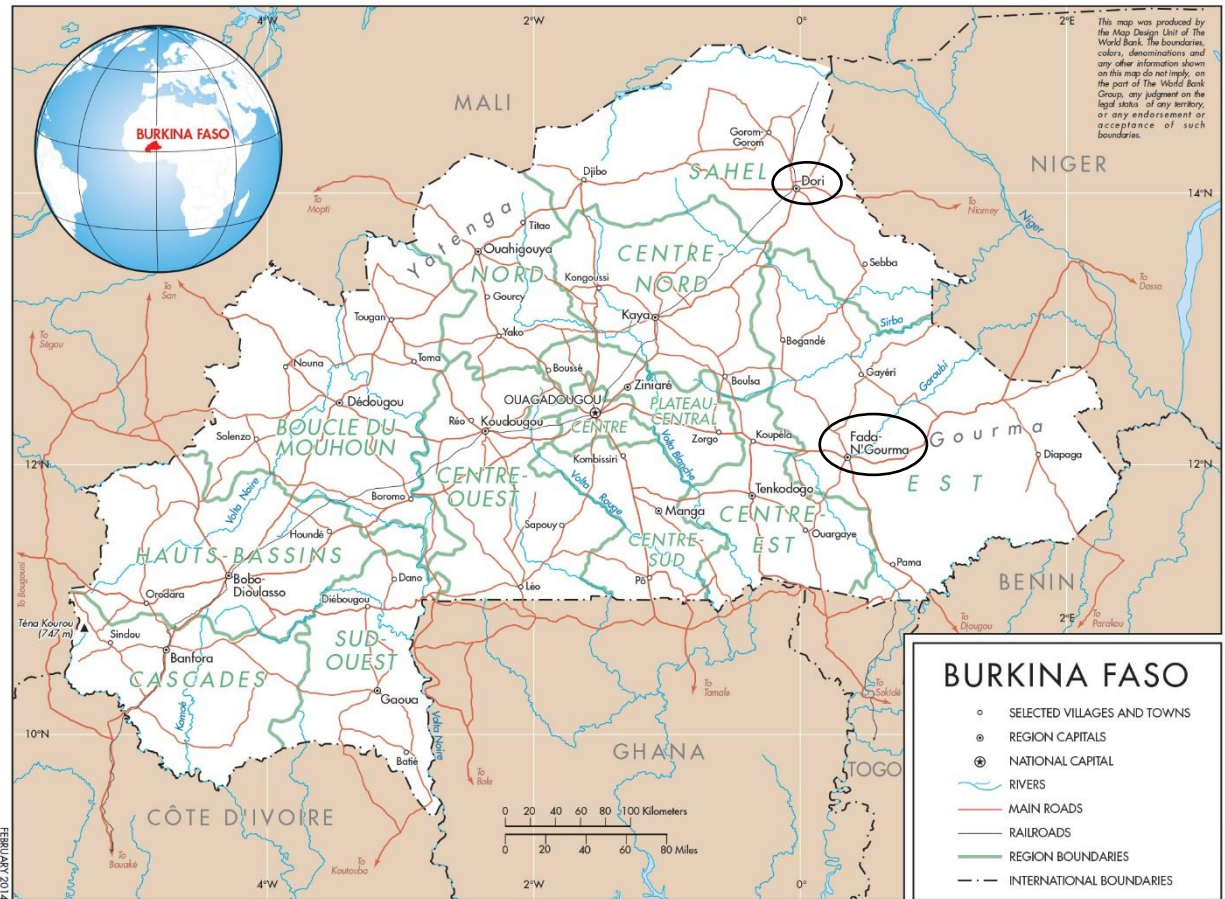
21. **The participatory nature of the process was emphasized with youth and other stakeholders being consulted throughout.** Before the launch of the activity, experts on youth employment from the Government of Burkina Faso were consulted to validate the study's conceptual framework. Similarly, a World Bank internal panel provided guidance. High-potential value chains were selected in a collaborative process with youth as well as stakeholders from the national and local governments and the private sector. Youth were consulted throughout the process with repeated focus group discussions and individual interviews. Results from these interactions with youth were constantly fed back into the analysis to ensure that the findings presented reflect the priorities and aspirations of youth. The Ministry of Youth, Entrepreneurship Promotion, and Employment (*Ministère de la Jeunesse et de la Promotion de l'entrepreneuriat des jeunes*, MJPEJ) accompanied the process throughout.

22. **To reflect the integrated nature of the approach, the report combines labor demand- and supply-side analyses.** A quantitative analysis of existing data on the levels of education and skills, current employment status, and other factors, as well as qualitative research on prevailing social norms, aspirations and constraints that youth are faced with, provided an overview of the labor supply side by creating a portrait of youth. Constraints and opportunities on the labor demand side were identified in the context of an in-depth analysis of high-potential value chains in the two locations.

23. **The geographical focus of the study responds to various challenges the country is facing.** As youth unemployment and overall dissatisfaction risk contributing to a deteriorating security situation, the study focuses on the Sahel and Est regions, which are among the most insecure. Furthermore, with the

pressure on Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso, the two main cities in Burkina Faso, increasing, there is a need to develop secondary urban areas with a sufficient market size to absorb the growing youth population. As a result of these considerations, the study focuses on the two cities of Dori and Fada N’Gourma. Dori is a city of roughly 40,000 inhabitants and the capital of the Sahel region, which borders Niger and Mali. Fada N’Gourma is of a similar size as Dori and functions as the commercial and administrative capital of the East region, which borders Niger, Benin, and Togo (see Map 1 and Box 1). Despite their location in two fragile areas of the country, they remained sufficiently accessible throughout the study period. Both study locations also host significant numbers of IDPs (50,431 in Dori and 53,167 in Fada N’Gourma) who have arrived since the recent increase in fragility in the country.

Map 1: Study locations within Burkina Faso



Source: World Bank Map Design Unit (2021)

Box 1: Characteristics of the study area

Dori Municipality	Fada N’Gourma Municipality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Region: Sahel</li> <li>• Province: Séno</li> <li>• Population: 180,512 (of which about 46,000 urban) in 2019               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o 50,431 IDPs (largely arrived after 2019)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Distance to Ouagadougou: about 270 km</li> <li>• Main economic activities: agriculture, livestock, silviculture, (gold) mining</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Region: Est</li> <li>• Province: Gourma</li> <li>• Population: 187,692 (of which about 70,000 urban) in 2019               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o 53,167 IDPs (largely arrived after 2019)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Distance to Ouagadougou: about 220 km</li> <li>• Main economic activities: agriculture, livestock, silviculture, (gold) mining</li> </ul>

Sources: 2019 General Census; Dori communal development plan 2015-2019; Fada N’Gourma communal development plan 2017-2021; CONASUR.

24. **An analysis of available quantitative data provides a broad overview of youth labor supply in Burkina Faso.** To make use of the most recent available data, the 2018/19 EHCVM was combined with the waves of the COVID-19 High-Frequency Phone Surveys (HFPSs). This dataset has allowed for an analysis not only of the overall status quo of youth employment but also of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on youth employment. As the EHCVM contains data at the municipal level, the analysis is able to provide a snapshot at the national and regional levels as well as in the two targeted cities. Additional data analysis was carried out using the 2018 Afrobarometer Round 7 dataset.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that the 2018/19 EHCVM data and the 2018 Afrobarometer predate the increase in fragility in both areas, meaning that the data analysis cannot fully take into account resulting changing dynamics. Being more limited in scope, the more recent HFPS data cannot fully make up for these shortcomings.

25. **To enable youth to share their aspirations, qualitative data were collected.** Since few quantitative surveys specifically consider youth aspirations, to fill this gap, focus group discussions and individual interviews were carried out in both cities. Qualitative data were collected before the prioritization of high-potential value chains to inform their selection and before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and once again after value chains were selected, about a year into the pandemic (see Annex 6 for more details).

26. **A preselection of high-potential value chains was carried out through a literature review as well as primary and secondary data analysis.** In a first step, available documentation and reports were analyzed, existing value chain analyses were reviewed, and resource persons in both locations were consulted to obtain an overview of existing economic sectors in both cities and the overall economic situation. This initial analysis resulted in a set of 12 value chains in Dori and 17 in Fada N’Gourma for more in-depth analysis.<sup>33</sup>

27. **The preselected value chains were classified using a series of indicators.** Using existing data as well as key informant interviews with regional and local government representatives, private sector partners, and civil society identified through prior desk reviews, data on a series of indicators were

<sup>32</sup> <https://afrobarometer.org/data/311>.

<sup>33</sup> Dori: small ruminants, cowpeas, fish farming, dairy products, solar energy, artisanal gold mining, cattle fattening, garments, tourism, food services, weaving, leather; Fada N’Gourma: small ruminants, cowpeas, poultry, garments, artisanal gold mining, motorcycle maintenance, metalwork, apiculture, rice, tourism, hairstyling, bovine animals, corn, groundnuts, soy beans, wood work, and urban transport.

collected to allow a first assessment of each value chain's potential for youth employment opportunities. The indicators included can be grouped in four categories: scale, sustainability, and competitiveness; jobs impact; readiness; and additionality. The detailed framework to measure and rank value chains can be found in Annex 1.

**28. Following the initial ranking of value chains, findings were validated and three value chains per city were selected during participatory workshops.**<sup>34</sup> First, at a national-level workshop in Ouagadougou, three value chains were prioritized. Subsequently, this prioritization was reviewed and confirmed at workshops in the two cities.<sup>35</sup> All three workshops included government as well as private sector stakeholders. The workshops in Dori and Fada N'Gourma furthermore saw the participation of local youth to give them a say in the selection of value chains. In ranking value chains, participants were asked to include the ability of value chains to absorb youth with limited skills and resources. The outcome of all workshops was the selection of three value chains per city with proven economic potential as well as employment opportunities for youth.

**29. An in-depth analysis of prioritized value chains was subsequently carried out to identify concrete (self-)employment potential for youth.** The in-depth analysis consisted of mapping the value chains and their functions, identifying the actors intervening at different links of the value chain, carrying out key informant interviews with at least one representative of each type of actor at each link, and collecting additional data on each value chain. Although the analysis focuses on the dynamics within the selected value chains, occasional links are made to other value chains where complementarities were identified. Due to data constraints, the analysis refrains from estimating employment potentials in identified value chains.

**30. The study period coincided with deepening insecurity, increasing displacement, and the COVID-19 pandemic which has made methodological adaptations necessary.** To account for the COVID-19 pandemic, EHCVM data from before the pandemic were combined with the HFPS collected during the pandemic. Qualitative data collection furthermore took place before and after the pandemic to be able to assess its impacts. During qualitative data collection, the specific impacts of fragility were discussed with respondents. The value chain prioritization (which was carried out in a participatory manner) asked participants to consider fragility and its potential impacts in considering the employment potential for youth in selected value chains and particular emphasis was placed on youth employment opportunities that require few existing resources and create cross-cutting skills applicable in case conditions continue to worsen. Thus, the analysis also ensured that employment opportunities are available to particularly vulnerable youth such as IDPs. For example, employment opportunities requiring little or no access to assets and limited education or skills were prioritized, as were cross-cutting activities and self-employment enabling youth to adapt to changing conditions. Considerations of absorptive capacity of value chains were particularly important given growing populations.

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<sup>34</sup> Based on outcomes of the initial ranking, participants at the workshops ranked the various value chains according to the framework presented in Annex 1. The list of the preselected value chains and their ranking during the workshops is presented in Annex 2.

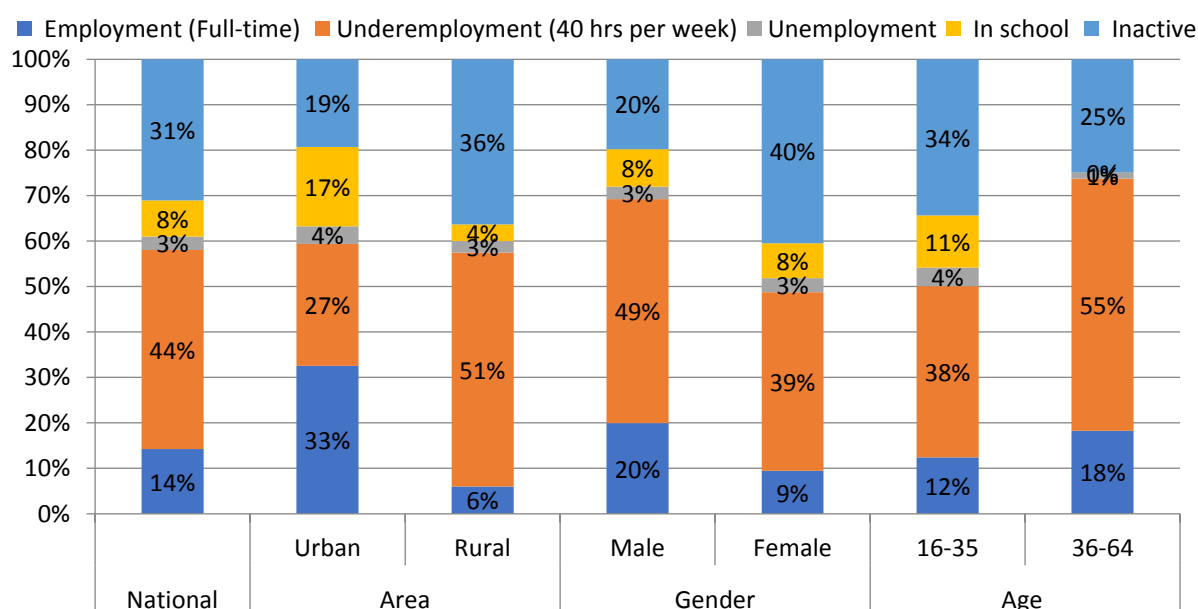
<sup>35</sup> It was originally planned to host just two workshops, one in each city. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the related travel restrictions, the workshops had to be separated.

## Youth employment: The status quo

### Employment and underemployment at the national level

31. **While unemployment is low in Burkina Faso, underemployment and inactivity remain a significant challenge.** As Figure 1 shows, the national-level unemployment rate stands at 3 percent and 58 percent of working age individuals (15–64 years) have a job. However, underemployment<sup>36</sup> remains high with 44 percent of the working age population considered underemployed, which corresponds to 75 percent of those who are gainfully employed. Underemployment (based on a 40-hour work week) is particularly pronounced in rural areas, among men and those between the ages of 36 and 64 years. Youth (16–35 years) exhibit a high inactivity rate<sup>37</sup> (34 percent) compared to the age group of 36–64 years (25 percent).<sup>38</sup> Inactivity and unemployment combined constitute what is called the NEET rate, which measures the rate of individuals not in employment, education, or training.<sup>39</sup> The national NEET rate of youth in Burkina Faso therefore stood at 38 percent in 2018/19, significantly exceeding the African average of around 20 percent.<sup>40</sup>

Figure 1: Employment outcomes at the national level



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

32. **Most workers earn their living through self-employment activities in which underemployment is particularly pronounced.** Data from the 2018/19 EHCVM show that salaried employment represents only 15.5 percent of employment whereas 54 percent of working age individuals are self-employed.

<sup>36</sup> Defined as the percentage of individuals working less than a standard 40-hour work week.

<sup>37</sup> Inactive people are defined as those outside the labor force, that is, neither employed nor unemployed (jobless, available, and looking for employment); see, for example, <https://ilostat.ilo.org/persons-outside-the-labour-force-how-inactive-are-they-really/>.

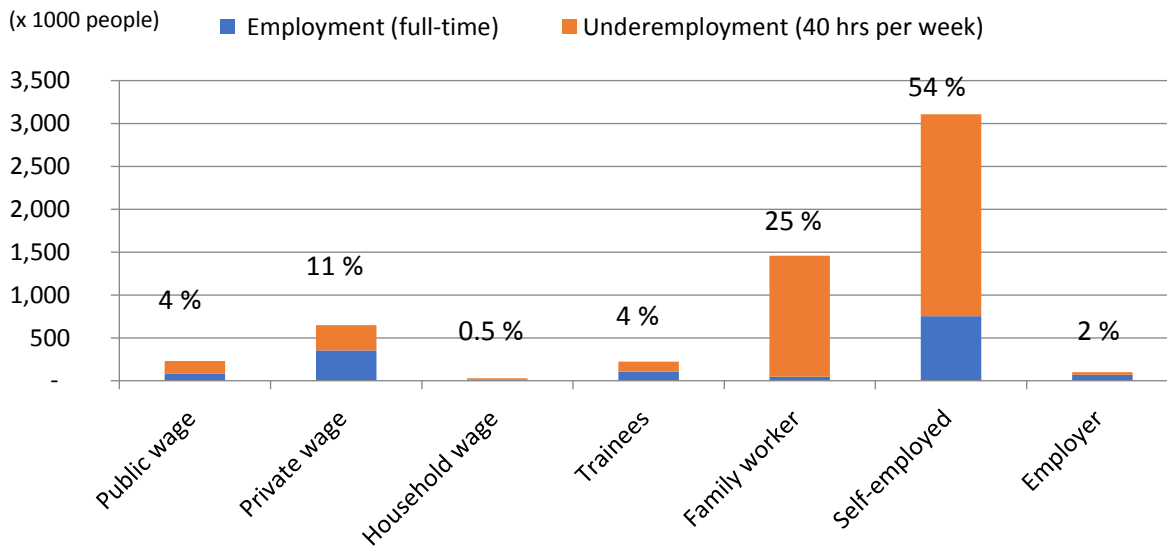
<sup>38</sup> The comparatively high inactivity rate might be in part because parts of the EHCVM survey collection were carried out outside of the agricultural season during which individuals tend to be more idle.

<sup>39</sup> See [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms\\_343153.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_343153.pdf) for a definition.

<sup>40</sup> [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/briefingnote/wcms\\_737670.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/briefingnote/wcms_737670.pdf).

Another 25 percent work in the context of the family. While underemployment is of relevance in all types of employment, self-employed individuals and family workers are particularly concerned, with 76 percent of the former and 97 percent of the latter working less than 40 hours a week (Figure 2).

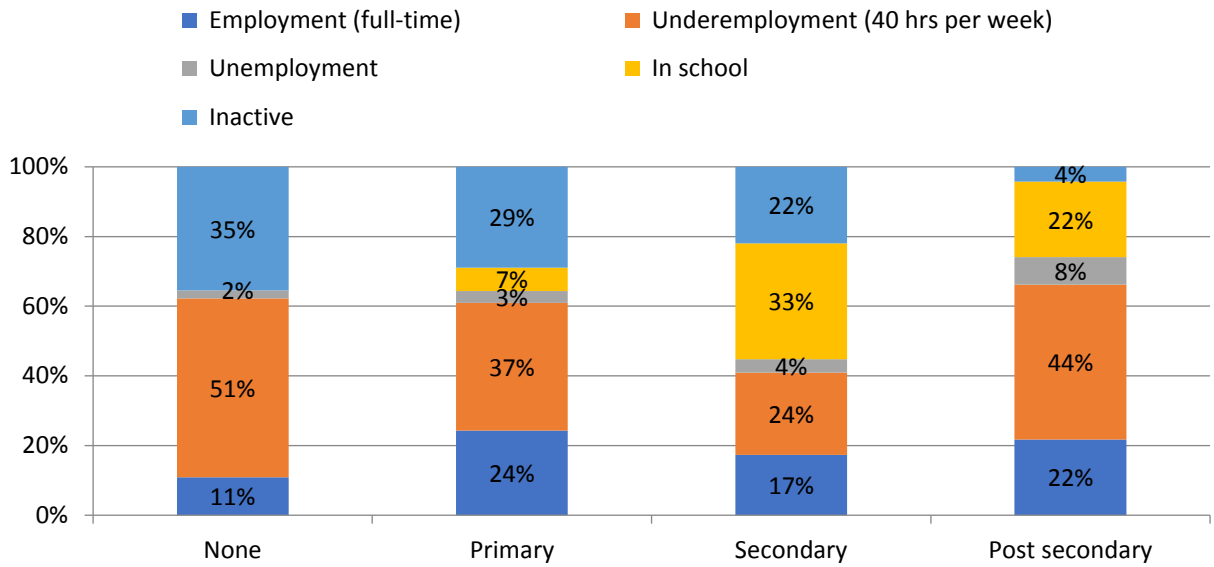
Figure 2: Employment and underemployment by wage source



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

33. **The unemployment rate remains relatively constant across all levels of education, but inactivity decreases significantly with higher levels of education.** Individuals with at least a post-secondary education have a likelihood of being inactive of 4 percent, which is significantly lower than those with a secondary education (22 percent), primary education (29 percent), or no education (35 percent). However, their unemployment and underemployment rates are second only to those among individuals without education (Figure 3). These numbers might be explained by their aspiration for, but inability to find, formal employment, which is also indicated by the qualitative findings among youth with higher levels of education in Dori and Fada N’Gourma discussed below.

Figure 3: Employment outcomes by level of education

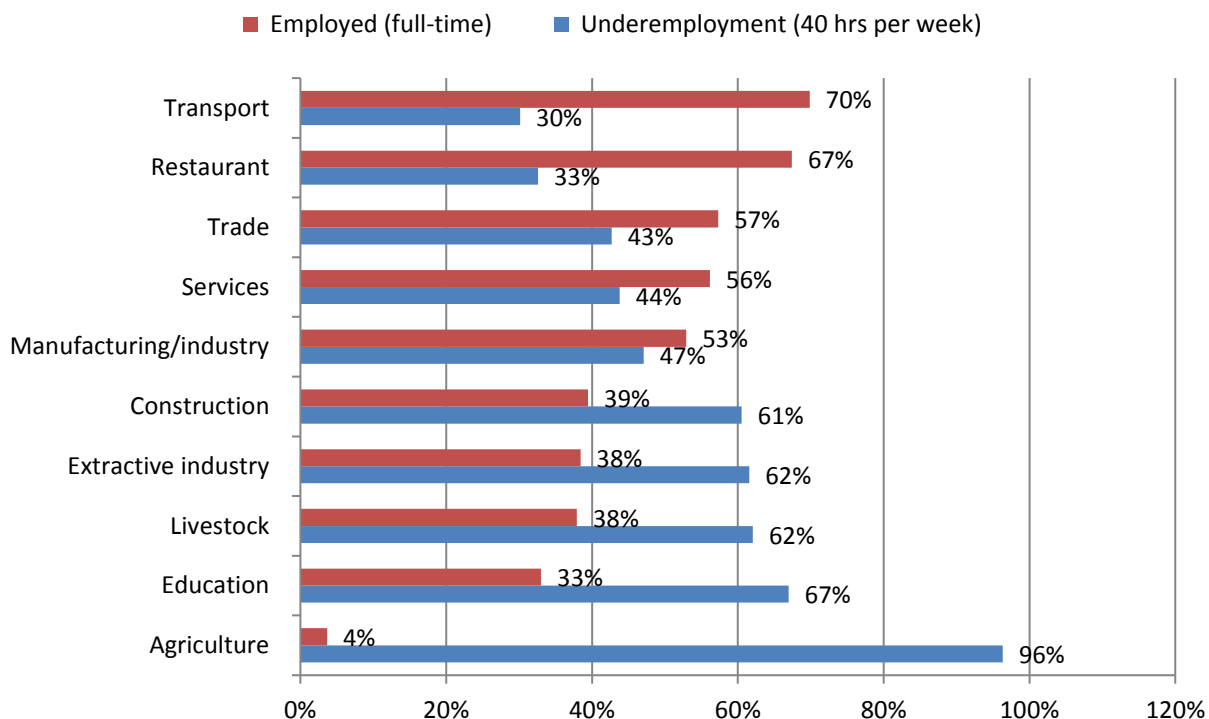


Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

34. **Underemployment is particularly prevalent in seasonal activities.** People employed in the agropastoral sectors tend to exhibit the highest underemployment rates. About 96 percent of those working in agriculture and 62 percent working with livestock are estimated to be underemployed, which is most likely due to the highly seasonal nature of the sectors. The education sector shows equally high underemployment rates (67 percent), which might be explained by the extended breaks throughout the year. The tertiary sector offers the lowest underemployment rates, whereas employees in the secondary sector show roughly equal rates of underemployment and full-time employment (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Employment outcomes by sector



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

### Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic

35. **While the COVID-19 pandemic has not led to a discernible decrease in employment, there are indications that underemployment increased at the beginning of the pandemic.** As Figure 5 shows, the share of respondents declaring having employment increased from 80.1 percent in the first wave<sup>41</sup> of the HFPS (June/July 2020) to 91.2 percent during the fourth wave (November/December 2020), the highest rate throughout the study period. During this period, employment was higher in rural than in urban areas. The employment rate subsequently fell again to around 80 percent during the eighth and latest round (March/April 2021), which is most likely explained by the seasonal fluctuation of agricultural work. There has not been a decrease in the employment rate throughout the pandemic.<sup>42</sup> This relative stability, however, masks an important dynamic: almost 13 percent of the population transitioned from activity to inactivity while another 16 percent moved from inactivity to activity.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, in the second and third rounds of the HFPS, 10 percent and 11 percent of households, respectively, reported having to

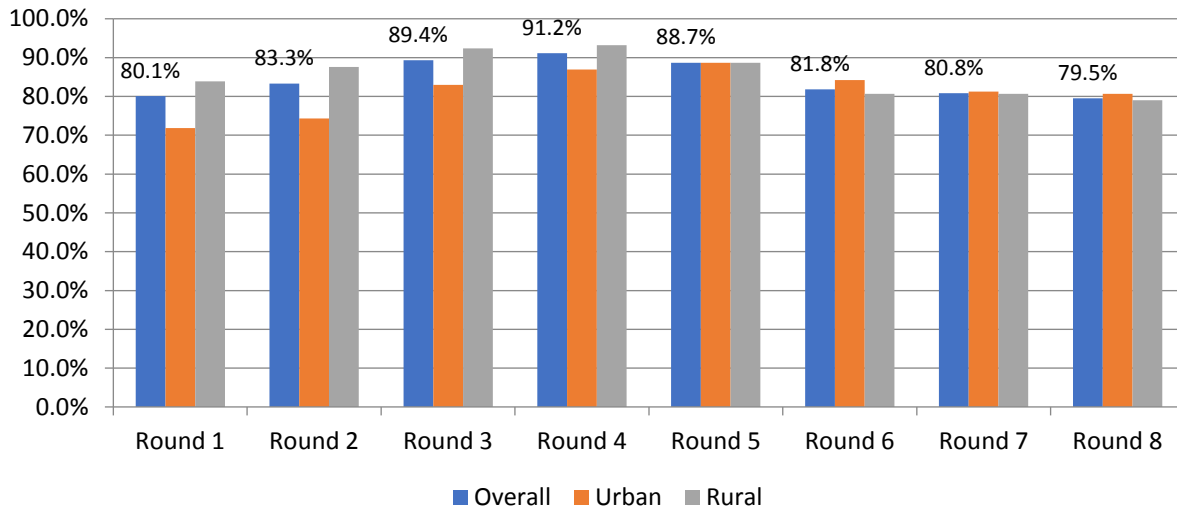
<sup>41</sup> Round 1 (June 9-July 1, 2020), Round 2 (July 20-August 14, 2020), Round 3 (September 12-October 21, 2020), Round 4 (November 6-December 2, 2020), Round 5 (December 9-30, 2020), Round 6 (January 15-February 1, 2021), Round 7 (February 12-March 2, 2021), Round 8 (March 13-April 1, 2021).

<sup>42</sup> In fact, the calculated employment rate has been higher than the national average of 58 percent estimated using the 2018/19 EHCVM presented above although there are challenges in this direct comparison as the HFPS asks only one member of the household whereas the EHCVM disaggregated information by household members, potentially leading to an overestimation of employment in the HFPS.

<sup>43</sup> INSD and World Bank. 2021. *COVID-19 Impact Monitoring at the Household Level: Burkina Faso*. Brief No. 7.

reduce their working hours, particularly at the beginning of the pandemic, suggesting that the pandemic has led to an increase in underemployment.<sup>44</sup>

Figure 5: Employment rates throughout the COVID-19 pandemic

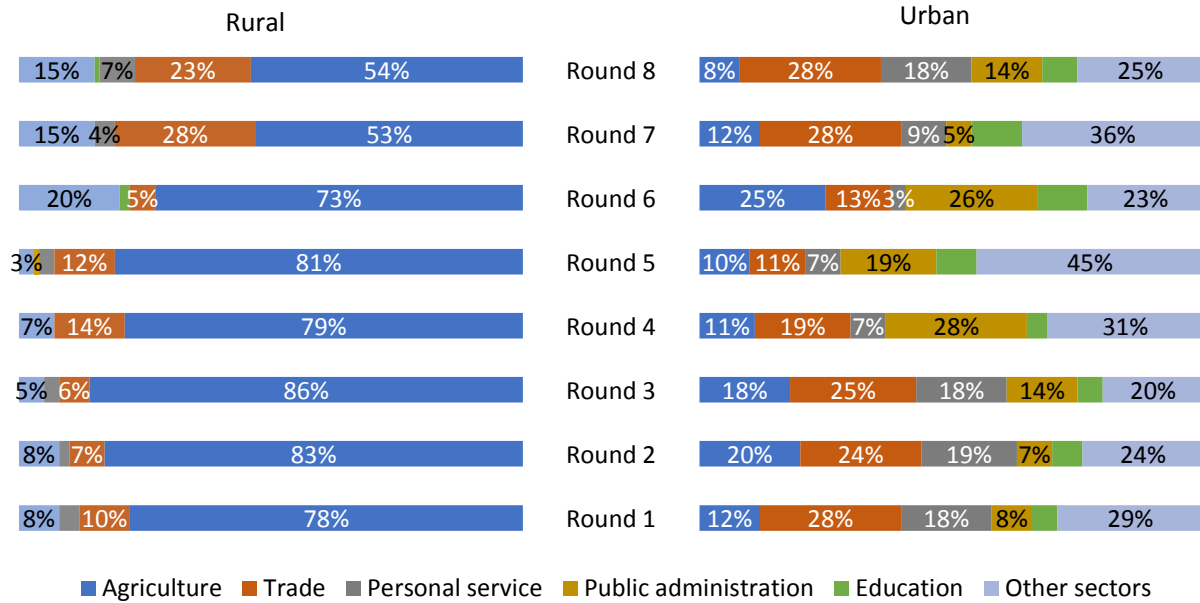


Source: Based on 2020/2021 HFPS.

36. **Similarly, employment activities across sectors exhibit some seasonal fluctuation but no significant shift due to the COVID-19 pandemic.** The agricultural sector dominates employment activities in rural areas whereas services and trade play a dominant role in urban settings. The decrease in the share of agricultural activities from around 80 percent between June 2020 and January 2021 is most likely explained through seasonal effects and less so through a structural shift (Figure 6).

<sup>44</sup> The first round of the HFPS used a slightly different phrasing of the question, which explains why it was not included in the analysis.

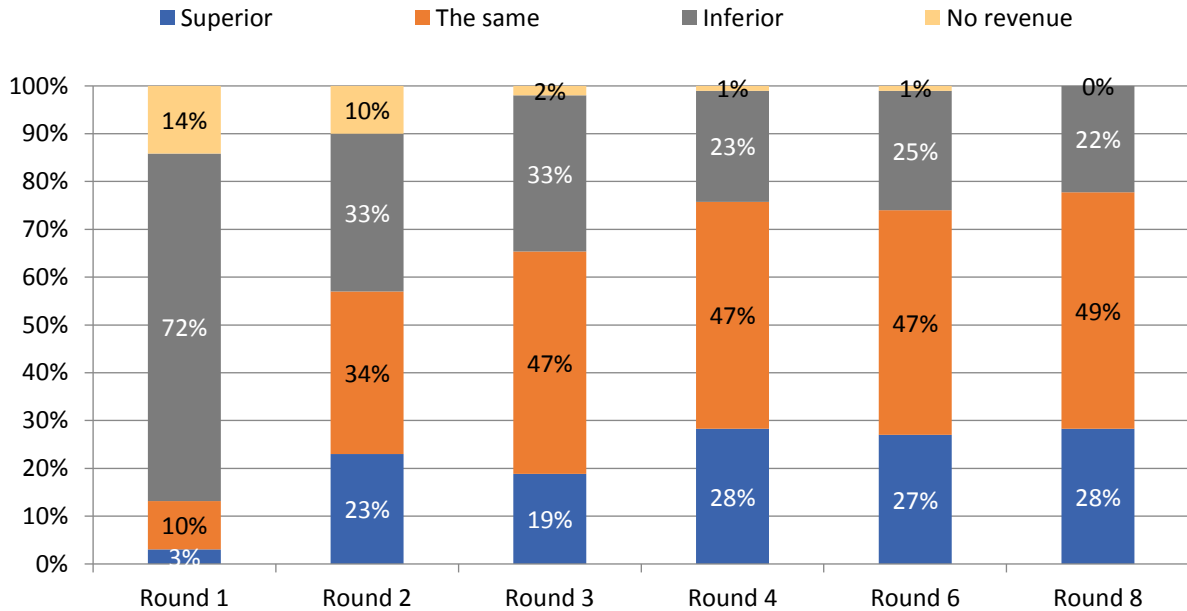
Figure 6: Sectoral composition of employment throughout the COVID-19 pandemic



Source: Based on 2020/2021 HFPS.

37. **However, nonagricultural income has seen a significant decline due to the pandemic.** At the beginning of the pandemic, 86 percent of households reported lower than usual or no incomes from nonagricultural activities, possibly due to having to cease income-generating activities or a decrease in demand as a result of the socioeconomic impacts of the pandemic. Throughout the pandemic, households continue to report decreasing revenue from month to month but at a lower rate than immediately following the onset of COVID-19 (Figure 7).

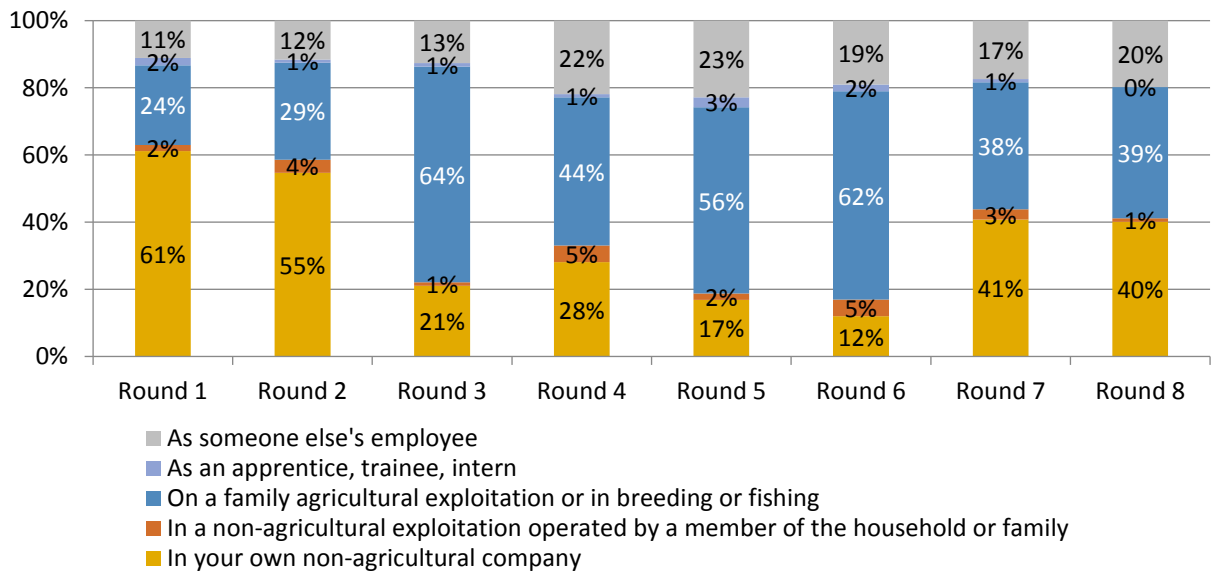
Figure 7: Change in income throughout the COVID-19 pandemic (first through eighth wave of HFPS data collection)



Source: Based on 2020/2021 HFPS.

38. **Consequently, households were forced to move from more diversified income sources to relying primarily on agricultural income.** As Figure 8 shows, between June 2020 and January 2021, the share of individuals reporting self-employment activities decreased from 61 percent to 12 percent and has begun to recover only in February 2021. This coincides with the decreasing relevance of the agricultural sector in employment opportunities identified in Figure 6. Instead of pursuing income-generating activities outside of agriculture, individuals report a significant increase in agricultural activities (from 24 percent in June 2020 to 64 percent in September/October 2020).

Figure 8: Sources of revenue throughout the COVID-19 pandemic



Source: Based on 2020/2021 HFPS.

39. **Youth interviewed emphasized the negative impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on their earning opportunities, which had already suffered from the impact of insecurity.** In both cities, youth evoked a deterioration in their economic opportunities. Some youth reported having lost their employment due to the pandemic, highlighting various transmission channels. The overall economic downturn decreased demand. Government actions to contain the spread of the virus, such as border closures and a curfew, further affected economic activities. Youth observed a reduction in activity, particularly in the transport sector which plays important roles in both cities given their proximity to borders. One interviewee in Dori working in transport reported being unemployed together with 30 peers as a result. Others reported that while they were able to keep their job, their working hours and consequently their salaries had been reduced. These effects compound already existing negative effects of political insecurity, which youth in Dori and Fada N’Gourma report as well.

### Employment and underemployment in the study area

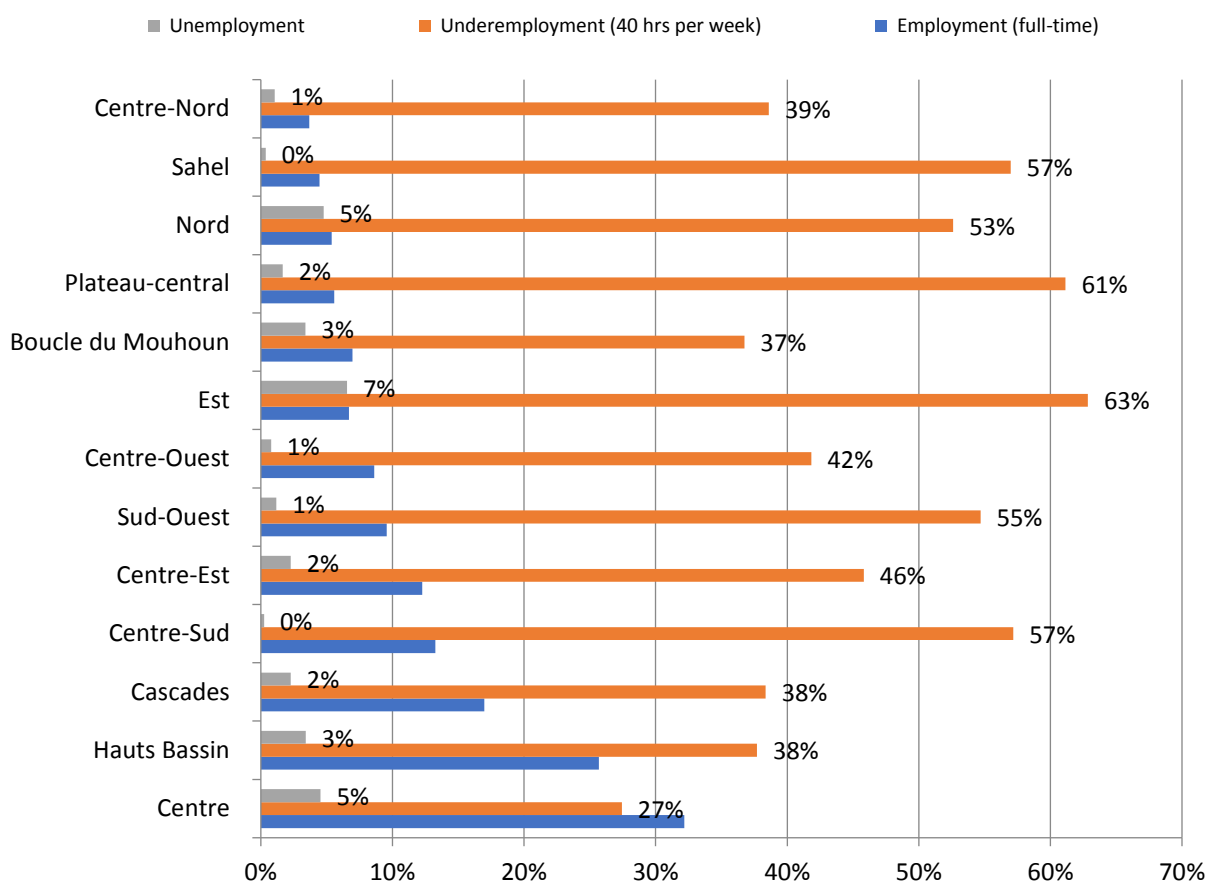
40. **The Est region exhibits the highest level of unemployment and underemployment in the country.** The 2018/19 EHCVM data presented in Figure 9 indicate that underemployment in the Est region, of which Fada N’Gourma is the capital, is as high as 63 percent, compared to a national average of 44 percent (see Figure 1). The Sahel region with Dori as its capital also exceeds the national average with an underemployment rate of 57 percent (the third highest among the 13 regions of the country). These high levels of underemployment might be in part due to the EHCVM data collection coinciding with the agricultural off-season in the two rural regions as well as the deteriorating security situation. However, whereas the Sahel region exhibits an unemployment rate of almost zero, the Est region has the highest unemployment rate in the country with 7 percent, 4 percentage points higher than the national average.

41. **The two regions’ comparatively high levels of unemployment and underemployment might be in part related to the deteriorating security situation there.** Youth interviewed unanimously emphasize that insecurity has had a negative impact on their employment opportunities. In Fada N’Gourma, for example, youth highlighted that they have had to abandon agricultural activities in areas affected by instability. Those working on small-scale trade decried their inability to visit surrounding markets. Furthermore, the curfew in place between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. imposed due to the insecurity has negatively affected economic activities taking place in the affected hours, such as the hospitality sector. Lastly, insecurity has led to the suspension of a number of projects supported by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which in turn affects the activities of youth. In the Sahel region, militants have increasingly targeted artisanal gold mines, which represents an important source of employment in the region, leading to displacements and job losses.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Financial Times. 2021. *Instability in the Sahel: How a Jihadi Gold Rush Is Fueling Violence in Africa*. <https://www.ft.com/content/8ff4c2ca-7ac3-4f3b-96ba-6fb74bbb60d5>.

Figure 9: Employment outcomes by region

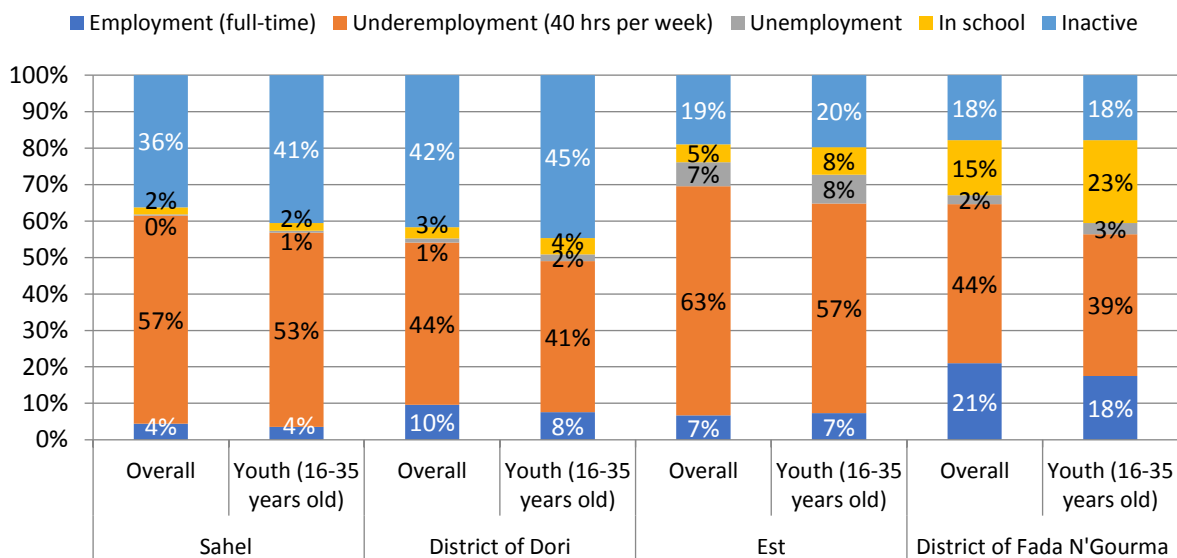


Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

42. **Employment outcomes show important differences between Dori and Fada N’Gourma.** Whereas the employment rate in Fada N’Gourma stands at 65 percent, it is only 54 percent in Dori. Dori’s inactivity rate of 42 percent is more than twice that of Fada N’Gourma, also likely due in part to the data collection in Dori taking place largely between April and June 2019 and to a lesser extent in November and December 2018, which is outside of the agricultural season generally running from June to October. In Fada N’Gourma, 15 percent of the working age population is receiving training, which aligns with the overall higher level of education there (see below) and reports of educated youth who are waiting for formal employment. The underemployment rates in both cities are almost identical, but Fada N’Gourma shows a higher level of full-time employment (see Figure 10).

43. **Youth are worse-off in both regions than older peers, but in Dori in particular youth face very high levels of inactivity and unemployment.** As Figure 10 shows, youth have lower employment rates and higher rates of inactivity than those 36 years of age and older in both the Sahel and the Est regions. Correspondingly, youth show slightly worse employment outcomes than their older peers in the cities of Dori and Fada N’Gourma. However, youth in Fada N’Gourma fare much better than youth in Dori. Their employment rate is 8 percentage points higher and, more strikingly, their NEET rate of 21 percent is significantly lower than that of youth in Dori, which stands at 47 percent. This is in part due to the much higher rates of youth who are receiving schooling or training in Fada N’Gourma and to the higher employment rates.

Figure 10: Employment outcomes in the Est and Sahel regions and in Dori and in Fada N’Gourma

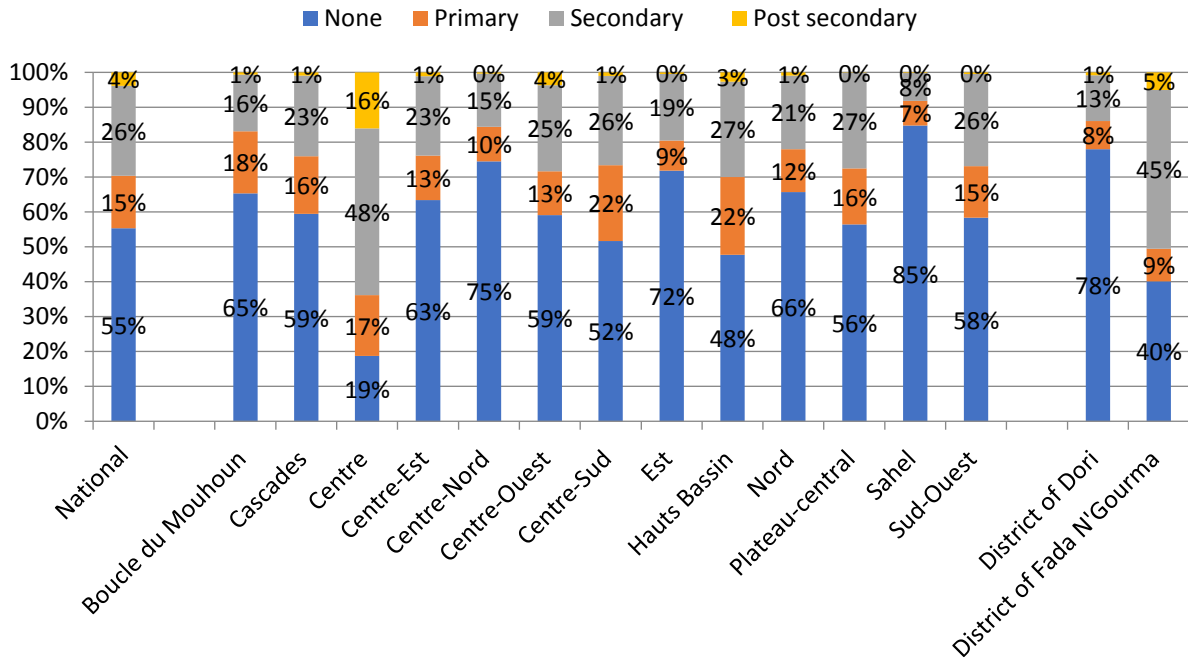


Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

## A portrait of youth: Competencies, aspirations, constraints, and perceived opportunities

44. **More than half of youth between the ages of 16 and 35 years have never gone to school.** As Figure 11 shows, 55 percent of youth have not completed any level of education. About 15 percent have a primary school diploma, 26 percent have completed secondary education, and only 4 percent have gone beyond secondary. The Sahel region has the lowest educational outcomes with 85 percent of youth not having gone to school at all. Although Dori as an urban center shows slightly higher educational attainment, it remains low with 78 percent of youth not having visited a school. The Est region has the third-lowest educational attainment among the country’s 13 regions. Nearly three-quarters (72 percent of youth) in the region have not gone to school, but 19 percent have completed secondary education. In Fada N’Gourma, educational attainment exceeds that of the region and the national average with 59 percent of youth having completed some form of education.

Figure 11: Educational attainment of youth at the national, regional, and local levels

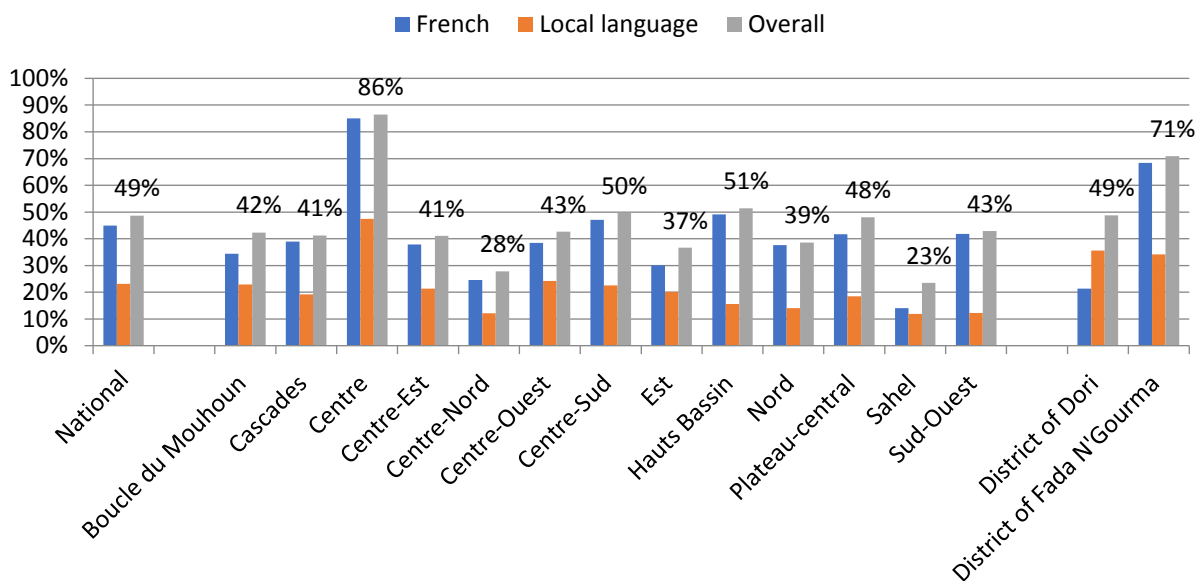


Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

45. **The literacy rate of youth stands at 49 percent nationally with significant differences between regions.** Literacy rates among youth in the Est and Sahel regions are below the national average. In the Est region, 37 percent of youth are able to read and write in French or in one of the local languages, whereas only 23 percent can read or write in the Sahel. The literacy rates of youth are higher in the two urban centers of the regions, with a 49 percent literacy rate in Dori and 71 percent in Fada N’Gourma, which is most likely due to higher overall education levels in urban areas compared to rural ones (Figure 12).



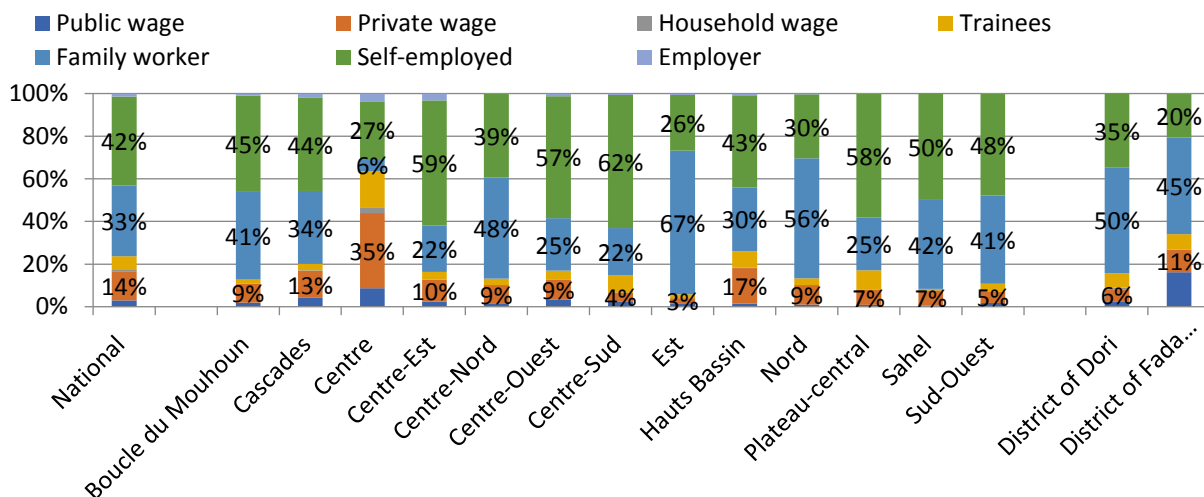
Figure 12: Literacy of youth at the national, regional, and local levels



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

46. **Youth are primarily occupied in informal, precarious employment.** At the national level, only 17 percent of youth are employed in wage labor (see Figure 13). Instead, most youth work in a family activity (33 percent) or are self-employed (42 percent). In the Est and Sahel regions, family or self-employment is even higher than at the national level. In the Est region, 67 percent of youth work for a family member and 26 percent are self-employed. Only 4 percent work in wage labor. In the Sahel region, most youth are self-employed (50 percent) while 42 percent work for a family member. However, in Fada N’Gourma where more than half of youth have some form of education, wage employment exceeds the national average with 27 percent of youth occupying wage jobs. In Dori, only 9 percent of youth work in wage jobs, as most youth instead work for a family member (50 percent) or are self-employed (35 percent).

Figure 13: Occupation of youth at the national, regional, and local levels



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

47. **The farming of millet and sorghum and growing of cereals and other crops are the most common sectors of employment for youth in the Sahel and Est regions, with services taking on a larger importance for youth in the cities of Dori and Fada N’Gourma.** As Figure 24 through Figure 27 show, youth in the Sahel region are mainly occupied in the farming of millet and sorghum and the growing of cereals and other crops. Gold mining, raising cattle, and raising goats follow suit. Similar sectors dominate youth employment in the Est region, although services such as restaurants and personal service activities play a more important role. In Dori, the cultivation of millet and sorghum is the most important sector of employment followed by retail trade of food products and the raising of cattle. In Fada N’Gourma, the services sector plays a more important role, with personal service activities as well as general economic and social administration services following the farming of cereal and other crops as most important employment sectors.

48. **However, important differences exist between young women and young men regarding sectors of employment.** In the Sahel region, gold mining is dominated by men, whereas raising goats is almost exclusively a female activity. In the Est region, a balance between men and women in most sectors can be observed with the exception of mining activities, which are carried out exclusively by men, and the manufacture of articles of clothing, in which young men are not represented. In Dori, retail of food products and the growing of cereals and other crops are carried out exclusively by young men. Women dominate the manufacture of food products and the raising of goats. Fada N’Gourma presents a different picture, where young women dominate farming of cereals and other products as well as retail trade. The manufacture of articles of clothing is carried out by women, although their retail sale is carried out by men. Young men dominate the livestock sector in Fada N’Gourma.

49. **Overall, young women tend to be disadvantaged on the labor market, particularly in the study area.** At the national level, literacy is significantly lower among women between the ages of 16 and 35 years than among men of the same age. Overall literacy stands at 49 percent, whereas that of young women is only 41 percent compared to 58 percent for young men. In Fada N’Gourma, almost 20 percentage points separate young women from young men in literacy (64 percent versus 82 percent). Whereas 72 percent of young men in Fada N’Gourma have some level of education, only 53 percent of young women do so. In Dori, both literacy and educational attainment are at comparably low levels for men ages 16–35 and women of the same age, although women are less likely to have completed higher forms of education than men. As a result, women are much more likely to have precarious jobs than men. At the national level, 84 percent of women are either self-employed or working on the family farm, compared to 67 percent for men. In Dori, only 10 percent of women have some form of wage employment, compared to 20 percent for men. In Fada N’Gourma, the contrast is even starker with 76 percent of women working in self-employment or for the family and only 46 percent of men doing so (see Figure 28 to Figure 32).

50. **During focus group discussions, youth emphasized the precarious nature of their economic situation in the two cities.** In line with the quantitative analysis, youth interviewed in Fada N’Gourma had a generally higher level of education than those in Dori, but youth reported overall low levels of professional education and few employable skills. As a result, most youth interviewed reported working in the informal sector, mostly in trade and services. A number of women interviewed reported working in small-scale trading, dressmaking, and hairdressing, whereas men tended to be active as mechanics, welders, guards, or small-scale trading, among others. Contrary to the findings of the quantitative data

analysis, youth interviewed in Dori were more likely to work in formal employment than in Fada N’Gourma, which they attribute to the large number of NGOs active in Dori.

51. **In both cities, youth report their dissatisfaction with their current employment situation.** Both in Dori and Fada N’Gourma, youth highlighted their low and volatile earnings with a number of youth emphasizing that they rely critically on support from their parents or on other income-generating activities on the side. Many of the interviewed youth are currently not able to care for themselves or to save for future investments. They also perceived their employment to receive low social recognition and highlighted long working hours. The absence of formal employment contracts and the related employment security, as well as their resulting dependence on their informal employers, contributes to the dissatisfaction of youth about their economic situation. The dissatisfaction voiced during focus group discussions aligns with data collected at the national level through the 2018 Afrobarometer survey, which indicates that 36 percent of urban residents and 38 percent of rural residents consider their present living condition to be “very bad” or “fairly bad.”<sup>46</sup>

52. **Youth in both cities aspire to higher paying, more regular, and more secure work as well as to receiving recognition and respect.** Economic security appears to be the primary consideration of youth. However, the perception of being exploited by employers and low levels of respect by employers and low recognition of their activities by society play a critical role in driving youth aspirations in the two cities. Self-employment is often seen as a way to combine these two aspirations. Those who are already carrying out their own income-generating activities aspire to grow them into larger, more prosperous enterprises capable of attracting larger orders and participating in larger-scale markets. Youth with a higher level of education tend to aspire to formal employment with private or public enterprises and the public administration, mostly due to the related employment security. In Dori, where large extractive industries are present and there is a large density of NGOs, youth aspire to secure employment with mining companies and NGOs and less to starting their own business than those in Fada N’Gourma.

53. **For self-employment activities, trade and transport are most often mentioned as aspirational sectors, whereas traditional agriculture and livestock rearing do not appear attractive to youth.** In both Dori and in Fada N’Gourma, youth mention in particular small-scale trade and commerce and transport as activities, in which they could envision self-employment. Agriculture, on the other hand, does not attract youth. The hardship they observed in their parent’s generation and the overall difficult conditions of traditional agriculture coupled with low and instable revenues and exposure to shocks contribute to this view. The rural lifestyle associated with agriculture and the overall perceived lack of social standing associated with the sector are also factors explaining the exhibited reticence. It should be noted that in some cases cultural and religious traditions and social perceptions influence the interest in particular activities. Muslims tend to refrain from working in the pork value chain or in bars that serve alcohol. In Fada N’Gourma, although decreasingly so, a caste system has traditionally affected which activities are open to which families, particularly in metalwork. Lastly, domestic work for women and working as watchmen for men are perceived to receive low levels of social recognition.

54. **Despite their disinterest in traditional agropastoral activities, youth recognize their economic importance and employment potential and show openness to modernized agriculture.** The interviewed youth estimate that livestock rearing and, to a lesser extent in Dori, agriculture could provide them with

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<sup>46</sup> Based on 2018 Afrobarometer survey.

a livelihood. They highlight in particular that the sector is familiar to most and that they have the confidence to enter the sector without lengthy and costly training. However, youth are clear that it would require the use of less burdensome and more modern production techniques and a better integration into the economy of the sector to regain their interest.

55. **Youth face a series of constraints including their low level of education, the limited availability of training opportunities, an overall low number of available employment opportunities, and insufficient government support services.** Youth interviewed during focus group discussions tended to have low levels of education, confirming the quantitative data analysis above. Although training offers exist in both cities, few have benefited from such services, which is likely due to the related costs and the general consensus among youth that trainings are not adapted to the local context and the locally available employment opportunities. Due to the relatively limited labor demand, those who have received trainings furthermore compete with their fellow trainees for a limited number of positions. Given the relatively weak private sector in the two cities, employment opportunities remain generally low. Instead, expectations toward the government in solving problems related to unemployment and precariousness are high. However, youth have expressed disappointment in insufficient and sometimes opaque eligibility criteria for government support.

56. **Another key constraint highlighted by youth throughout the study is access to finance and other assets like land.** Youth highlight their difficulty to obtain the initial investments needed to start or grow income-generating activities. The government confirms this challenge and highlights the limited public resources available to support youth and the low rates of financial inclusion in the two cities. Furthermore, youth highlight the increasing scarcity of land, especially in proximity to urban centers, that can be used for agriculture.

57. **Despite these challenges, youth appear to have little ambition to migrate in the pursuit of better jobs.** The interviewed youth appear to not expect more promising employment opportunities elsewhere in Burkina Faso or abroad and highlight the risks related to migration. The statements suggest that they prefer the relative safety and familiarity of Dori and Fada N’Gourma. One local administration representative also suggested that information about living standards of migrants elsewhere have served to deter additional migration. The relative reluctance of youth in the two cities to migrate appears to confirm findings from the most recent Afrobarometer survey that showed that in 2018 78 percent of urban Burkinabe and 86 percent of residents in rural areas did not at all or only a little bit consider emigration to other countries.<sup>47</sup>

## Value chain analysis

58. **The value chains selected are cowpeas,<sup>48</sup> small ruminants, and dairy products for Dori and cowpeas, small ruminants, and garments for Fada N’Gourma.** The representation of agropastoral value chains despite the relative lower level of attractiveness to youth can be explained by the large role these value chains already play in both Dori and Fada N’Gourma as well as by the high potential agropastoral value chains hold in Burkina Faso. Growth in agricultural production in Burkina Faso has been primarily driven by area expansion and extensification at low levels of productivity instead of diversification and

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<sup>47</sup> Based on 2018 Afrobarometer survey.

<sup>48</sup> Also called ‘black-eyed peas’.

intensification, suggesting that there is still untapped potential in agricultural production in Burkina Faso.<sup>49</sup>

## Dori

59. **The three value chains selected for Dori are cowpeas, small ruminants, and dairy products.** Given the culture of pastoralism, milk and small ruminants value chains have a long history in the Sahel region. However, value addition remains limited with important potential for expansion both at the national level and in the Sahel region. Peas represent a staple food, for which value addition remains limited as well. The three value chains represent activities of which youth possess familiarity and basic knowledge which would facilitate additional engagements. The above-described preliminary analyses and prioritization workshops with national and local stakeholders furthermore showed promising existing scale and scope, competitiveness, and potential for job creation in these value chains. The heavy emphasis on agricultural value chains in Dori (and in Fada N’Gourma) despite the low level of attractiveness of the sector to youth is primarily due to the familiarity of youth with the related activities and the potential of these value chains.

60. **Youth confirmed the potential for their employment in these three chains.** During focus group discussions in Dori, they highlighted that cowpeas currently provide the livelihood and additional potential particularly for young women. Young men cultivate cereals and other crops in Dori and young women also do so more broadly in the Sahel region (Figure 24 and Figure 26). Youth furthermore confirmed that they are already active in the purchase, fattening, and resale of small ruminants. About 10 percent of young women in the Sahel and 11 percent in Dori are engaged in raising sheep and goats. One young man suggested that the activity already allows many youth to survive.<sup>50</sup> According to the interviewed youth, some youth are already involved in dairy, particularly in the collection of milk from producers and sale to one of the dairy plants in the city. Cattle raising represents an important activity for about 1,700 young women and men in Dori. Overall, youth confirmed the choice of value chains as providing employment potential.

## Cowpeas

61. **Cowpeas play a growing role in consumption and exports in Burkina Faso overall as well as increasingly in the Sahel region.** Between 2010 and 2019, production grew by 94 percent in the Sahel region, increasing the region’s share in national production from 4 percent to 6 percent, compared to a growth of only 13 percent at the national level over the same period (Figure 14). Similarly, while area cultivated with cowpeas increased by 180 percent nationally between 2010 and 2019, the Sahel region saw a 370 percent increase over the same period. The Sahel region furthermore has a significantly higher output per ha (8 tons in the Sahel versus 2 tons nationally in 2019), as a result of which the Sahel region contributed 6 percent of the national production in 2019 while using only 1.5 percent of the nationally

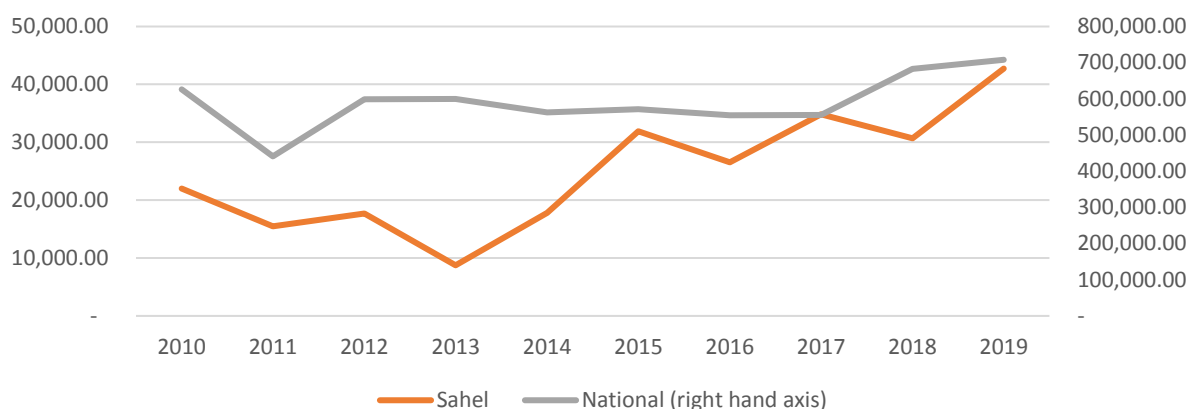
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<sup>49</sup> World Bank. 2017. *Agriculture and Jobs: Fostering Productive Employment in the Food System*.

<sup>50</sup> Focus group discussion held on March 6, 2021.

cultivated area.<sup>51</sup> National consumption remains below that of other countries<sup>52</sup> and population growth is high, indicating potential for increased demand.

Figure 14: Cowpea production nationally and in the Sahel region (2010-2019)



Source: MAAH Annuaire Statistiques Agricoles 2019.

62. **Cowpeas produced around Dori mostly by smallholder farmers with limited artisanal transformation are generally consumed locally but also exported to neighboring countries.** Production remains in the hands of smallholder farmers using traditional equipment and techniques with only one more sophisticated producer in the area. Production is destined for own consumption, some transformation, and exportation as well as for the production of biomass used in animal feeding. Transformation is largely limited to artisanal production of flour and the subsequent manufacture of baked goods. In addition to local consumption, some of Dori’s production of cowpeas is exported to the neighboring countries such as Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Niger, and Togo as well as to Nigeria (see Figure 15).

<sup>51</sup> Based on Ministry of Agriculture, Hydro-Agricultural Amenities and Mechanization (*Ministère de l’Agriculture, des Aménagements Hydro-Agricoles et de la Mécanisation*; MAAH) Annuaire Statistiques Agricoles 2019.

<sup>52</sup> 12.75 kg per capita per year in Burkina Faso (see, for example, Famine Early Warning System. *Les Fondamentaux du Marché des Denrées de Base et du Bétail au Burkina Faso*. September 2017) compared to 38 kg per capita per year in Benin (based on Akissoe, F. L., M. Y. Hemery, Christèle Icard-Vernière, Y. Madode, A. Roger, et al. 2019. “Fréquence et formes de consommation du niébé en milieu urbain au Bénin et freins potentiels à cette consommation.” *Innovations Agronomiques*, INRA 74: 176–182).

Figure 15: The cowpea value chain in Dori



63. **The current supply of improved seeds for cowpeas is not able to meet demand.** In Dori, one cooperative<sup>53</sup> produces improved seeds in line with requirements defined by Burkina Faso’s Environment and Agriculture Research Institute (*Institut de l’Environnement et de Recherches Agricoles*, INERA). INERA provides base seed to seed producers at CFAF 2,500–3,000 per kg.<sup>54</sup> Seed producers sell certified seeds at CFAF 1,000–1,250 per kg to the government, which distributes for free to women and sells at a subsidized price of CFAF 1,000 for 8 kg of seed to vulnerable producers. In 2020, the local production of improved seeds reached 60 tons which covered 90 percent of the improved seeds used by producers in the area. However, only around 30 percent of producers currently use improved seed varieties for the production of cowpeas.

64. **The provision of inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides remains distorted and inefficient.** As with improved seeds, the use of fertilizer, herbicides, and pesticides remains limited although their use is increasing.<sup>55</sup> The government has priority access to fertilizers and is the main provider of fertilizer, which it distributes at subsidized prices to households identified by the regional services of the agriculture ministry. However, supply is limited and tends to encounter delays in provisioning. As the government possesses a priority in purchasing fertilizer, private sector involvement remains limited. In Dori, other than the government, there is only one provider of fertilizer, herbicides, and pesticides. However, small traders exist in the other provinces who distribute inputs. Overall, the use of fertilizer in

<sup>53</sup> ‘Djamdjoassa’.

<sup>54</sup> Provision of 8 tons of base seed in 2020.

<sup>55</sup> In the Seno Province, of which Dori is the capital, the use of liquid pesticides increased from 2,520 liters in 2016 to 18,383 liters in 2018. The use of NPK-type fertilizer, a three-component fertilizer providing nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium, increased from 13 tons in 2017 to 40 tons in 2018.

the Sahel region remains suboptimal with an estimated average use of 8 kg of NPK per ha compared to a recommended 100 kg.<sup>56</sup>

65. **Significant potential for expanding the use of agricultural equipment exists in the Sahel region and around Dori.** The use of agricultural equipment in the Sahel region and around Dori remains below the national average. For example, whereas an estimated 71 percent of farms nationally use plows, only 50 percent of farms in the Sahel region and only 10 percent of farms in the Séno Province, of which Dori is the capital, do so.<sup>57</sup> Fifteen specialized workshops currently exist in Dori employing around 54 permanent and 216 seasonal workers.

66. **Production is carried out by a limited number of farms specialized in cowpeas as well as smallholder farmers.** Dori counts five cooperatives of around 15 members who each specialize in the cultivation of cowpeas on 3 or 4 ha or more. Specialized farmers tend to employ some level of mechanization, particularly in the early stages of the production cycle (for example, plowing). Smallholder farmers, who are grouped in 15 recognized cooperatives with 12–35 members each, dedicate an estimated 0.3-1 ha and primarily rely on manual labor. Few producers use improved seeds; only an estimated 30 percent of farmers around Dori plant improved seed varieties.

67. **Cowpeas are sold by wholesalers and retailers to customers in Dori and beyond.** Around 10 wholesalers collect cowpeas from farms and small markets around Dori through a network of collectors who compete for the raw product. Cowpeas are subsequently packaged in bags of 50 or 100 kg and sold to wholesale customers from Dori and Ouagadougou as well as larger institutional clients such as NGOs. Some of the cowpeas sold to wholesaler customers are subsequently exported. Small-scale retailers furthermore sell cowpeas in portions of 1-3.5 kg on local markets or the main roads entering and exiting Dori.

68. **Cowpeas are locally transformed into flour and subsequently into baked goods both of which are primarily sold on the local market.** Flour can furthermore be used to produce local dishes. The traditional production of flour is carried out manually primarily by women. Similarly, baked goods, mostly in the form of donuts, are produced by an estimated 150-200 women in Dori, some of whom are organized in one of the around 12 cooperatives.

69. **The cowpea value chain in Dori faces a series of constraints to its further development.** For one, cowpeas are highly susceptible to spoiling and correct storage is costly, a constraint that youth interviewed highlighted as a primary concern. The available base seed does not cover the need for improved seeds in Dori and environs, and funds provided by the government to seed producers tend to incur delays. Actors are not sufficiently trained on the use of herbicides and pesticides and related sanitary and phytosanitary considerations. Subsidized seeds and fertilizers tend to arrive with delays. Access to finance remains limited with a rate of access to credit of 8 percent in the Sahel region compared to 20 percent nationally.<sup>58</sup> Access to land is increasingly challenging. Lastly, the government's price referential

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<sup>56</sup> International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. 2013. *Guide pratique sur la culture du niébé pour le Burkina Faso*. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333783539\\_Guide\\_pratique\\_sur\\_la\\_culture\\_du\\_niebe\\_pour\\_le\\_Burkina\\_Faso](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333783539_Guide_pratique_sur_la_culture_du_niebe_pour_le_Burkina_Faso).

<sup>57</sup> MAAH Annuaire statistiques 2018 et Tableau de bord statistiques agricoles 2019.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.



for agricultural equipment has not been keeping up with increased input prices, squeezing the margins of equipment producers.<sup>59</sup>

**70. Despite the constraints highlighted, youth perceive employment opportunities in the value chain.** According to the focus group discussions carried out, youth identify opportunities for their participation all along the chain. The above analysis suggests that there is demand for improved storage services, which could provide youth with the opportunity to expand their current activities in the commercialization of cowpeas. Another employment opportunity identified is providing services such as threshing, which is still largely carried out manually by producers. In other regions of the country, mobile threshing services using basic equipment have been implemented by youth in the value chain. As threshing is required for grains other than cowpeas, such an activity could be used to add value in other value chains as well. Incorporating cowpea production into the milk and small ruminant value chains (see below) to increase the supply of animal feed could also be considered. Repair and maintenance of agricultural equipment could represent another opportunity with potential beyond the value chain. Finally, the production of higher-value products based on cowpea flour could be explored for the expansion of youth employment opportunities. Taking advantage of these opportunities will require technical know-how (for example, for the repair and maintenance of agricultural equipment, the provision of storage services, or the production of higher-value products based on cowpea flours), access to finance, and entrepreneurial skills.

#### Small ruminants

**71. Agropastoral activities play a critical role in the Burkinabe economy and particularly in the semi-arid areas of the Sahel region.** A large proportion of Burkina Faso's population is engaged in agropastoral activities and the sector represents about 20 percent of the country's GDP.<sup>60</sup> Particularly in the semi-arid Sahel region, livestock is an important economic activity. Depending on the species, the Sahel region houses around one in seven of all animals. Goats and sheep play a dominant role in the livestock sector, collectively representing about 50 percent of all animals in the country. At about 30 percent per year, growth in livestock production in the Sahel region has been strong and relatively stable over the past years.<sup>61</sup>

**72. In Dori, most households are in some form involved in the small ruminant value chain.** Most households are engaged in the husbandry and fattening of small ruminants, which serve as an important asset. Youth are engaged at various levels of the value chain as well, particularly in their trade. Value addition is generally limited to the fattening of animals and meat production (Figure 16).

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<sup>59</sup> Insecurity is a constraint that is relevant to all value chains in both the locations. Given its broad impact, it is not highlighted separately for each value chain.

<sup>60</sup> World Development Indicators, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.TOTL.ZS?locations=BF>.

<sup>61</sup> MRAH Annuaire statistique 2018.

Figure 16: The small ruminants value chain in Dori



73. **Husbandry and fattening of small ruminants tend to be carried out by smallholders in and around Dori.** The majority of smallholder farmers in the region practice small ruminant husbandry to some extent, mostly in and around the family homestead with women and youth mostly in charge of the activities. It is estimated that each holds an average of five to eight animals, which are sold on the local market. Fattening is carried out primarily with rams and to a lesser extent goats by an estimated 50 percent or 60 percent of households in Dori and its surroundings. Animals are fattened in about three months, after which they are sold to buyers who often come from as far as Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Niger, and Nigeria.

74. **Small ruminants in Dori are generally fed with hay, which is largely produced by smallholder farmers in a seasonal activity.** About 250 producers and vendors of animal feed are active in and around Dori, each of whom produces about 650 bundles of 5 kg of hay per year. Production takes place on largely uncultivated land around the city where in August and September wild vegetation is harvested and bundled. During this period, producers employ seasonal laborers. Although improved feed sources like corn, cowpea, or sorghum are increasingly being disseminated, take-up appears to remain low. Bundles are sold at CFAF 500 (about US\$0.93) on the local market. A small supply of more advanced feed exists, which is currently sold by vendors from Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso and produced on a small scale in Dori.

75. **About 100 butchers sell meat products on the local market in Dori.** Traditionally the profession was limited to specific castes in the Sahelian society, but these limitations are increasingly abandoned. Currently, all butchers in Dori are men who practice on a small scale. There is currently no large-scale abattoir in Dori. Meat is sold to restaurants or street stalls that sell grilled meats.

76. **Locally, meat is further processed in restaurants or stalls producing meat skewers.** Restaurants and meat grilling on the street are largely unregulated and unorganized. Restaurants tend to prefer beef over meat from small ruminants as the prices are lower. Restaurants tend to be run by women. Both restaurants and street stalls are generally run and staffed by untrained personnel.

77. **Currently little value addition to skins and leathers takes place in Dori.** Until 2014, one tannery existed in Burkina Faso that added value to skins and leathers. However, since its closing, only two marginal actors are active in this value chain segment. Their activities are limited to collecting, storing, and on-selling to clients primarily from Nigeria without any particular treatment of the skins other than their conservation.

78. **Small ruminants from Dori are exported to neighboring countries.** About 50 exporters are active who buy animals on the local market and organize transports, often jointly, of 300-400 animals primarily to Côte d'Ivoire but also to Benin, Ghana, and Nigeria. Thirty-two exporters are organized in a cooperative. About four or five youth tend to accompany each transport with a remuneration of about CFAF 90,000 (around US\$167) per journey.

79. **A primary constraint in the small ruminant value chain identified by the above analysis and confirmed by interviewed youth is the shortage of animal feed.** Supply of nutritious feed currently does not meet the need, which is in part due to the lack of training on feed production, lack of equipment adequate for feed production (for example, bundling machines, scythes, and sickles), and a challenging provision of inputs for improved feeds, which have to be brought in from Bobo-Dioulasso, and the resulting high costs of improved feed. These constraints result from the above analysis and are highlighted by youth interviewed. Youth furthermore identify the lack of access to water as a constraint to growth in the value chain. Access to finance remains a challenge throughout the value chain.

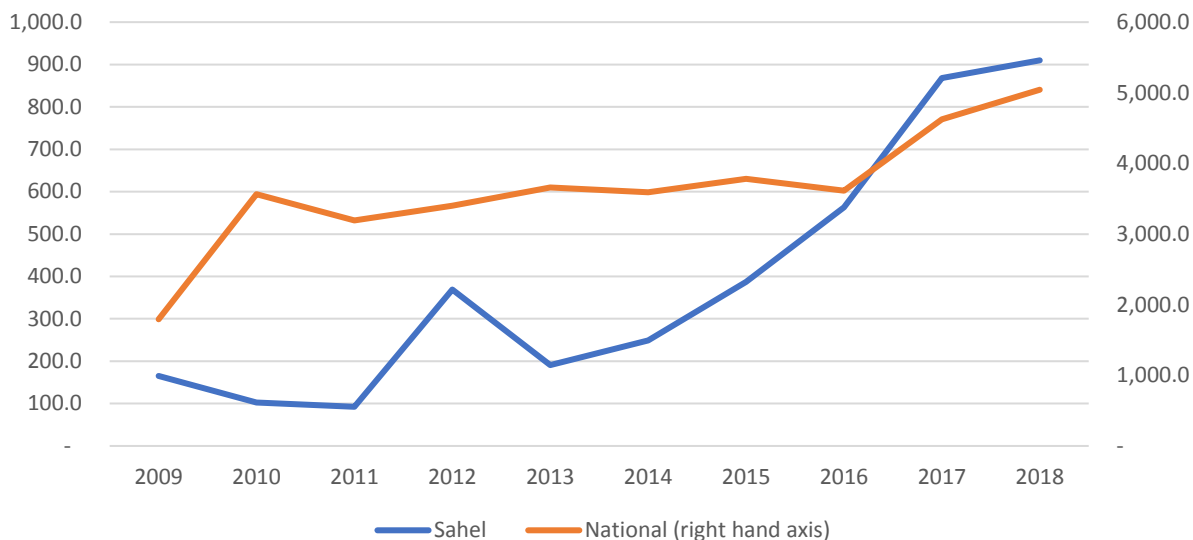
80. **Potential for youth employment exists in various segments of the value chain.** With growing overall demand and improved access to finance, youth could expand their involvement in the trade of small ruminants, an activity they are already highly familiar with. Innovations in producing improved feeds and inputs to improved feed production provide another opportunity to generate employment and tackle a concrete bottleneck to the overall development of the value chain. Youth furthermore highlight the lack of expertise and activity in harvesting natural vegetation for feed production and suggest that this could be a value chain segment supporting their employment. The absence of value addition to skins and leathers appears to represent a missed opportunity as well although the challenges remain complex. Technical know-how will be required to engage in the production of improved feeds, the rearing of animals, the production of leathers and skins, and to a lesser extent the buying and reselling of animals. Access to finance is relevant for a number of the employment opportunities, especially those that require entrepreneurial initiative. For the production of improved feeds, access to specialized inputs might be necessary and particularly the rearing and fattening of animals requires access to land and water, making these activities more difficult to access for vulnerable youth. The production of leathers and skins relies critically on private sector investment and employment opportunities in larger private sector enterprises.

#### Dairy products

81. **Despite growing production, particularly in the Sahel region, national production of milk does not currently keep up with demand.** Official statistics suggest that overall production grew from 1.8 million liters in 2009 to around 5 million in 2018, representing a 180 percent increase. Milk production in the Sahel region saw even stronger growth over the same period, increasing by 450 percent. Whereas the Sahel region contributed a mere 9.2 percent in 2009, its production represented 18 percent of the

country's overall production in 2018 (Figure 17).<sup>62</sup> At the same time, however, competition from imports suggests that important import substitution potential exists. With a growing population and an overall low consumption of milk per capita,<sup>63</sup> it is likely that demand will continue to grow.

Figure 17: Milk production nationally and in the Sahel region (thousand liters, 2009-2018)



Source: DGESS/MRAH 2018.

**82. In Dori, the production and transformation of milk currently target primarily the local market.** Milk production is carried out by smallholders and pastoralists, collected, and subsequently transformed into pasteurized milk, traditional cheese, and, to a lesser extent, cosmetics and a traditional dish called 'gagal'. Most of the production of milk and related products in Dori is destined for Dori itself and its surrounding areas. Milk and dairy products from Dori are rarely sold in Ouagadougou (see Figure 18).

<sup>62</sup> DGESS/MRAH 2018.

<sup>63</sup> 25 liters in Burkina Faso according to the Ministry of Agriculture, slightly below the average of 26 liters in low-income countries and 62 liters in high-income countries (see Singh GM, Micha R, Khatibzadeh S, Shi P, Lim S, Andrews KG, Engell RE, Ezzati M, Mozaffarian D; Global Burden of Diseases Nutrition and Chronic Diseases Expert Group (NutriCoDE). 2015. "Global, Regional and National Consumption of Sugar-Sweetened Beverages, Fruit Juices, and Milk: A Systematic Assessment of Beverage Intake in 187 Countries." *Plos One*. DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0124845)

Figure 18: The dairy value chain in Dori



83. **In Dori, most of the production of milk is carried out by smallholders associated with cooperatives.** The Sahel region houses around 20 percent of Burkina Faso milk cows. Around Dori, an estimated 760 producers produce milk for 13 cooperatives that dominate milk collection. Each producer holds between 7 and 10 cows in their enclosure. Few cows in Dori are of high-yielding varieties and they mainly feed on the local flora, with average production of 1-2 liters a day per head in the dry season, increasing to 3-4 liters in the rainy season when there is ample food. Milk production remains an unskilled task mainly carried out by female family members.

84. **Producers sell their milk to collectors who in turn are associated with cooperatives.** The 13 cooperatives transforming milk in Dori employ 130-150 milk collectors, all but one of whom are men who collect milk in well-defined and non-overlapping geographic areas around the city. Collection is done on motorbikes with milk being transported in an unrefrigerated manner in jerrycans. No formal grading or quality control takes place. Depending on the time of the year the liter of milk is bought at different prices—from CFAF 300 when supply is high in the rainy season up to CFAF 400 when the dry season limits supply. Relationships between producers, collectors, and cooperatives are generally not based on written contracts but on trust often based on family relations and they tend to be exclusive. On the one hand, this ensures the provision of milk for cooperatives while, on the other, it limits competition between collectors. Producers therefore have little choice and little ability to achieve higher prices.

85. **Dori is the main producer of dairy products in the Sahel region.** Two-thirds of the 19 dairy plants in the Sahel region are based in Dori. These plants produce primarily pasteurized milk and yogurt. Gapal, a traditional dish based on milk and sorghum, soaps, and other cosmetics products are secondary products of the transformation of milk. The rigid vertical relationships between dairy plants, collectors, and producers ensure a stable supply of inputs for dairy plants while at the same time rendering entrance to the market challenging and thereby preserving the market for existing actors. Each dairy plant employs around 10 permanent staff and 20 casual workers. Currently, dairy plants do not provide inputs or training to their affiliated producers, but the creation of a special interest group that could bulk order inputs and provide technical assistance to producers is envisioned.

86. **Small-scale transformation of milk is carried out primarily by women.** Estimates by participants in the value chain suggest that about 1,500 women are engaged in producing small quantities of skimmed milk most of which is sold locally or used for own consumption. A small proportion is furthermore used to produce gopal and a traditional cheese, which appears to be met with limited demand.

87. **Dairy products produced in Dori are mostly sold on the local market.** Daily or weekly markets as well as supermarkets and kiosks are the main avenues to commercialize dairy products from Dori. In these, local products compete with imports of milk and milk powder from Singapore, France, the Netherlands, Malaysia, Dubai, and elsewhere, the prices for which are in many cases lower than those of locally produced milk. Institutional buyers are limited but currently include the World Food Programme (WFP), which has been buying milk from local dairy plants for a school feeding project, and a large mining company, whose canteen does not purchase the milk from local producers but whose kiosks and supermarkets feature local products.

88. **The dairy value chain faces a series of constraints.** As with the small ruminants value chain, insufficient animal feed constrains the downstream development of the chain. Furthermore, work in the value chain requires specialized equipment like jerrycans, which youth identify as a primary obstacle. The lack of access to finance and training on the use of such equipment weigh therefore particularly heavy on the value chain. The absence of a cold chain, which relies on access to electricity is another challenge. Furthermore, as indicated above, the market for the collection of milk lacks competition, limiting new entrants and introducing a distortion to the market.

89. **Despite these constraints, youth perceive employment opportunities along the value chain.** As with the small ruminant value chain, feed production could be expanded to provide employment opportunities. The activity would furthermore benefit from its cross-cutting nature and the synergies with other value chains. With access to land and water, youth should also be able to own animals and produce milk. A broader reform to the market collecting milk could furthermore open the activity for competition and new entrants and improve the overall functioning of the value chain. Processing of dairy products is growing, creating opportunities for youth to be employed in existing and future SMEs engaged in the segment. With expanded value addition, opportunities for commercialization and export will furthermore present themselves. To access these employment opportunities, youth will require technical know-how particularly in production of animal feeds, the husbandry of animals, and the production of milk and dairy products. Animal feed production and animal husbandry will require access to specialized inputs, land, and water, increasing the barriers to entrance for vulnerable youth. Access to finance and entrepreneurial skills will be most relevant for own account activities.

### Fada N’Gourma

90. **The three value chains selected for Fada N’Gourma are cowpeas or black-eyed peas, small ruminants, and garments.** Cultivation of cowpeas and the rearing of goats and sheep as agropastoral activities have a long tradition in Fada N’Gourma and therefore benefit from familiarity as well as existing know-how. As in Dori, value addition remains limited, but potential for further sophistication exists. Activities related to garment production play an increasingly important role, particularly for young women.

91. **During focus group discussions, youth in Fada N’Gourma confirmed the potential for their employment in the selected value chains.** A young woman highlighted that a lot of youth are already active in the cultivation of cowpeas to earn additional income to pay for school fees among others. As Figure 25 and Figure 27 confirm, growing cereals and other crops like cowpeas is the most important employment sector in both the Est region generally and Fada N’Gourma specifically. Young people furthermore see potential for revenue in small ruminants where about 400 young men are currently active in Fada N’Gourma, although their current focus appears to be on the short-term sale and resale and less so on value-added products. Lastly, participants supported the important role that garments play particularly in the lives of young women in Fada N’Gourma (see Figure 27).

### Cowpeas

92. **Growth of production of cowpeas and cultivated area for cowpeas in the Est region outpaces that at the national level.** Production of cowpeas in the Est region more than doubled from 27,811 tons in 2009 to 57,615 tons in 2018 while national production grew only by 50 percent over the same period (Figure 19). Area cultivated with cowpeas grew by more than 330 percent in the Est region whereas it grew by 230 percent nationally over the 2009-2018 period (Figure 20). Consequently, the importance of the Est region in national cowpea production, measured in terms of both production and cultivated area, grew over the same period. While output (tons produced per ha cultivated) in the Est region has outstripped that at national level consistently since 2010, it has been decreasing over recent years indicating potential efficiency gains.

Figure 19: Cowpea production nationally and in the Est region (tons, 2009-2018)

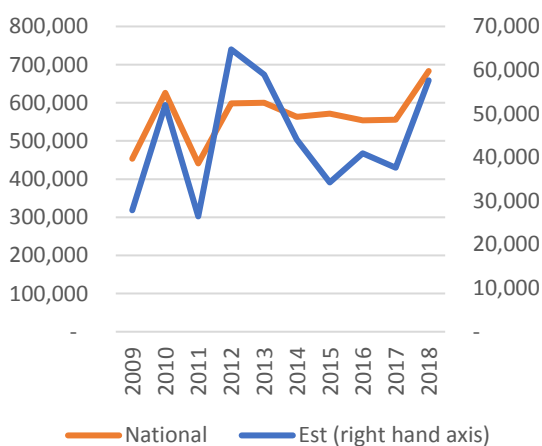
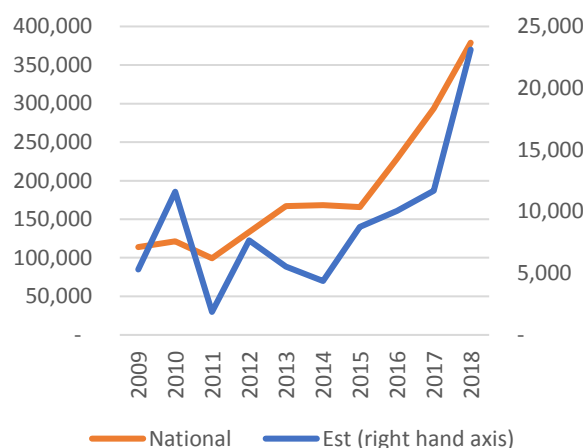


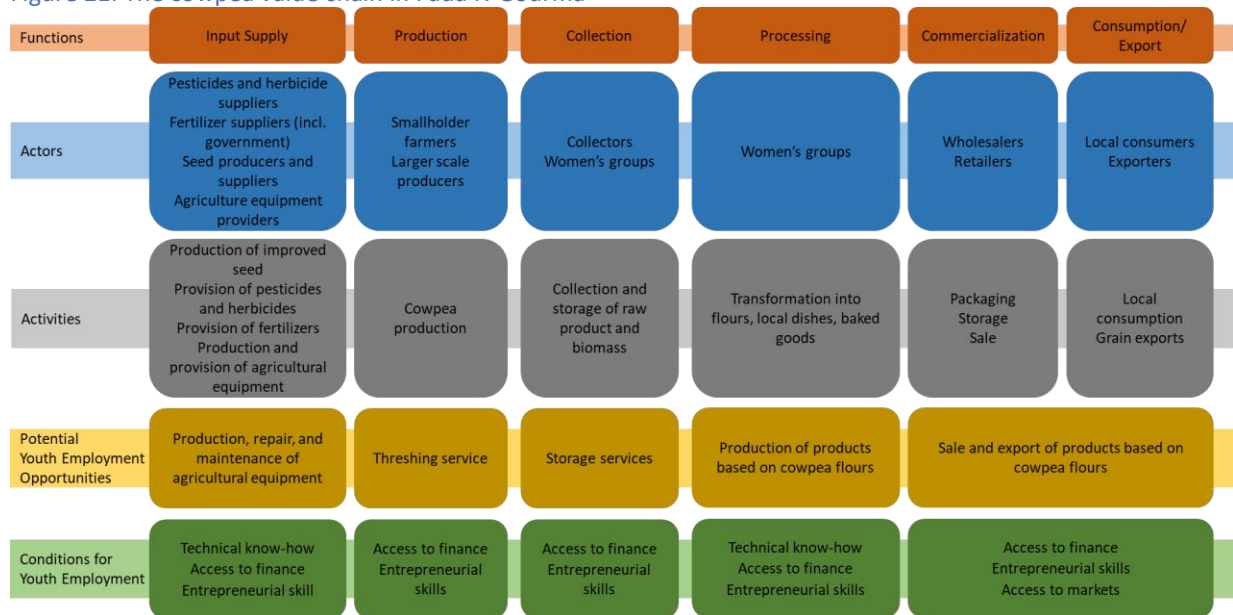
Figure 20: Area cultivated with cowpeas nationally and the Est region (ha, 2009-2018)



Source: MAAH Annuaire statistique agricole 2018.

93. **In and around Fada N’Gourma, cowpeas are produced by smallholder farmers and some larger producers and mostly exported to neighboring countries.** Unlike in Dori, cowpea production in Fada N’Gourma is more professionalized with most producers dedicating 3-5 ha to cowpea production. Cowpeas produced in the Est region are exported to neighboring countries like Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, and Nigeria. The remainder is sold locally and transformed into flour, biscuits, and traditional dishes (see Figure 21).

Figure 21: The cowpea value chain in Fada N’Gourma



94. **Improved seeds are provided by a dozen producers in and around Fada N’Gourma.** The producers of improved seeds, which are organized in a cooperative, obtain their base seeds from INERA. Improved seeds are purchased by the government at market prices and later sold at subsidized prices or distributed for free to cooperatives and female producer associations. Production and distribution of improved seeds have seen an important increase in recent years. Whereas only 6.4 percent of farmers in the Est region used improved seeds in 2010, more 35 percent did so in 2019, thereby slightly exceeding the national average of about one-third of producers.

95. **The use of fertilizers has seen a continuous increase in recent years, brought to a halt by the deteriorating security situation.** In addition to the provision of subsidized fertilizer by the government, about a dozen providers, grouped in a cooperative, procure fertilizers from producers in Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso and sell them through a network of distributors to farmers in and around Fada N’Gourma. Fertilizer is sold at prices determined by the government, and due to the government’s provision of subsidized fertilizer the open market for fertilizer plays a secondary role. Due to the deterioration of the security situation, the use of NPK-type fertilizer in the Est region had fallen to its lowest level in 2019 since 2011 (urea fertilizer follows a similar trend). Gourma Province, of which Fada N’Gourma is the capital, has resisted this downward trend with relatively stable growth in fertilizer use since 2010.<sup>64</sup> The same providers of fertilizers procure herbicides and pesticides from Ouagadougou or neighboring countries for sale in Fada N’Gourma.

96. **Farm equipment is produced locally and imported.** In the region, about half of agricultural households own ploughs, slightly over the national average. Around 100 welders produce ploughs, wheelbarrows, and other equipment locally used in the production of cowpeas. However, they compete with often cheaper imports and bemoan a lack of demand, which appears to be linked to low quality and higher comparative prices.

<sup>64</sup> MAAH/DGESS/EPA 2010–2019 Annuaire statistique Agricole 2019 Burkina Faso.



97. **Cowpeas are produced by smallholder farmers as well as larger-scale farms.** Larger-scale farms, of which there are about 100 in and around Fada N’Gourma, dedicate 3-5 ha to the cultivation of cowpeas and have mechanized at least one of the production steps. Such farms tend to employ 8-20 seasonal laborers. Smallholder farmers cultivate cowpeas on 1-2 ha and rely on family labor. In Fada N’Gourma itself, one cooperative groups 13 smallholder farmers producing cowpeas, of whom 4 are women. In 2020, they produced a total of 25 tons of cowpeas. While extension services exist, few producers receive continuous training on production techniques. Producers sell on the local market or to collectors who compete for produce with other collectors.

98. **Some transformation of cowpeas takes place to produce flour, baked goods, and local dishes, some of which are destined for export.** About 500 individuals, most of them women, use traditional methods to transform whole cowpea grains to flour by local mills and then produce local dishes and baked goods for sale on the local market. The products of this transformation are flour, cowpea cakes, couscous, and biscuits. One cooperative exists in Fada N’Gourma that carries out transformation on a larger scale producing couscous, cakes, and biscuits, which are sold locally directly to end users, retailers, and wholesalers. As part of assistance from the exporters’ association of Burkina Faso, some of the products have been showcased at trade fairs in Senegal, Togo, and Benin and sold in small quantities there to establish client relations.

99. **Cowpeas are on-sold by retailers and larger-scale wholesalers.** About 250 women are active in the retail trade of cowpeas in Fada N’Gourma. They purchase cowpeas following the harvest from the local market, store them, and sell throughout the year with profits highest during the lean season when household stocks tend to be depleted. About 30 wholesalers purchase larger quantities of cowpeas in the production areas around Fada N’Gourma and sell them on the national market as well as beyond Burkina Faso’s borders.

100. **Obstacles to the development of the value chain exist at all its segments.** Input markets remain distorted by government intervention and particularly seeds often do not meet quality requirements. Shortages of inputs provided by producers in Bobo-Dioulasso and Ouagadougou remain common. Access to finance is a cross-cutting concern along the value chain as well as in others. The analysis furthermore shows that cooperatives and other economic actors lack entrepreneurial expertise. Access to land and insecure land titles risk creating constraints to investment in the value chain. Lastly, actors along the value chain highlight the low quality of agricultural equipment.

101. **Insertion of youth in the cowpea value chain in Fada N’Gourma appears most promising in cross-cutting functions and the commercialization of products.** Demand for equipment is stated to be low although this might be related to the low quality of locally produced equipment. Opportunities might therefore exist for youth to receive training in metalworking and other areas to enhance the quality and competitiveness of locally produced equipment. This would furthermore support the development of value chains beyond cowpeas and, as a cross-cutting activity, offer youth a broader market base. As in Dori, youth could also find employment in providing services within the agri-food system such as threshing or storage. Moreover, the increasing commercialization of cowpea-based products beyond Fada N’Gourma suggests potential for youth employment in these downstream functions. Technical know-how (particularly for the production, repair, and maintenance of agricultural equipment as well as the production of higher-value products based on cowpea flours), access to finance, and entrepreneurial skills will be required to access these employment opportunities.

## Small ruminants

102. **The number of small ruminants has continuously grown in the Est region in recent years with growth slightly outpacing that at the national level.** In 2018, the Est region housed 14 percent and 17 percent of sheep and goats, respectively. Numbers of sheep and goats have grown by roughly one-third since 2009, slightly more than at the national level. Meat production from both sheep and goats has continuously grown in Burkina Faso, particularly in the Est region. While goat meat production grew by about 50 percent nationally between 2009 and 2018, production doubled in the Est region over the same period. Similarly, sheep meat production increased by 85 percent in the Est region from 2009 to 2018 compared to 30 percent nationally.<sup>65</sup>

103. **Small ruminants play an integral role in the economic activities of smallholder farmers.** Most households in Fada N’Gourma are accustomed to working with goats and sheep. Youth build experience with small ruminants throughout the value chain and are used to gaining extra revenue with the animals. Value addition is limited with animals sold whole or slaughtered for meats (Figure 22).

Figure 22: The small ruminants value chain in Fada N’Gourma



104. **Animal feed used is largely limited to hay produced by smallholder farmers.** Most of the feed producers in and around Fada N’Gourma collect and bundle natural vegetation in a seasonal activity between August and September. For this, each producer hires about two seasonal workers. Similar to Dori, the use of improved feed sources remains marginal. A limited number of farmers produce specifically animal feed, including variations of soy, corn, and cowpeas developed for feed. Furthermore, some producers benefit from improved seed varieties distributed at subsidized prices in the context of projects

<sup>65</sup> MRA Annuaire statistique 2018. These official statistics cover exclusively official slaughter houses and therefore do not capture unregulated slaughtering.

such as PADEL-B.<sup>66</sup> There are a limited number of providers of more sophisticated sources of animal feed such as press cake, mostly transported from Ouagadougou or Bobo-Dioulasso.

105. **Animal rearing is common among smallholders in the Est region.** It can be assumed that the majority of the around 35,000 households in Fada N’Gourma participate in the activity. Animals roam the family homestead and the surrounding areas without the need for dedicated land. Most often, smallholder farmers hold on to their animals and proceed to their sale when they require resources for recurring expenses. Sales take place on the local market with prices ranging between CFAF 35,000 for a goat and CFAF 70,000 for a sheep.

106. **Youth are actively engaged in the trade of small ruminants for subsequent fattening.** Youth scour local markets around Fada N’Gourma to purchase promising animals and resell them within a short time to buyers looking to fatten animals. About 400 men and women are active in animal fattening in Fada N’Gourma, which consists of feeding rams with natural and sometimes more sophisticated feed for subsequent on-sale to butchers, in particular ahead of holidays such as the end of Ramadan, Christmas, or Easter. The activity is generally carried out within the household and does not imply outside employment. After three months of fattening, an animal that was originally purchased at a price between CFAF 35,000 and CFAF 70,000 can be sold for CFAF 175,000–250,000. Sales take place on the local market to local buyers. Some animals are also sold to exporters or exported directly to countries in the region like Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Senegal, or Togo.

107. **About 150 butchers practice in Fada N’Gourma.** They are organized in an association and each employs an average of two apprentices. Most butchers have themselves not received formal training but have learned on the job. They purchase animals from smallholders and/or those fattening animals. No large-scale slaughterhouse exists in Fada N’Gourma and the existing butchers practice in unrefrigerated locales.<sup>67</sup>

108. **Meat from small ruminants is rarely prepared in the restaurants of Fada N’Gourma but grilled in stalls as street food.** Restaurants prefer to use bovine meat as it is cheaper and therefore met with higher demand. However, food stalls exist throughout the city in which meat is grilled on skewers. Meat is usually procured from the various butchers in the city. Some of those running such food stalls have benefitted from trainings on the hygienic treatment of meat. No further value addition to meat products (for example, sausages, minced meats, and pâtés) takes place.

109. **Skins and leathers from small ruminants receive little value addition.** With the closing of the main tannery of Burkina Faso in 2014, skins and leathers from small ruminants are rarely further treated. Actors in the value chain report that with the closure of the tannery prices for skins dropped from around CFAF 2,500 to CFAF 100. Some are treated chemically to ensure longevity, stored, and subsequently sold to neighboring countries with the capacity to add value.

110. **Exports of small ruminants from the Est region have decreased significantly over the past years due to the deteriorating security situation.** Whereas the region exported almost 70,000 goats in 2014, the figure dropped to 11,000 in 2018. Similarly, exports of sheep dropped by about half over the same

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<sup>66</sup> Burkina Faso Livestock Sector Development Support Project (*Projet d’Appui au Développement du Secteur de l’Élevage au Burkina Faso*) (P159476). <https://projects.worldbank.org/en/projects-operations/project-detail/P159476>.

<sup>67</sup> A feasibility study for a modern slaughterhouse has recently been validated and a modern butcher is in the process of operationalization.

period to 34,500 heads in 2018. Today about 20 exporters of small ruminants are active in Fada N’Gourma who purchase animals and organize transports primarily to Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal.

111. **Lack of access to finance and insufficient animal feed are among the various constraints facing the value chain.** The absence of storage for animal feed leads to its perishing and further shortages. Actors in the value chain furthermore highlight the lack of a certified and refrigerated slaughterhouse, limiting the production of larger volumes of value-added meat products. In addition to the insufficiency and high costs of animal feed, youth interviewed in the context of the study highlight the decreasing availability of freely accessible land in the city and its outskirts.<sup>68</sup>

112. **Opportunities for youth employment continue to exist in the trade and fattening of small ruminants as well as in up- and downstream products.** The cultivation, collection, and transformation of animal feed, for example, represent an opportunity to tap into an undersupplied market. On a larger scale, the use of waste products from the local cotton ginnery could be explored and provide opportunities for youth (self-)employment. Animal husbandry as well as the buying and selling of animals currently already represent activities that youth are familiar with and that could be expanded. The growing meat production market, including the possibility of producing higher value-added meat products, could provide another avenue for youth employment. For youth to access these employment opportunities in the small ruminant value chain, they will need to obtain technical know-how, entrepreneurial skills, and access to finance. Access to specialized inputs, land, and water will be necessary for activities such as the production of improved feeds and the rearing of animals, generating somewhat higher hurdles for vulnerable youth.

#### Garments

113. **The production of garments has seen continuous growth in Fada N’Gourma and is of particular relevance for women.** In recent years, in particular, the production of the local Faso dan fani cloth and the subsequent tailoring of clothing for the local and increasingly regional and international markets have grown. Young women work in the value chain, benefitting from trainings and interventions carried out by NGOs among others (Figure 23).

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<sup>68</sup> PADEL-B is aiming to alleviate some of these constraints through micro-projects in Fada N’Gourma.

Figure 23: The garment value chain in Fada N’Gourma



114. **Despite the production of cotton in the region and the presence of a cotton ginning plant in Fada N’Gourma, yarn is procured from the main cities of Burkina Faso.** One wholesaler of yarn exists although tailors increasingly procure their yarn directly from Ouagadougou or Bobo-Dioulasso to reduce their dependence on the wholesaler.

115. **Welders produce looms locally.** Welders are grouped in a regional association of about 400 members most of whom are men. Each employs an average of three staff plus part-time workers depending on the need. They sell about half a dozen looms per month to the tailors of Fada N’Gourma. Locally produced looms are increasingly coming under competition from looms imported from Asia.

116. **Weaving focuses on the popular cotton cloth ‘Faso dan fani’.** About three workshops producing the cloth are formally recognized. Each of them has about 15 apprentices. It is estimated that another 150 weavers work on a small scale within their homes in the Fada N’Gourma municipality, employing about two apprentices each on average. At the provincial level, an association exists that groups between 500 and 750 members. Most weavers are women. The production of one cloth without patterns costs about CFAF 3,500 to produce<sup>69</sup> and it is sold for CFAF 6,000. A cloth with a more complex pattern is sold for about CFAF 7,500 and produced for CFAF 4,500 due to higher costs for yarn. Most women practicing weaving have received training through an apprenticeship system which costs apprentices CFAF 60,000 per year for two years. While dan fani remains popular, it is seeing competition from cheaper imported fabrics.

117. **Tailoring is a thriving business in Fada N’Gourma.** At least 120 tailors organized in an association practice in the city, each with a handful employees who are currently being trained in one of the three training centers. Increasingly, IDPs are being trained by NGOs in tailoring as well and are entering the market. While tailors focus on relatively simple designs and copying of existing cuts, four shops also develop designs themselves. In Fada N’Gourma, an estimated 60 percent of tailors are women.

<sup>69</sup> CFAF 2,500 in yarn and about CFAF 1,000 in labor costs; not accounting for operational costs.

118. **Dan fani is increasingly being exported.** The cloth is well-known in the region and beyond. To strengthen its brand, it has been trademarked with the African Intellectual Property Organization in 2019. Four wholesalers sell larger quantities of locally produced garments to local, regional, and increasingly international clients. Orders reach Fada N’Gourma from Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, and Senegal. Some NGOs organize exports of tablecloth, curtains, and other products to Europe. It is estimated that about 30 percent of the production is exported.

119. **Despite the various constraints faced by the value chain, it continues to offer employment opportunities for youth.** In addition to competition from cheaper imports, youth highlight the difficulty in accessing finance to expand existing activities as a major constraint to their further development in the value chain. Nonetheless, the increasing international attention and growing market suggest that the value chain will remain a key contributor to youth employment in Fada N’Gourma, for example, in the production of looms, weaving of cloth, tailoring of clothing, or the increasing commercialization and export of Faso dan fani products. Technical know-how, access to finance, and entrepreneurial skills are conditions for youth to access these employment opportunities.

## Conclusion

120. **Enhancing employment opportunities for youth in Burkina Faso remains a key policy priority, particularly in light of the economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, the deteriorating security situation, and the additional youth entering the labor market.** Youth remain in precarious employment and voice broad dissatisfaction about their economic situation. A negative outlook on employment opportunities prevails, reinforced by the COVID-19 pandemic. The deteriorating security situation further negatively affects youth employment opportunities, which at the same time risks contributing further to instability. Identifying solutions to provide youth with a hopeful, prosperous future will therefore have to be a policy priority going forward for the sake of both economic development and social cohesion.

121. **Youth face a series of constraints in accessing existing employment opportunities, creating new ones of enhancing the quality of their employment.** Educational attainment and literacy remain low among youth at the national level and particularly in the study area. Training opportunities tend to be limited and government support services are perceived to be insufficient. Youth furthermore highlight the lack of access to finance as a particular constraint. Similarly, access to land provides a challenge particularly in agropastoral activities. Women tend to be disadvantaged more than men.

122. **High-potential value chains can serve as a platform for identifying and providing employment opportunities for youth.** The value chain lens allows for a holistic view of the labor market for youth, encompassing both the demand and supply sides of the market. To successfully enable youth employment in value chains, analyses need to consider conditions that enable private sector growth, required skills, and youth aspirations. Avenues for youth to enhance their employment outcomes exist through improved access to existing employment, enhanced quality of current income-generating activities, and the creation of additional employment through growth of existing firms, entrance of additional firms, and self-employment. Skills and an overall enabling environment underpin all three avenues.

123. **The following recommendations result from the analysis and cover the identified avenues for youth employment in value chains.** Recommendations cover employment opportunities in specific value

chain segments as well as in the broader agri-food system surrounding the value chains,<sup>70</sup> enabling youth to flourish as off-farm entrepreneurs.<sup>71</sup> While the report acknowledges that there are opportunities to enhance productivity and generate revenue in agricultural production, they require skill levels that most rural youth do not currently possess<sup>72</sup> and access to land and water, which are particularly challenging matters exceeding the scope of most youth-focused interventions. Furthermore, even though there is consensus around the importance of improving the security situation and strengthening the overall enabling environment for private sector growth (for example, access to electricity, improved transport infrastructure and the like), the following section will focus on recommendations that could be implemented in the context of a potential employment intervention.

## Recommendations

124. **Table 1 summarizes potential youth employment opportunities in the selected value chains and recommended actions to enable youth to seize these opportunities.** As the table highlights, many of the potential youth employment opportunities share conditions for success and require similar actions.

125. **Most entrepreneurship opportunities will require the provision of adapted entrepreneurship training building on latest evidence on what works best.** Given low levels of education in both Dori and Fada N’Gourma, training should incorporate activities to convey basic literacy and numeracy. Training should focus not only on ‘hard skills’ as traditional approaches of entrepreneurship training have done. Instead, latest evidence points to the conclusion that social skills, an entrepreneurial mindset, and personal initiative training should be included to enhance efficiency.<sup>73</sup> This aligns with recommendations by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (2019) that “improving rural young people’s cognitive and non-cognitive skills in order to enhance their ability to engage more fully in the society and the economy may be the key priority.”<sup>74</sup> Customization of training to the local context, for example, by adapting it to the promising value chains identified in this study is critical.<sup>75</sup>

126. **A few of the identified activities will require specialized technical know-how.** This is the case for specialized up- and downstream value chain segments like the provision of improved animal feed or the production of higher-value-added products in the cowpea value chain as well as for auxiliary functions such as the repair and maintenance of agricultural equipment. Given the reported challenges with TVET in Dori and Fada N’Gourma, the broader challenges with formalized technical and vocational training globally,<sup>76</sup> as well as the highly specific technical know-how identified in this report, technical

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<sup>70</sup> Following recommendations of World Bank. 2017. *Agriculture and Jobs: Fostering Productive Employment in the Food System*.

<sup>71</sup> IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development). 2019. *Creating opportunities for rural youth. 2019 Rural Development Report*, p. 183.

<sup>72</sup> IFAD. 2019. *Creating Opportunities for Rural Youth. 2019 Rural Development Report*, p. 172.

<sup>73</sup> McKenzie, David. 2020. “Small Business Training to Improve Management Practices in Developing Countries: Reassessing the Evidence for ‘Training Doesn’t Work’.” Policy Research Working Paper 9408, World Bank; McKenzie, David, and Christopher Woodruff. 2021. “Training Entrepreneurs.” *VoxDevLit* 1 (2).

<sup>74</sup> IFAD. 2019. *Creating Opportunities for Rural Youth. 2019 Rural Development Report*, p. 183.

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, McKenzie, David. 2020. “Small Business Training to Improve Management Practices in Developing Countries: Reassessing the Evidence for ‘Training Doesn’t Work’.” Policy Research Working Paper 9408, World Bank.

<sup>76</sup> See, for example, Blattman, Christopher, and Laura Ralston. 2015. *Generating Employment in Poor and Fragile States: Evidence from Labor Market and Entrepreneurship Programs*. SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2622220> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2622220>.

competencies would ideally be provided in targeted interventions, for example, through short courses, on-the-job training, or ongoing assistance similar to extension services.

127. **Lack of access to finance has been highlighted as an important constraint by existing enterprises and youth interested in creating enterprises or engaging in self-employment opportunities.** Matching and cash grants to enterprises have been shown to incentivize employment in Burkina Faso<sup>77</sup> and to have significant returns elsewhere.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, grants to self-employed individuals in the context of economic inclusion activities have significantly contributed to an increase in income-generating activities among poor and vulnerable individuals in the region.<sup>79</sup> It should be noted, however, that cash grants seem to be most effective in combination entrepreneurship and psychosocial interventions both for individuals<sup>80</sup> and enterprises.<sup>81</sup>

128. **Some of the identified employment opportunities require access to specialized inputs, which could be provided by establishing links with input markets.** To ensure access to the required inputs, for example, for producing improved animal feeds, youth aspiring to be entrepreneurs should be provided with support in accessing the relevant input markets. This could be done through supporting the formation of associations where there is critical mass or advising individuals on gaining access to needed inputs. This is frequently done in the context of economic inclusion activities.<sup>82</sup>

129. **Lack of access to land and water represents a challenging obstacle.** With available land decreasing due to climate change and shrinking sizes of individual plots due to repeated inheritance, youth increasingly struggle to access land. Similarly, access to water is becoming increasingly contentious. As a result, the recommendations attempt to focus on employment opportunities that do not depend on access to land and water. For the exceptions of animal husbandry and milk production, it might be possible to ensure access to sufficient land and water by implementing sharing arrangements in the context of associations or producer groups as well as targeted interventions by local municipalities.

130. **Gender will require particular attention.** As the analysis has shown, women tend to have lower levels of education and literacy and tend to be more likely to work in the family. Particularly in Fada N’Gourma, they are significantly less likely to be in wage employment. It is therefore advisable to focus potential literacy training on women and provide basic skills to them specifically. Gender-oriented training is increasingly being implemented to remove discrimination and provide training to women specifically. Such trainings have shown to lead to better business practices and knowledge among women entrepreneurs.<sup>83</sup> Another way to strengthen youth employment for women is to focus support on high-potential activities. Evidence suggests that activities such as preparing food outside of the home and

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<sup>77</sup> Preliminary results of an ongoing impact evaluation in the context of the Bargé Growth Pole Project (P119662).

<sup>78</sup> de Mel, Suresh, David McKenzie, and Christopher Woodruff. 2008. “Returns to Capital in Microenterprises: Evidence from a Field Experiment.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (4): 1329–1372. <https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.2008.123.4.1329>.

<sup>79</sup> <https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/pathways-out-extreme-poverty-cost-effectiveness-productive-inclusion-measures>.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> de Mel, Suresh, David McKenzie, and Christopher Woodruff. 2008. “Returns to Capital in Microenterprises: Evidence from a Field Experiment.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (4): 1329–1372.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix E of World Bank. 2021. *The State of Economic Inclusion Report 2021*.

<sup>83</sup> It should be noted, however, that studies comparing gender-oriented with traditional trainings have not yet been published making statements about their comparative efficiency impossible (McKenzie, David. 2020. “Small Business Training to Improve Management Practices in Developing Countries: Reassessing the Evidence for ‘Training Doesn’t Work’.” Policy Research Working Paper 9408, World Bank).



small-scale food processing are particularly promising for young women.<sup>84</sup> Producing higher-value products based on cowpea flours and milk processing might therefore be particularly relevant for young women in Dori and Fada N’Gourma.

**131. The multiple recommended actions for each identified employment opportunity suggest that interventions will need to bundle actions to enable youth to access the identified opportunities.** As Table 1 shows, most employment opportunities require tackling multiple constraints at the same time. The conclusion to bundle solutions aligns with most recent empirical evidence, which has shown that bundled interventions are often more impactful than individual interventions. A recent impact evaluation of economic inclusion interventions in neighboring Niger<sup>85</sup> showed that combining cash grants with psychosocial support (life-skills training and community sensitization) as well as a core set of measures (coaching, group savings facilitation, entrepreneurship training, and improved access to markets) increased business revenue by 102 percent compared to a control group, 5 percentage points more than without the psychosocial component.<sup>86</sup>

**132. Providing a bundled set of varied measures to youth in Dori and Fada N’Gourma also appears most appropriate given the persistent uncertainty resulting from insecurity and increasing levels of displacement.** As the security situation in both areas continues to worsen, any intervention should enable youth to adapt their activities if necessary. Implementing a series of measures targeting the identified employment opportunities while at the same providing tools to youth that are flexible therefore appears most relevant to the two areas identified by this study. This furthermore ensures adaptability as population in both cities continues to increase with IDPs and youth increasingly risk displacement themselves.

**133. On the labor demand side, the analysis points to the need to strengthen the overall efficiency and business environment of the selected value chains.** Agricultural input markets continue to be inefficient and are not able to fulfill demand. Strengthening the provision of improved seeds and fertilizers and reducing distortions introduced through public provision represent a priority in the cowpea, small ruminant, and dairy value chains. The lack of competition in the milk collection segment of the dairy value chain in the Sahel region furthermore reduces competition in the value chain and hampers the bargaining power of milk producers, decreasing their incentives to produce, and potentially contributing to an increase in prices. Ensuring competition between milk collectors would therefore enhance the functioning of the value chain and increase efficiency, productivity, and potentially employment. The lack of value addition to leathers and skins represents a missed opportunity in the small ruminant value chains in both Dori and Fada N’Gourma. Assessing the feasibility and profitability of further processing leathers and skins should therefore be a priority in both locations.

**134. From a methodological point of view, the analysis highlights the importance of including youth and their perceptions in analyzing youth employment challenges and developing solutions.** Existing surveys rarely consider aspirations of youth and few policy-making processes include youth. However, the qualitative work as part of this analysis has identified constraints and opportunities not otherwise

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<sup>84</sup> Tschirley, D., J. Snyder, M. Dolislager, T. Reardon, S. Haggblade, J. Goeb, L. Traub, F. Ejobi, and F. Meyer. 2015. “Africa’s Unfolding Diet Transformation: Implications for Agrifood System Employment.” *Journal of Agribusiness in Developing and Emerging Economies* 5 (2): 102–136.

<sup>85</sup> The same impact evaluation was replicated in Burkina Faso, but results are still outstanding.

<sup>86</sup> <https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/pathways-out-extreme-poverty-cost-effectiveness-productive-inclusion-measures>.

perceived and highlighted a series of additional considerations to take into account when analyzing youth employment and conceiving policies and programs to benefit youth particularly.

### Operationalizing the recommendations

135. **The identified recommendations require bundling entrepreneurship training, technical training, access to finance, access to markets, and psychosocial support, among others—an economic inclusion-type intervention therefore seems best placed to operationalize them.** Box 2 defines economic inclusion and highlights some of the promising results in the Sahel region. Drawing on these lessons and recommended actions highlighted in Table 1, a combination of activities targeted at the constraints identified for youth employment in the identified value chains in the Sahel and Est regions could significantly improve youth employment outcomes.

136. **An economic inclusion intervention, targeting the identified value chains, should be composed of at least the following measures:**

- **Group savings facilitation** to improve access to finance
- **Cash grants** to improve access to finance and enable investments, which could be moderated through a (simplified) business plan competition
- **Coaching and entrepreneurship training** to enable creation of new enterprises and enhance the productivity of existing ones, which should be gender sensitive
- **Support in accessing markets** for selected activities (for example, animal feed production)
- **Psychosocial support** (for example, through life-skills training and community sensitization) to enhance soft and noncognitive skills
- **Targeted technical training** focused on the activities identified as high potential in Table 1
- **Literacy and numeracy support**, particularly for women who indicated lower educational attainment than men.

137. **A particular focus on the identified value chains could be ensured through communication and sensibilization, while (simplified) business plans could be used to screen for activities in the high-potential value chains.** Clear communication highlighting the prioritization of identified high-potential value chains would be required to ensure a focus on these proven activities. Eligibility for participation in a potential intervention (or parts of it like a cash grant component) could be moderated through youth preparing (simplified) business plans. This would build on evidence that suggests that screening beneficiaries of youth employment enhances success of interventions. Simplified business plan competitions could therefore be used to target motivated youth while allowing screening for activities in the identified high-potential value chains.

138. **To ensure that any demand-side constraints are identified early on and alleviated where possible, the formal private sector and government agencies should be included in the preparation and implementation of any potential intervention.** This would concern sector associations, private sector representatives like local and national chambers of commerce, and the ministries responsible for the relevant value chains. Including them in the preparation and implementation of the intervention could

ensure that constraints affecting the value chain as a whole can be identified and addressed jointly, thereby guaranteeing an integration of supply and demand-side measures.

139. **Similarly, youth should be involved in the design of the proposed intervention.** Youth are rarely consulted systematically but the research for this study has shown their eagerness to participate and take control of their future.

140. **Any intervention should consider specifically targeting vulnerable populations such as young women and IDPs.** The analysis shows that young women tend to be more disadvantaged and more likely to suffer from precarious forms of employment. Similarly, IDPs tend to be particularly deprived of economic opportunities. To ensure that considerations of social cohesion are taken into account, both IDPs and host communities should be included.

#### Box 2: Economic inclusion in the Sahel region

##### **Defining economic inclusion**

The State of Economic Inclusion Report 2021 defines economic inclusion programs as “a bundle of coordinated, multidimensional interventions that support individuals, households, and communities to increase their incomes and assets. Economic inclusion programs therefore aim to facilitate the dual goal of strengthening resilience and opportunities for individuals and households who are poor. These goals are met through strengthening community and local economy links.”

##### **Promising results in the Sahel**

In Burkina Faso, an economic inclusion program has been piloted with World Bank financing in the context of the Social Safety Net Project (P124015), providing beneficiaries with a core set of measures consisting of coaching, group savings facilitation, entrepreneurship training, and improved access to markets; a lump-sum cash grant; and psychosocial interventions in the form of life skills training and a community sensitization on aspirations and social norms. Although the results of an impact evaluation from Burkina Faso are not yet available, results from an impact evaluation of the same combination of activities in Niger showed large effects on revenues from household off-farm businesses, as well as from livestock and agriculture, increasing between 49 percent and 102 percent depending on the combination of activities. Regardless of the combination of activities, households developed new income sources.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> <https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/pathways-out-extreme-poverty-cost-effectiveness-productive-inclusion-measures>.

Table 1: Recommended actions to enhance youth employment in selected value chains

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
<b>Dori</b>			
<b>Cowpeas</b>	Repair and maintenance of agricultural equipment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical Know-How</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial Skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on repairing and maintaining most common types of agricultural equipment</li> <li>• Strengthening of on-the-job technical training in existing repair shops</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to youth enabling the purchase of tools and equipment needed to repair and maintain the most common types of agricultural equipment</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Provision of threshing as a service (across multiple value chains)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and transportation</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Provision of storage services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on safe and sustainable storage solutions, including through extension-type services</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and transportation</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Production of higher-value products based on cowpea flours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques and on sanitary and phytosanitary standards specific to products based on cowpea flours among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Sale and export of products based on cowpea flours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>
Small ruminants	Production of improved feeds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Access to inputs</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques and on sanitary and phytosanitary standards specific to animal feed among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing markets for specific inputs, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>
	Cultivation and exploitation of natural vegetation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on cultivating and exploiting existing vegetation among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Animal husbandry and fattening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to water</li> <li>• Access to land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on animal health and the most efficient ways to hold and fatten small ruminants among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain stock and feed and other required inputs</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to obtaining access to land and access to water by instituting sharing agreements in the context of associations or through targeted support from municipalities</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
	Buying and reselling of animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Limited) Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on animal health and the most efficient ways to hold and transport small ruminants among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain stock and means of transport</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Production of leathers and skins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private sector investment in a tannery</li> <li>• Technical know-how</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concerted effort by the public and private sectors to establish the viability of and incentivize investments into processing facilities</li> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training to youth wanting to seek employment in processing facilities or contribute to the processing by providing auxiliary products or services, including on health and safety with regards to working with chemicals</li> </ul>
	Sale and export of animal products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>
Dairy products	Animal feed production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Access to inputs</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques and on sanitary and phytosanitary standards specific to animal feed among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Support to accessing markets for specific inputs, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>
	Animal husbandry and milk production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on animal health and sanitary and phytosanitary standards for milk production and storage, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain stock and feed and other required inputs</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to water</li> <li>• Access to land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to obtaining access to land and access to water by instituting sharing agreements in the context of associations or through targeted support from municipalities</li> </ul>
	Milk collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Removal of barriers to entry</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support to accessing milk collection segment, including through support to dialogue with producer and processing associations</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in necessary equipment and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> </ul>
	Milk processing (production of skimmed or pasteurized milk, soap, cosmetic products, yogurt, gapal, cheese, and so on)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques adapted to various products, as well as sanitary and phytosanitary standards for milk storage and processing, including through ongoing coaching (aimed at self-employment as well as wage employment in existing businesses)</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Sale and export of dairy products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
<b>Fada N’Gourma</b>			
<b>Cowpeas</b>	Production, repair, and maintenance of agricultural equipment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on producing, repairing, and maintaining most common types of agricultural equipment</li> <li>• Strengthening of on-the-job technical training in existing repair shops</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to youth enabling the purchase of tools, equipment, and other inputs needed to produce, repair, and maintain the most common types of agricultural equipment</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Provision of threshing as a services (across multiple value chains)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial Skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and transportation</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Provision of storage services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on safe and sustainable storage solutions, including through extension-type services</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and transportation</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Production of higher-value products based on cowpea flours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques and on sanitary and phytosanitary standards specific to products based on cowpea flours among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>



Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
	Sale and export of products based on cowpea flours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>
Small ruminants	Production of improved feeds (for example, based on waste products from cotton)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Access to inputs</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on production techniques and on sanitary and phytosanitary standards specific to animal feed among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain required equipment and carry out necessary investments in means of production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Support to accessing markets for specific inputs, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support, for example, by building relationships with cotton ginners to obtain waste products</li> </ul>
	Cultivation and exploitation of natural vegetation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on cultivating and exploiting existing vegetation among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Animal husbandry and fattening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to water</li> <li>• Access to land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on animal health and the most efficient ways to hold and fatten small ruminants among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain stock and feed and other required inputs</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to obtaining access to land and access to water by instituting sharing agreements in the context of associations or through targeted support from municipalities</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
	Buying and reselling of animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Limited) Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on animal health and the most efficient ways to hold and transport small ruminants among others, including through ongoing coaching</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to obtain stock and means of transport</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> </ul>
	Production of leathers and skins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private sector investment in a tannery</li> <li>• Technical know-how</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concerted effort by the public and private sectors to establish the viability of and incentivize investments into processing facilities</li> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training to youth wanting to seek employment in processing facilities or contribute to the processing by providing auxiliary products or services, including on health and safety with regards to working with chemicals</li> </ul>
	Production of higher-value meat products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training to youth wanting to seek employment in existing processing facilities or contribute to the production of higher-value meat products, including through the provision of auxiliary products and services</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in necessary means of production and to ensure other investments</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> </ul>
	Sale and export of animal products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>

Value chain	Potential employment opportunities	Conditions for success	Recommended actions
Garments	Production of equipment (for example, looms)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on metalworking and the production of looms, including on the job</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to youth enabling the purchase of tools, equipment, and other inputs needed to produce, repair, and maintain the most common types of equipment for garment production</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> </ul>
	Weaving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on weaving, including on the job and through extension-type support to household enterprises</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to youth enabling the purchase stock and necessary inputs</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> </ul>
	Tailoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical know-how</li> <li>• Access to finance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of targeted technical training on tailoring, including on the job and through extension-type support to household enterprises</li> <li>• Provision of small business grants to youth enabling the purchase cloth and other necessary inputs</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> </ul>
	Sale and export of cloth or tailored products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to finance</li> <li>• Entrepreneurial skills</li> <li>• Access to markets</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of small business grants to enable youth to invest in stock and obtain means to transport goods</li> <li>• Support access to savings and small-scale credits (for example, through savings group or access to microfinance institutions) to enable savings and investments</li> <li>• Provision of entrepreneurship training, including basic literacy and numeracy where necessary</li> <li>• Provision of personal initiative training to subsistence entrepreneurs</li> <li>• Support to accessing domestic and international markets, including through support to the formation of associations and targeted support</li> </ul>

## Annex 1: Framework to measure and rank value chains

Table 2: Framework to measure and rank value chains

	Weight (%)	Criteria	Variables
<b>Scale, sustainability, and competitiveness</b>	30	Existing scale and scope	Output and employment level and share of national/regional GDP
			Number of firms
			Growth rates
			Location quotient
		Competitiveness	Export share of output
			Share of national export basket
			Growth rate
			Market share
			Market mix
			Export quality
			GVC participation index (forward value addition; indirect value added)
		Upgrading and downstream value addition potential	GVC growth
			Jobs intensity in GVCs
			Productivity relative to industry norms
Investment requirements	Existence of competitive lead firm(s)		
	Local capabilities		
<b>Jobs impact</b>	30	Jobs scale/intensity	Structure of value chains
			Average investment costs (per ha, per sqm)
			Typical ROI
		Employment multiplier	Number of jobs
			Share of national/regional jobs
			Jobs per US\$ million output
		Suitability for smallholders	Employment multiplier
			Indirect employment creation
			SME share of output
		Short- versus long-term jobs	SME share of firms
			Average size of firms
		Reach to target groups	For agricultural crops = time frame before revenues from planting
			Number/share of jobs: youth, female, informal, micro/small firms, specifically targeted groups (young and female workers)
			Number and share of poor households dependent on earnings from value chain
<b>Readiness</b>	25	Organization and representation	Employment location quotient
			Number of representative organizations
			Number of members; assessment of level of activity of organizations
<b>Additionality</b>	15	Ongoing interventions	Degree of participation and leadership from across all parts of the value chain
			Number and nature of value chain initiatives from donors, government, and other actors

Note: GVC = Global value chain; ROI = Return on investment.

## Annex 2: Preselected value chains

### Dori

Table 3: Value chains preselected for Dori during participatory workshop at the national level

Value chain	Rank
<b>Confirmed market and employment potential</b>	
Small ruminants	1
Cowpeas	2
Aquaculture	5
Dairy products	3
Solar energy	6
Artisanal gold mining	8
<b>Confirmed market potential; employment potential uncertain</b>	
Cattle fattening	4
Garments	11
Tourism	9
<b>Uncertain market and employment potential</b>	
Food services	10
Weaving	12
Leather working	7

### Fada N’Gourma

Table 4: Value chains preselected for Fada N’Gourma during workshop at the national level

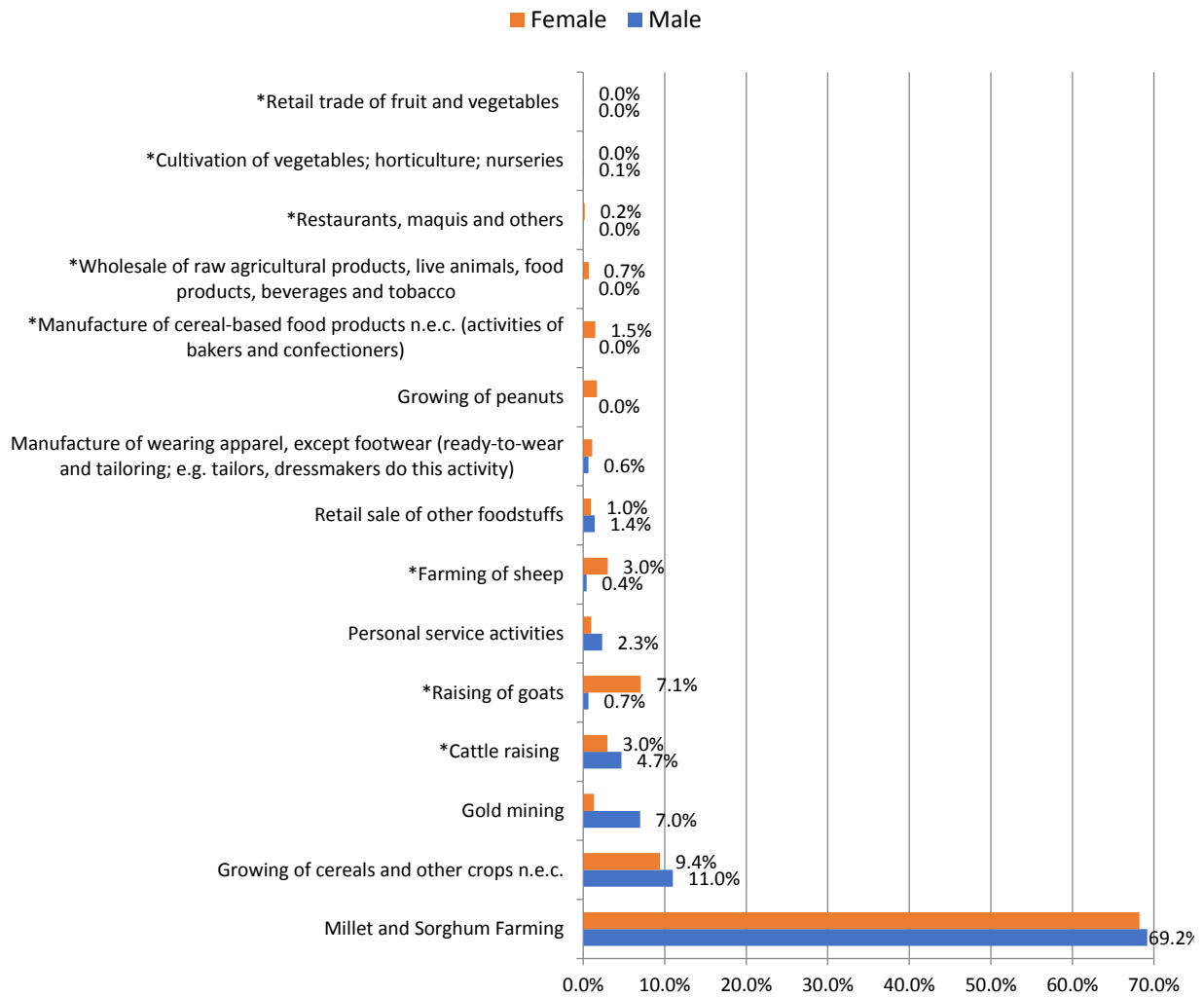
Value chain	Rank
<b>Confirmed market and employment potential</b>	
Small ruminants	1
Cowpeas	2
Poultry	6
Garments	4
Artisanal gold mining	8
Motorcycle maintenance	12
Metalworking	9
<b>Confirmed market potential; employment potential uncertain</b>	
Beekeeping	5
Rice	7
Tourism	9
Hairstyling	11
Cattle*	2
Corn	12

Value chain	Rank
Soy	13
<b>Uncertain market and employment potential</b>	
Groundnuts	15
Woodworking	16
Urban transport	14

Note: \* Cattle was ultimately replaced by garments by stakeholders during a participatory workshop in Fada N’Gourma due to its importance for employment, particularly of young women.

## Annex 3: Sectors of employment of youth

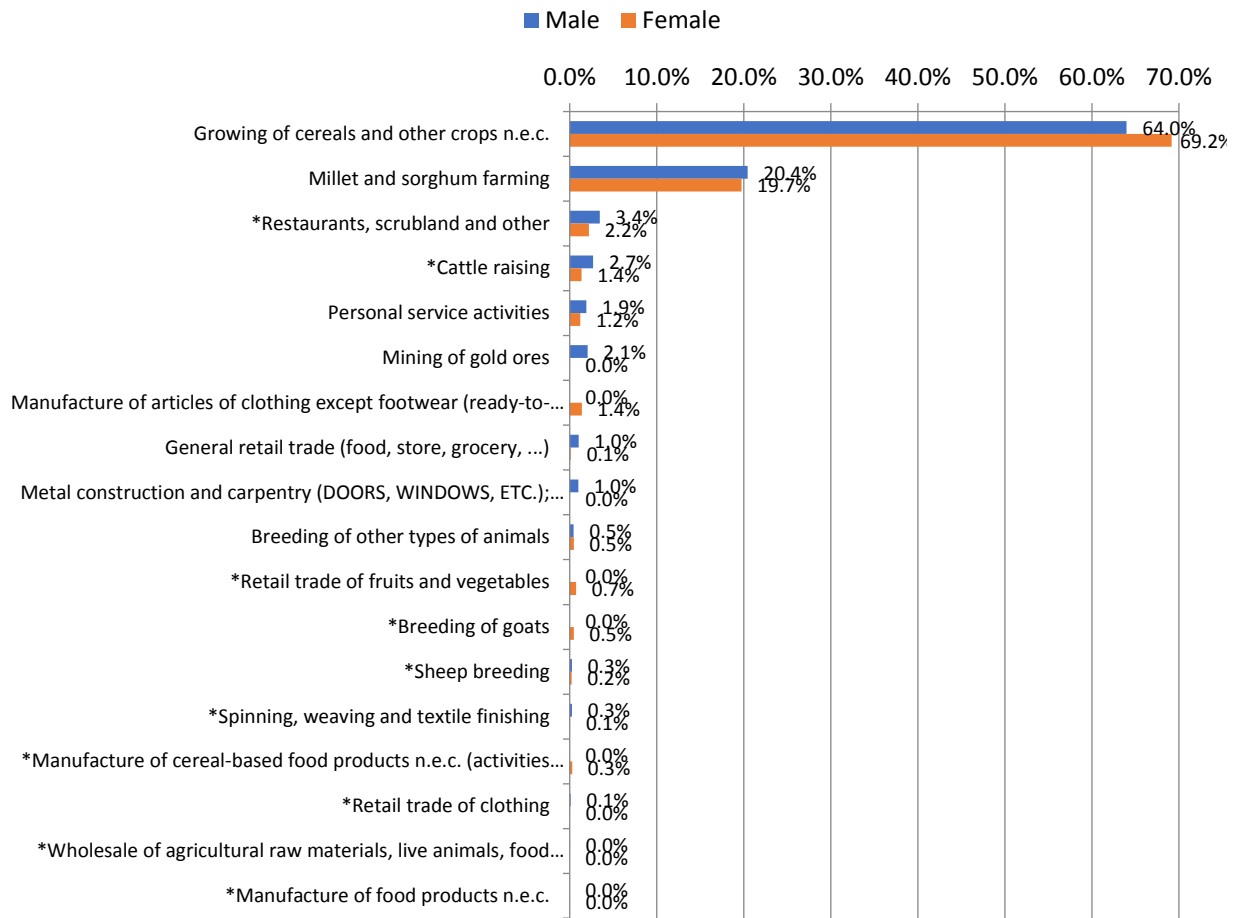
Figure 24: Sectors of employment for youth in the Sahel region



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

Note: \* Sectors of relevance for the value chain analysis carried out.

Figure 25: Sectors of employment for youth in the Est region

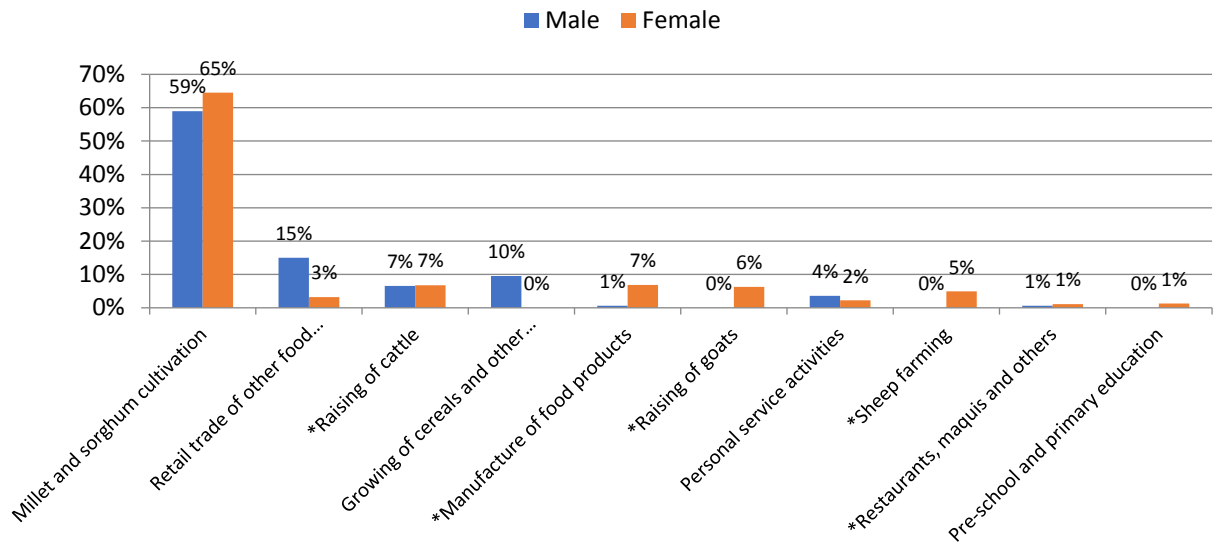


Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

Note: \* Sectors of relevance for the value chain analysis carried out.



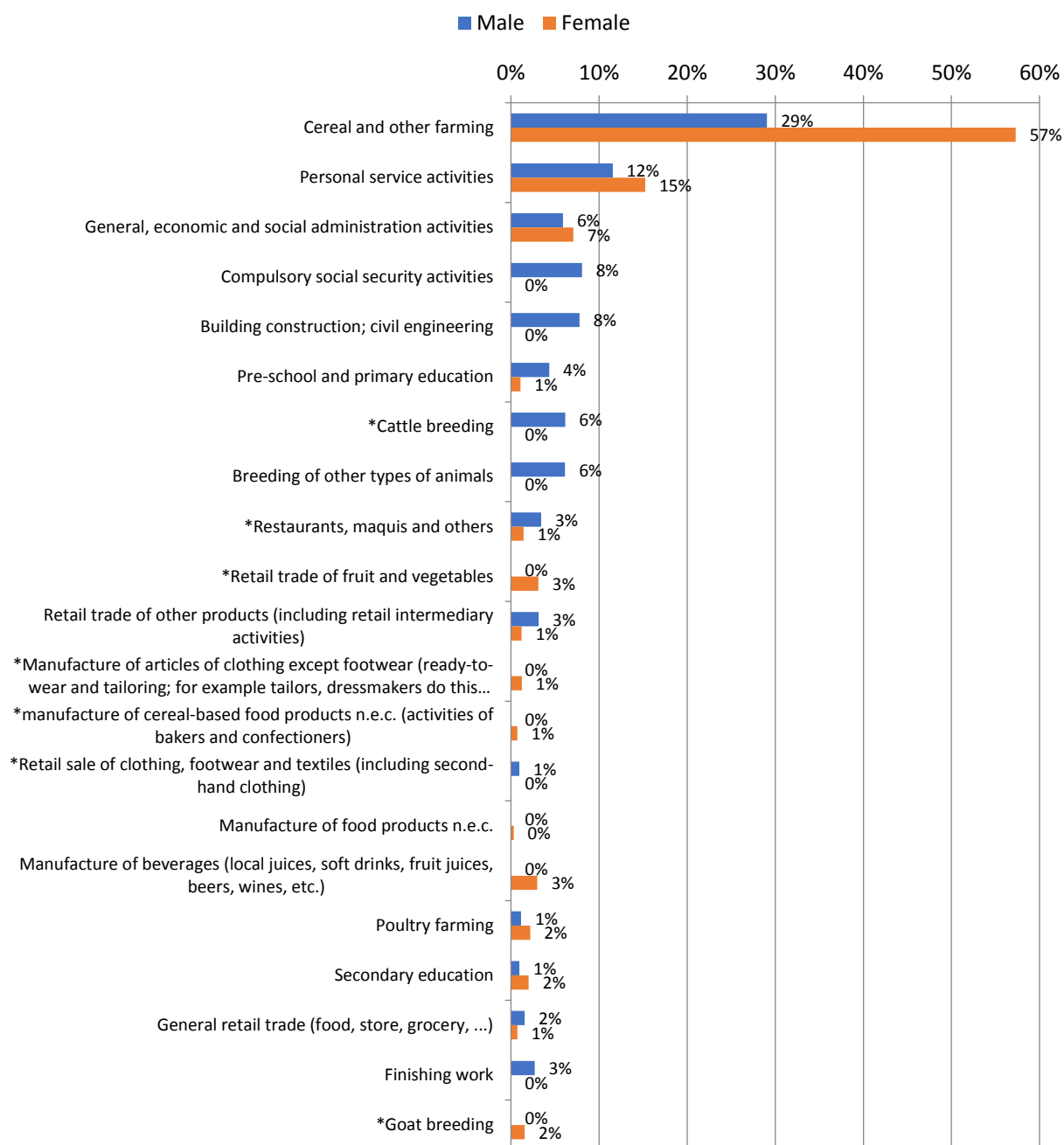
Figure 26: Sectors of employment for youth in Dori



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

Note: \* Sectors of relevance for the value chain analysis carried out.

Figure 27: Sectors of employment for youth in Fada N’Gourma



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

Note: \* Sectors of relevance for the value chain analysis carried out.

## Annex 4: Education and employment outcomes disaggregated by gender

Figure 28: Literacy among women between the ages of 16 and 35 at the national, regional, and communal levels

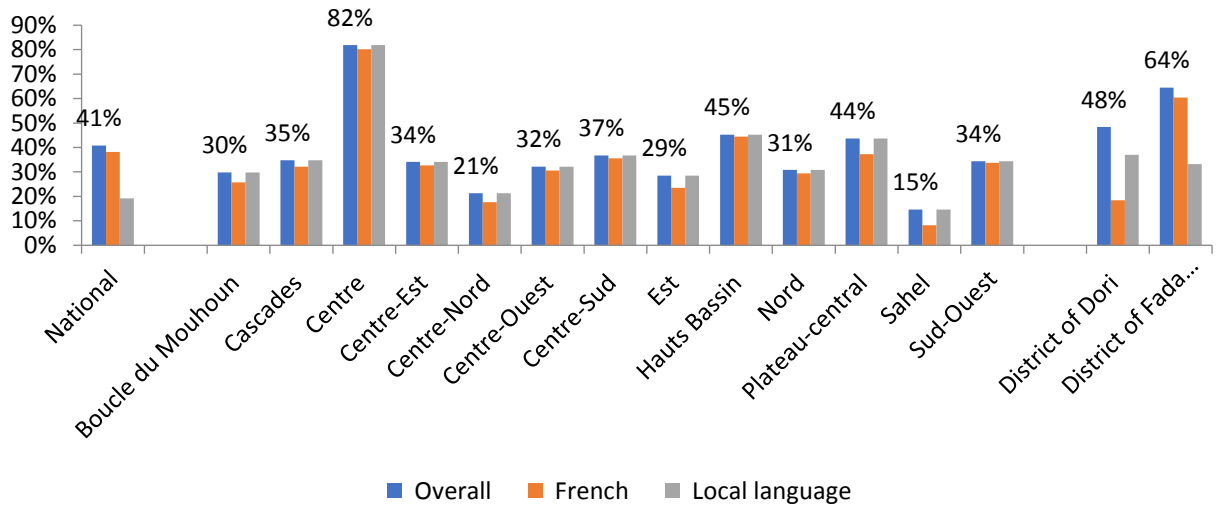


Figure 29: Literacy among men between the ages of 16 and 35 at the national, regional, and communal levels

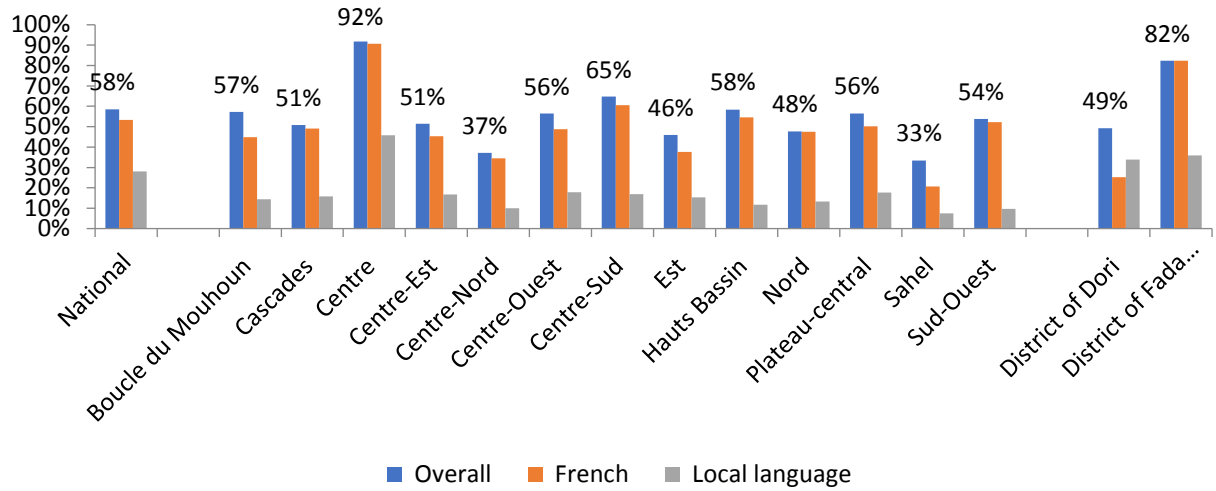


Figure 30: Educational attainment of youth disaggregated by gender

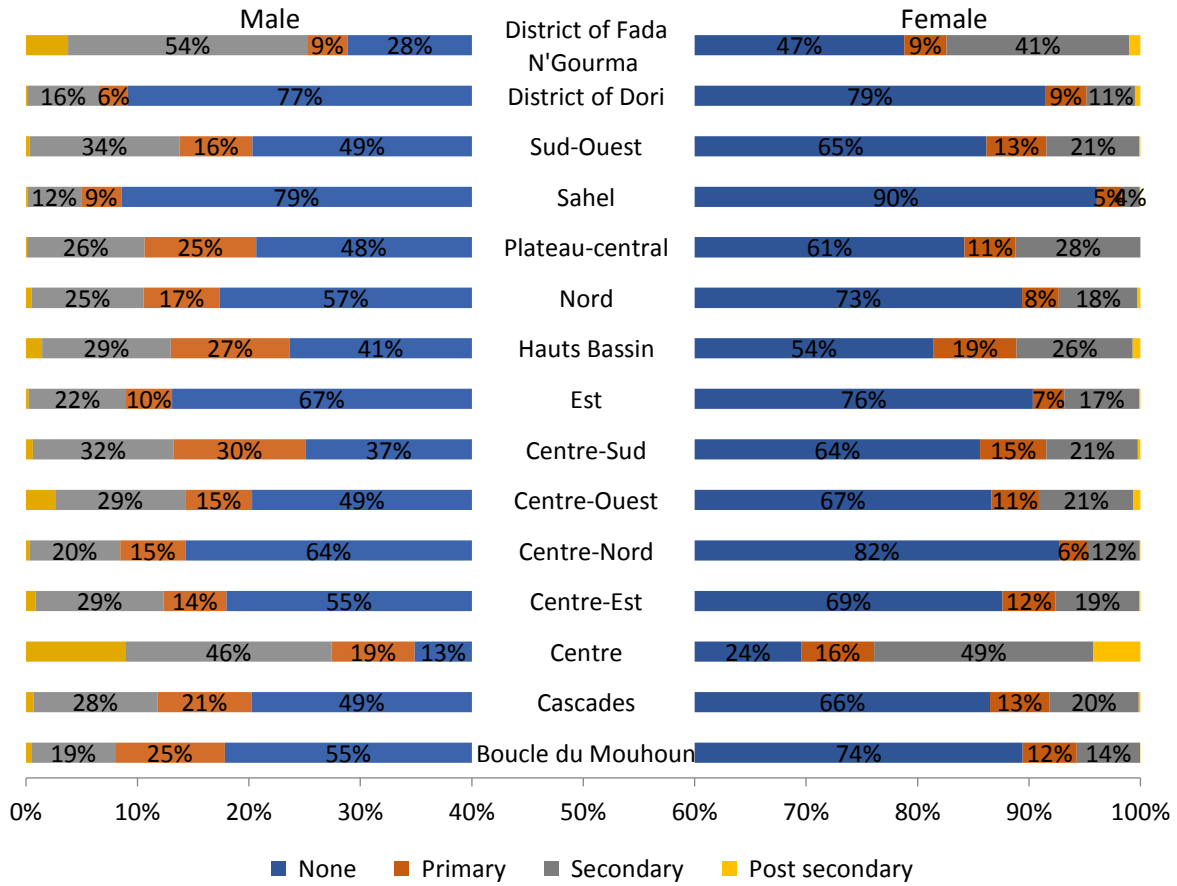


Figure 31: Employment outcomes for women between the ages of 16 and 35 at the national, regional, and communal levels

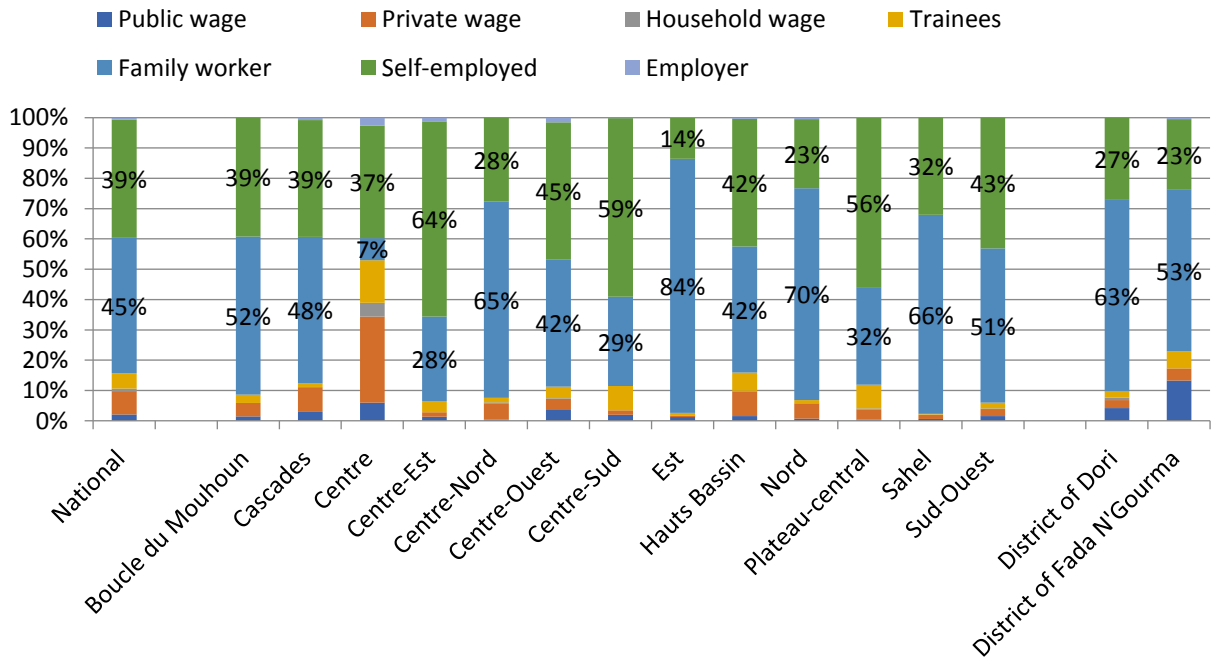
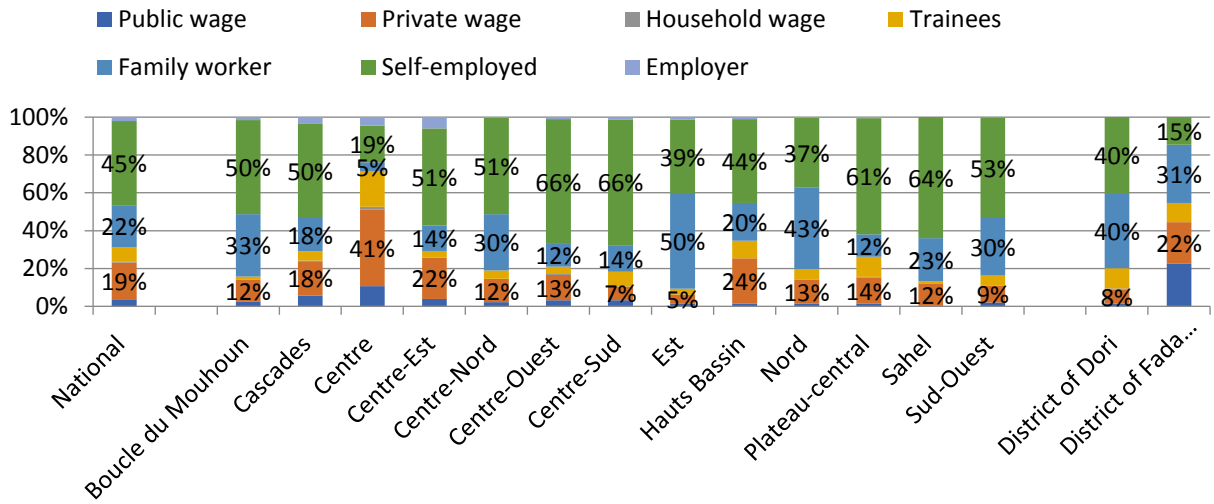


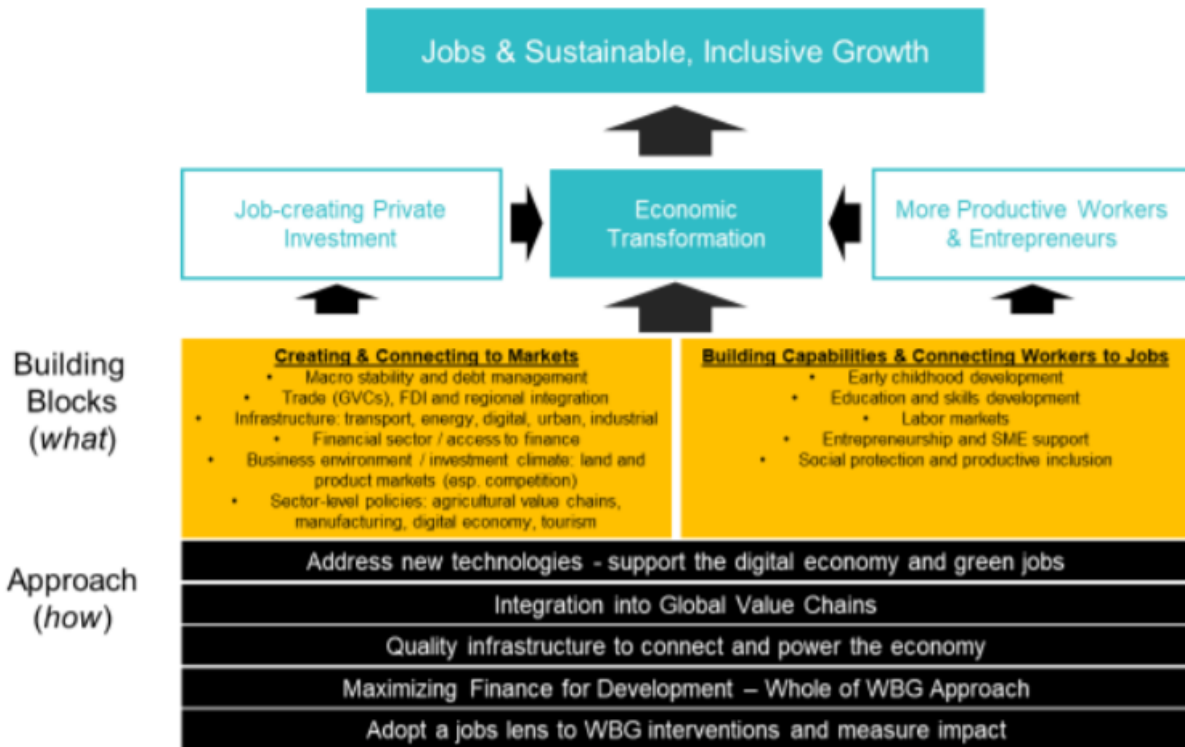
Figure 32: Employment outcomes for men between the ages of 16 and 35 at the national, regional, and communal levels



Source: Based on 2018/19 EHCVM.

## Annex 5: Approach to JET in IDA19

Figure 33: JET framework



Source: IDA19. 2019. *Special Theme: Jobs and Economic Transformation*.

## Annex 6: Methodology of qualitative data analysis

During the first wave of qualitative data collection in February 2020, 110 randomly selected youth were interviewed individually, 55 in each city, with women representing 55 and 65 percent of the sample in Fada N’Gourma and Dori, respectively. A geographic sampling strategy was adopted aiming at saturation rather than representativeness. Those ages 25–29 years were most represented (44 percent of the sample in Fada N’Gourma and 35 percent in Dori), followed by those ages 30–35 years (33 percent in Fada N’Gourma and 31 percent in Dori), 20–24 years (15 and 29 percent, respectively), and finally 16–19 years (9 and 5 percent). Individual interviews followed a structured interview guide covering socioeconomic information about youth, family context, and sociocultural context, as well as current employment situation and aspirations. Another 50 randomly selected youth in each city were consulted in the context of focus group discussions.<sup>88</sup> A total of 210 youth were interviewed, equally distributed between the two cities. Information gathering was complemented with 10 individual interviews with resource persons (for example, heads of youth associations and employers) and members of the government identified through local contacts. During the second wave in March 2021, two more focus group discussions were carried out with 24 youth from the first wave, 12 per city, who had equally participated in the value chain prioritization exercise. Collected data were transcribed,<sup>89</sup> encoded,<sup>90</sup> analyzed, and summarized. Ethical and data protection considerations were strictly implemented.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Individual interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by trained enumerators who had pretested survey instruments in a rural community outside of Ouagadougou before going to the field. Focus group discussions were conducted by two enumerators of opposite sex.

<sup>89</sup> 25 percent of interviews were transcribed twice for quality assurance.

<sup>90</sup> Using the NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software.

<sup>91</sup> Including through the obtention of authorizations to collect data in both cities, informed consent of all participants, and the attribution of anonymized identifiers to participants.