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Burkina Faso : a new methodology for resolving old pains**
Nicky POUW and Janvier KINI

**La recherche de la convergence nominale dans une perspective
de convergence réelle dans les pays de la CEDEAO**
Cheikh Tidiane SECK

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de pauvreté au Benin**
Fadonougbo BOKO

**Instabilité et croissance économique au Togo,
quels enseignements ?**
Tom-Irazou TCHALIM

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au Benin en 2015**
Daoud BADIROU

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nécessite et politique optimale pour le Burkina Faso**
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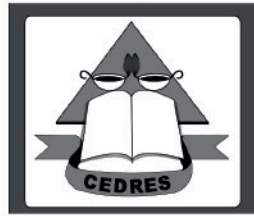
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SOMMAIRE

EDITORIAL.....	07
Participatory assessment of development in rural Burkina Faso : a new methodology for resolving old pains.....	10
<i>Nicky POUW and Janvier KINI</i>	
La recherche de la convergence nominale dans une perspective de convergence réelle dans les pays de la CEDEAO.....	34
<i>Cheikh Tidiane SECK</i>	
Analyse de l'effet de microcrédit sur l'écart moyen de pauvreté au Bénin.....	58
<i>Fadonougbo BOKO</i>	
Instabilité et croissance économique au Togo, quels enseignements ?.....	78
<i>Tom-Irazou TCHALIM</i>	
Analyse économique des élections communales au Bénin en 2015.....	96
<i>Daoud BADIROU</i>	
Assurance maladie universelle : nécessité et politique optimale pour le Burkina Faso.....	120
<i>Ousmane TRAORE & Idrissa M. OUEDRAOGO</i>	
Analyse des déterminants de la discrimination salariale au Togo.....	142
<i>Inna Alekseevna JOHNSON</i>	
La contribution de l'agriculture à la croissance économique du Burkina Faso.....	156
<i>Hamidou SAWADOGO</i>	

EDITORIAL

Dans la recherche constante de la qualité, la revue CEDRES Etudes vous présente à travers ce deuxième numéro de l'année des sujets pertinents traités sous l'angle de la recherche scientifique. Ce numéro traite aussi bien en anglais qu'en français, des sujets relatifs à la pauvreté, la microfinance, la convergence des économies en communauté économique, les conséquences économiques de l'instabilité politique ou encore la discrimination salariale. Le numéro 62 paraît avec huit articles et des orientations micro et macroéconomique fortes.

Le premier article, de Nicky POUW et Janvier KINI (Université d'Amsterdam et Institut de recherche en science de la santé) met en relief une sous-estimation du nombre de très pauvres ou de très riches par les instruments classiques de mesure de la pauvreté.

Le deuxième article de Cheikh Tidiane SECK (Université Cheikh Anta Diop) montre une convergence nominale bien avancée des pays de la CEDEAO tandis que la convergence réelle est très lente et témoigne de la forte disparité des économies de la communauté.

Le troisième article de Fadonougbo BOKO (Université de Parakou) montre que le bénéficiaire du microcrédit déplace la contrainte budgétaire du ménage bénéficiaire mais n'assure pas une réduction durable de la pauvreté pour ce dernier.

Le quatrième article expose les effets de l'instabilité sur la croissance économique au Togo. Tom-Irazou TCHALIM (Université de Kara) montre par le modèle de Solow augmenté qu'à long terme, ces faits sociaux nuisent à la croissance économique.

Le cinquième article aborde l'analyse économique d'élections. Daoud BADIROU (Université d'Abomey-Calavi) analyse les effets de la stabilité politique des coalitions sur les investissements économiques et les coûts engendrés.

Le sixième article coécrit par Ousmane TRAORE et Idrissa OUEDRAOGO (tous Université Ouaga 2) justifie la mise en place de l'assurance maladie dans l'économie par l'effet positif d'une hausse des dépenses de santé sur le PIB réel.

Le septième article met en exergue les déterminants de la discrimination salariale. Inna A. JOHNSON (Université de Kara) prouve le traitement salarial est en majorité déterminée par d'autres caractéristiques que celles des compétences individuelles.

Le dernier article de Hamidou SAWADOGO (Université Ouaga 1 PJKZ) montre que le capital physique a un effet positif sur la croissance économique à court terme par le biais des politiques publiques.

Pr Idrissa OUEDRAOGO

Directeur de Publication

**Participatory assessment of development
in rural Burkina Faso : a new methodology for
resolving old pains**

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Abstract

Based on the participatory assessment of development (PADev) approach to assess the impact of development interventions from a community's perspective, this paper reflects on the results of four years of field-testing in Burkina Faso. Particularly, the paper zooms in on the added value of the poverty assessment instrument that is part of PADev, and designed to enhance understanding of local poverty and people's self-evaluations of development interventions in the community. In comparison to the multi-dimensional poverty index, the PADev poverty assessment tool appears more sensitive to local specificities and social-relational and psychological aspects of human wellbeing. In comparison to the PADev approach, the traditional income based approach to poverty measurement seems to consistently underestimate the number of very poor, as well as the number of rich and very rich, whilst overestimating the number of poor. Finally, the perceived impacts on different wealth groups in the communities, point towards elite capture manifesting itself over time. Together, these findings point to the very poor being congruently excluded from development interventions and national poverty statistics. The PADev approach could shed new light on how to make this group more visible and within reach of development interventions.

Keywords : *participatory development, evaluation, poverty assessment, exclusion, Burkina Faso*

Participatory assessment of development in rural Burkina Faso : a new methodology for resolving old pains

INTRODUCTION

Based on two subsequent periods of fieldwork in Burkina Faso, this paper reports on the findings of pilot testing of a participatory assessment of development (PADev) methodology, developed by Dietz et al. (2013) (see also Pouw et al. 2016). Specifically, it aims at discussing the use of the PAdDev approach to enhance our understanding of local poverty, and to assess (and monitor) people's self-reported benefits of development interventions in Sissily District, Burkina Faso. The Key principles of the PAdDev approach are a holistic view to include a broad range of development interventions as signalled by their intended beneficiaries, and to evaluate these in a bottom-up and participatory manner in terms of people's shared criteria. Pouw et al. (2016) explain this intersubjective approach as : "The systematic way in which historical information on development is gathered in combination with the discussions on why things happened leads to a comprehensive and collectively shared understanding (intersubjective) of how the current situation has come about and what role development interventions did or did not play" (p.5).

The methodology and field-testing of the PAdDev approach took place between 2008-2012, in a concerted effort between an international and multi-disciplinary team of researchers and practitioners from the centre of Expertise for the Development of the Sahel (EDS) in Burkina Faso, the University for Development Studies in Ghana, the University of Amsterdam, the African Studies Centre at Leiden University and the Royal Tropic Institute in the Netherlands, and two Dutch development NGOs, Woord & Daad and ICCO, which both have longstanding presence in the region.¹ The motivation behind this project was two-fold. First, to develop an impact evaluation methodology that does more justice to the complexity and interactions between development initiatives and organizations on the ground. Second, to warrant the inclusion of local people's perceptions and experiences with development interventions of different kinds. Rather than assessing the impacts of such initiatives in isolation and top-down manner, with the application of monistic criteria and tools designed by outsiders to the communities under study, the PAdDev methodology promotes a holistic and participatory approach from the outset using multi-sourced subjective and inter-subjective data. The design of an appropriate mix of evaluation criteria and measurement tools has been part and parcel of this process, in addition to field-testing and fine-tuning the methods used.

The purpose of this paper is to zoom in on the participatory poverty assessment component of PAdDev, to analyse its' findings within and across the three selected communities under study in Burkina Faso, and compare and contrast these findings with other, singular and multi-dimensional conceptualizations of poverty. Specifically, we aim

1 - For more information on the background of the project, team members, methodological guidebook, fieldreports and study outcomes see the free material available on the PAdDev website: <http://www.paddev.nl>.

to derive lessons learnt about how to take a more inclusive approach to development impact assessment. 'Inclusiveness', hereby, refers to the notion of inclusive development as defined by Gupta et al. (2015) as "development that includes marginalized people, sectors and countries in social, political and economic processes for increased human wellbeing, social and environmental sustainability, and empowerment." (p. 546) The overarching questions that guide this inquiry are twofold :

- (i) *What can we learn from taking a more holistic and participatory approach to poverty assessment and how does this relate to current poverty assessment approaches? And,*
- (ii) *How can it be used to monitor the impact of development interventions across different poverty groups at community level ?*

The remainder of this paper is outlined as follows. First we explain the PADev methodology, lessons learnt and criteria and tools developed, in more detail. This is followed by a short description of the selected research locations, Niabouri, Silly and Tô, and their population characteristics. In the following section we discuss people's self-perceptions of poverty and wellbeing in the three municipalities and according to the five sub-groups in each municipality identified (women, men, young, elderly, and officials). These findings are compared and contrasted with different poverty approaches next. Finally, we discuss the impact assessment across the different wealth groups by the workshop participants in the three selected communities and draw final conclusions and make recommendations for taking a more inclusive approach.

1. The PADev research methodology and theoretical underpinnings

Participatory development approaches have gained more ground in recent years in the field of international development. In connection to a more bottom-up approach to development, Robert Chambers has been most influential in promoting a participatory approach by arguing for the purposeful integration of poor people's voices in development research and evaluating interventions (Chambers 1994, 1997, 2009). The underlying idea to a participatory approach is to identify development problems from local people's perspective and define their priorities and needs against the background of their own knowledge structures, cultural setting, value systems and beliefs. Attempts to integrate a participatory approach in development impact evaluation are of a more recent date and include ex-ante and ex-post development assessment and collective learning practices (Roche 1999; Guijt 2008). In Dietz et al. (2013) and (Pouw et al. 2016) a comprehensive overview is given to studies applying a participatory approach to development impact assessment and evaluation using subjectivity and inter-subjectivity to attribute self-perceived development outcomes to interventions.

As described in the *PADev Guidebook* (Dietz et al. 2013), the PADev methodology is a holistic and participatory approach that has been designed to distill a bottom-up assessment of development and change in a particular area at community level over a period of time based on the cultural value systems of the population. Instead of focussing on one development project or intervention in assessing impact and with pre-defined criteria, the PADev approach looks at a wider range of development interventions by different actors and agencies in the midst of on-going changes, that are signalled by

the intended beneficiaries themselves. In relation to other development assessment approaches, PADev can best be characterized as follows :

“In PADev, participants assess a wide range of changes, projects and agencies based on their perceptions. Further, PADev assessments typically look back at development and change over the past twenty to thirty years. This yields extremely valuable information for NGOs in the area : they learn about their own impact vis-à-vis other actors, and in addition, they find out which types of projects have been regarded as most effective and relevant in that particular geographic and cultural setting and more importantly : for whom and why. This can be an important lesson for future interventions. PADev should not be thought of as a replacement for conventional approaches, but rather as an alternative approach that enables a big picture of development and change to be constructed for an area.”

The complete PADev approach comprises in total nine participatory exercises that are run in community level workshops including 50-80 participants representing a certain geographical area. A fieldwork area would have between 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, and would typically be an area of around 1,000 km² with a central market place of around 10,000 people (Dietz et al. 2013). Although mostly rural, there would also be centers with modest urban characteristics in the area. To cover the heterogeneity of experiences and perspectives in any community, a purposeful selection of women, men, young and elderly takes place. These four groups are complemented with a fifth group, composed of ‘officials’. The officials (village leaders, CBO/NGO workers, government officials) formed their own group because of their knowledge on development issues and interventions, their historical knowledge, and their status in the community that can silence others when discussing in the same group (Dietz et al. 2013). The nine exercises and their objectives are stated as follows :

1. *Events - To reconstruct the most important historical events in the research area, and assess their most important effects on the community.*
2. *Changes – Collect local perceptions about the positive and negative changes in the research area. The assessed changes are organised according to six types (‘domains’) of ‘capitals’ and ‘capabilities’. Later in Exercise 6, participants link interventions to major positive changes and to the mitigation of major negative changes.*
3. *Wealth Groups – 1) To obtain a locally defined and accepted categorization of wealth groups. Participants identify attributes that act as proxies of poverty and wealth. 2) To get an assessment of the population distribution for each of wealth group. Data from this exercise are also used later in Exercise 9 – Impact on Wealth Classes.*
4. *Project Recall - Identify all development projects that participants can recall (programmes, interventions, initiatives etc), including the dates, agencies and other relevant details.*
5. *Impact Assessment - To assess the perceived impact of the recalled projects. This is done for the first year a project started in the community (then), and for the present time (now). Participants also indicate whether they perceive each project to have impacted many or only few people.*

6. *Relationship between Changes and Projects – Participants’ attribution of major changes to specific or generic development efforts.*
7. *Best/Worst Projects - To find out which development efforts are perceived to be among the best and worst projects, and for what reasons.*
8. *Historical Assessment of Best/Worst Projects - To get an idea about how participants perceived projects at the time they first heard a project was coming, how they perceived the project immediately after it was implemented, and how they perceive the project today.*
9. *Impact on Wealth Classes – Assessment of the impact of the best five/worst five projects on the different wealth groups for when the project first came, and at present time (then and now).*
10. *Assessment of Agencies - To get an idea about participant’s perceptions of agencies working in the area.*

Each of the above exercises, including detailed instructions and templates, participants selection, examples of data analysis, and a discussion on potential pitfalls and challenges is elaborately described in the *PADev Guidebook* (Dietz et al. 2013).

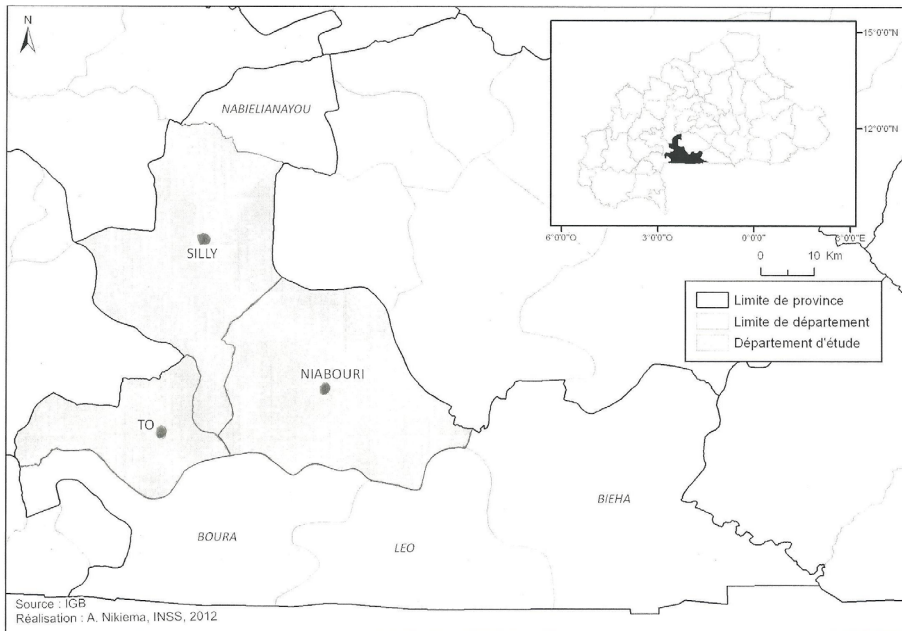
Given the participatory and holistic approach shaping the PADev methodology, people’s understandings of development impacts are explored in terms of multiple poverty and wellbeing dimensions. These dimensions stretch beyond the one-dimensional, monetary approach to poverty defined as a lack of income, into multiple dimensions of poverty (Alkire and Foster 2011) and multiple dimensions of human wellbeing, including material, social-relational and subjective aspects of wellbeing (McGregor 2004). Part of the analysis in this paper is geared towards assessing the extent to which the PADev methodology of poverty assessment correlates with each of the three approaches: income poverty, multi-dimensional poverty and the human wellbeing approach. To make this comparison possible, particularly between the income poverty and the human wellbeing approach, we use the country’s official data available in 2009 from the national institute of statistics and demography (INSD). These data assess the money-metric poverty index based on households’ consumption.

As the data also show five groups of households’ expenditures in the country and particularly in the research location area (the region), we made an analogy between those five expenditures groups and the wealth groups as suggested in the PADev approach, including : the very poor, the poor, the average, the rich and the very rich. The INSD data allowed us assessing the proportion of each wealth group since such a distribution is related to the quintile analysis of poverty in the country (INSD, 2009). Regarding the PADev approach of poverty assessment, we used an arithmetic mean based on the evaluation scores estimated by each participants group during the PADev workshops about the wealth groups proportions. The reason for using this method is that each research location was sufficiently uniform in terms of socio-economic conditions. Therefore, the indicators related to the PADev approach we obtained from this research are basically descriptive statistics based on group estimates.

2. Research locations and population characteristics

The workshops in Burkina Faso took place in Niabouri, Silly and Tô in the Midwest (Figure 1) between 2008 and 2012. In each community, a set of three-days workshops (later reduced to two-days) were organized to fieldtest the PADev exercises. Before coming to the communities, the country coordinators selected a trusted local organiser, to select about 50 to 60 local people, who would represent the region's community. They were to represent the following sub-groups in the community: women, men, young, elderly, and the officials. It appeared extremely difficult to include the poorest people in workshops like these, which corresponds to what is said about (self) exclusion of the ultra-poor in the literature (e.g., Gough et al. 2006; Daly and Silver 2008).²

Map 1 : The Three Selected Research Locations for the PADev workshops, 2010-2012



Source : Institut Géographique du Burkina (IGB, 2012).

The field-research was conducted in the Midwestern part of Burkina Faso. The Midwest region is located in the central plateau and covers a surface of approximately 21.807 km². The area counts 38 departments and 34 rural communities including 4 urban centers, Koudougou, Réo, Léo and Sapouy, and 562 villages. The average population density is 54.3 inhabitants/km². The Midwest knows a relative overpopulation in its Northern part, where the situation is worsened because of the important surface used as classified forests, faunas' reserves and hunting areas. The Midwest Region is composed of the provinces of Boulkiemdé, Sanguié, Sissili and Ziro which is populated as a majority of Gourounsi ethnic groups (Nuni in the South, Lélé in North) and of Mossi, especially in Boulkiemdé. There are also living Peuls people, whom are characterized with their main activity from breeding in a medium dominated up to recent period by agriculture. Other

2- A dedicated attempt was made to include the poorest of the poor, but by means of applying more in-depth interviews rather than focus group discussions (see Kazimierczuk 2010).

ethnic groups also live in Sissili, like Sissala, Dagara, Wala, Bwaba and Samo. The area as a whole is attracting a lot of migrants coming from the Northern part of the country, but also by an influx “agro-businessmen”. These are mainly high officials and politicians from other regions of the country or abroad, coming into the region to invest in commercial agriculture. The major part of the provinces of Boulkiemdé and Sanguié is subjected to Northern Soudanian climate with an annual rainfall of 700 mm to 1,000 mm, while the provinces of Sissili and Ziro are rather subjected to the Southern Soudanien climate with a varying pluviometry between 1000 and 1200 mm per year. The covered vegetation is dominated by savanna and shrub in the Northern. In the Southern, there are savanna timbered with sometimes gallery forests along the rivers.

The Midwest region contributes to 52 per cent of the region’s GDP by means of the primary sector. This sector is essentially driven by agriculture and breeding, which contribute for 31.5 per cent and 17.7 per cent respectively to the primary sector GDP (Ministry of Economics and Finance, 2005). One must notice that agriculture and breeding practices are mainly extensive, using low inputs of capital and labor. The secondary sector contributes about 18.7 per cent and the tertiary sector 29.3 per cent of the region’s GDP. The population is divided in 46 per cent men and 54 per cent women (INSD, 2009). Both women and men are predominantly involved in agricultural production. They also engage in alternative income generating activities on the side, such as running a small business, food production, local drinks, weaving and mat making, etc.

Poverty in the Midwest is in terms of the headcount ratio lower than the national average, 41.3 per cent (Midwest) compared to 46.4 per cent (national). The depth of poverty as measured by the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) poverty depth ratio is also somewhat below the national average, 14.1 per cent compared to 15.6 per cent respectively. However, the severity of poverty as measured by the FGT poverty severity index is worse in the Midwest region, 7.8 per cent compared to 7.1 per cent (INSD 2009). This indicates, there exist relatively more pockets of extreme poverty in the Midwest region as compared to the country as a whole.

In 2003, the rate of illiteracy in the Midwest was 23 per cent, slightly above the national average (21.8 per cent). The participation rate in primary education in 2004 was 53.6 per cent, but above the national average (50.2 per cent). Access to health services is insufficient in the Midwest: over 70 per cent of households are located further away than 30 minutes of a professional health center. The Human Development Index is 0.281, compared to a national average of 0.327 and the immunization rate is slightly lower (73.2 per cent) than in the rest of the country (73.8 per cent) (Ministry of Economics and Finance, 2001; UNDP 2001; INSD, 2009). The official data illustrate that the Midwest is a relatively poor region, where people subsist on the basis of smallholder farming and extensive breeding. It is also a generally underserved region with quite a lot of blind-spots of government provided facilities and services.

3. Results

3.1. People's self-perceptions of Poverty and wealth

In this section we compare and contrast the field-research findings on people's local perceptions of poverty and wealth in each of the three communities studied. In each community five distinct wealth groups were identified and described in terms of their salient characteristics: the very rich, rich, middle, poor, very poor. These characteristics were provided by the workshop participants, whom were divided into five groups: the officials, elderly men, young men, elderly women, and young women. Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of the five wealth categories in each of the selected communities. The first and general observation that can be made in regard to this table is that the nature of wealth/poverty characteristics mentioned covers the entire spectrum of material, social-relational, and cognitive/subjective wellbeing. As such, this observation confirms McGregor's three-dimensional well-being approach (McGregor 2004): material, social relational and subjective wellbeing. The material aspects mentioned have immediate importance to the livelihoods of rural populations and include land ownership, to be employed, ownership of livestock in particular cattle and oxen, assets and equipment, transport means, housing, clothing (appearances), food and hygiene.

The social-relational aspects mentioned include family size, the ability to support others, and level of dependency. However, all these aspects also have subjective meaning, in terms of people's feelings of security, confidence and degree of initiative taking and problem solving capacities to confront poverty and set-backs. Poverty and wealth have locally specific traits and this is partly coming out from the characteristics mentioned in the three locations. Where the very rich and rich in Niabouri are mostly defined as large-scale cattle keepers, in Silly and Tô these comprise primarily large scale agricultural farmers, entrepreneurs/traders and (retired) government officials. With regard to the other wealth categories (average, poor and very poor) similar characteristics are mentioned across the three locations (see Table 1).

Finally, we found that officials tend to emphasize ownership of livestock, agricultural tools, means of transport and land sizes hold. Both older and young men tend to mention similar characteristics, but also draw attention to the availability of credit and labour as wealth characteristics. Younger men tend to emphasize lack of employment, laziness and mental flaws (disability, thieves) as poverty characteristics. Older and young women emphasize marital status, number of wives/family size, housing conditions, food production and tools used, as well as clothing and physical appearances, including bodily hygiene. Younger women more often mention education of children and social representation (or absence) at funerals and weddings.

Table 1 : Self-perceptions of Poverty in Three Selected Locations

Category	Niabouri municipality (n=80)	Silly local area (n=80)	Tô local area (n=80)
Very rich	<p>Entrepreneurs, big traders. Many assets and vehicles. Average farm yield of 4 ha/day. Very large herd of >1,000 cattle heads. Several pairs of oxen. Physically, round and smooth skin, synonymous of good diet. Permanent house, with generators. Have bank accounts. Production ensures family food needs. Clothes of high standing. They can help the whole community. Family counts at least 20 people, including 2-3 women and 3 youngsters on the field. Have plows and seeders. They hire in labour.</p>	<p>Large farmers, animal traders, state officials. Have many children (and forget their names). Some have 2-6 women. Own assets (carts and plows) and multiple vehicles. They have >200 cattle heads. Well-dressed. Children's education is guaranteed. Metal sheets houses. They lead various activities. Live in senior standings houses. Their production is abundant; no food problem. Their children are well educated. Some have fields in Côte d'Ivoire. Houses with iron sheets rooftops.</p>	<p>Entrepreneurs, large-scale traders and farmers. Have multiple bank accounts. They have multiple vehicles and equipment, e.g. for intensive animal traction. Investing in real estate. Large cattle herds of 100-500 heads. Physically, they are identified through their clothes. They have schooling children and are well-educated. They live in sheets houses and have high standings. Grain reserves. Large family with many children. Their crops are abundant.</p>
Rich	<p>Large herd of 1,000 heads, and 20-50 oxen. Frequently visit Mecca. Large cotton producers, retired, civil servants, breeders, traders. Assist children in times of scarcity. Hire in labour. Lofts are full. Highly respected. Can solve other people's problems. Large family. Own motorbike. At least one rented house, a shop/bar. Well-dressed and shiny skin. Metal sheets and cement houses.</p>	<p>Fairly great cotton and grain farmers, traders. Have assets and transport means and tractor. Access to bank credit. Operate between 10-15 ha field. Their production is abundant providing food sufficiency. Children are educated up till higher level. They wear clean clothes and good hygiene. They live in sheets metal houses. They can go to health centers.</p>	<p>Large-scale cotton producers, serving and retired farmers and traders. Large family. They have tractors and cars as transport means and animal traction equipment. Large field and abundant production. Food secure. About 50 head oxen, and sheep, goats and poultry. They wear nice clothes and all children are schooled. Hire in labour. No need to dress well for being respected. Permanent houses.</p>

<p>Middle</p> <p>Average producers and small traders. Few assets, such as a table at home and just self-sufficient in terms of food. Small herd of cattle from 20-30, 1-2 oxen, 5-7 goats and 10-50 chickens. House of 20-40 metal sheets. They are selfish and wicked. Clothing is just average in quality and quantity. Capable to help others with small grants. (100 FCFA).</p>	<p>Small producers, traders, state officials, tailors, mechanics and carpenters. Have one vehicle. Production provides just two daily meals. Small fields; 2-4 ha. Mostly self-sufficient in food and even socially. They are dressed normally. Have only oxen. Children go to school; do not reach high level. Attend health centers but cannot help others.</p>	<p>Small farmers, petty traders and shopkeepers. They have transport means and animal traction. Sufficient production for family. They have goats, sheep and low oxen. They educate their children and pay for family health without assistance. Simple clothing. Houses of average value. Their funerals are much shorter than the rich and very rich ones.</p>
<p>Poor</p> <p>Small farmers. Few assets. Some own a bike. Production is very poor. They struggle to feed their families. 1-2 hens and a single coat used for a whole month. Often polygamous. People with many problems. Constantly in debt. Hire out their labor. Unlucky. Unable to resolve their own problems. Live in mud houses. Two meals/day in 8 months of the year; go hungry in other months.</p>	<p>Subsistence farmers; small field of 0.5-1 ha. No transport. No livestock. Children's education is limited (primary level). No good house. Do not attend health centers; use prohibited drugs. Often polygamous with many dependents. Constantly indebted. Emigrated children; unable to help them to return. Traditional tools. Production insufficient to secure food. No decent clothing. They look thin and dirty.</p>	<p>Small farmers. Often polygamous with many dependents. Emigrated children whom cannot send back money. Have only one bike; maintenance is difficult. Poor clothing. Their children do not attend school. Their weddings and funerals are short. No bike. Work land with traditional hoe. Small field, low production. Not enough of food to eat (less than twice daily) and buy at market.</p>
<p>Very poor</p> <p>People who have nothing. No family. Depend on others for food. Elders, lazy, and miserable people. Begging. They have neither shoes nor good clothes. Homeless. Poor health and disability (mental, physical). No bed. Sleep on floor. Lazy, crazy, physically disabled.</p>	<p>Elderly without families, orphans and disabled; no one to confide in. Children physically ill because of malnutrition. Houses with no/poor coverage; sleep on floor/straw in boxes. No transport or equipment. Unable to guarantee one daily meal. Red sorghum producers. Physically weak, dirty and miserable.</p>	<p>Elders, lazy and miserable without wife or child. No property or equipment. Need of food. Have no work. Have no production. They live in straw or mud houses. Disabled. Their funerals are usually organized by the municipality. Look very dirty and poorly dressed.</p>

Source : PADev workshops from 2008-2012

3.2. Comparison to Multi-dimensional Poverty Approach and Wellbeing

Before looking into the effects of development interventions across different wealth groups, we deem it important to compare and contrast the PADev approach to other poverty assessment approaches and indicators. The first comparison is with the multidimensional poverty approach. In 2011 Alkire and Foster launched the multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI) under the UNDP umbrella (Alkire and Foster 2011). This composite index consists of ten indicators of poverty and as such extends beyond the Human Development Index that only covered three aspects (life expectancy, education, income). The MPI aims to do more justice to the multiple and inter-related dimensions of poverty that differentiate one household from the other below the poverty line. It includes assets and basic facilities and services that matter to the poor. In addition, the MPI broadens out to include *conditions* of poverty, rather than fixed (individual) characteristics alone.

For example, it takes nutrition, drinking water and housing conditions into account. Narayan and Kapoor (2009) have argued that more attention should be paid to those poverty conditions (e.g. physical and living conditions, job opportunities, access to markets, infrastructure) since they are more revealing about underlying causes of poverty and factors that enable people to move out of poverty. Lastly, the MPI recognizes how being deprived in multiple dimensions can deepen poverty because of reinforcing effects between the different dimensions. If we compare the MPI approach with the PADev approach to poverty assessment, we find that both point to the multiple dimensions of poverty, including assets, facilities and services, and living conditions (e.g. housing, employment, access to land and credit). The two approaches differ in two ways. The PADev approach has a broader scope; it also collects wealth indicators for people who are less/not poor, revealing that both similar and different factors are mentioned for each wealth category (Table 2).

Education stands out as an important factor of moving out of poverty. Furthermore, the PADev indicators are more specific to the local context and form of livelihood than the MPI. Where the PADev approach clearly differs in revealing the social-relational and subjective aspects of poverty and being better off. For example, being rich goes hand in hand with respect and the ability to assist others. The fact that the rich have longer weddings and burial ceremonies also indicates that their social network is much bigger in size. Whereas, being poor is associated with being alone, sorrowful and incapable to provide for oneself or family members. These aspects are not included in the MPI, although they form an important aspect of quality of life, as was stressed in all focus group discussions with the respondents. Poverty and being well off are thus not only multidimensional phenomena in a material sense (assets; facilities/services; living conditions), but also in social-relational and subjective terms. The latter observation resonates strongly with McGregor's approach, who prefers to speak of 'wellbeing' in broader sense than 'wealth' (McGregor 2004).

Table 2 : Comparing Multi-dimensional Poverty Index with PADev Poverty Assessment

MPI Indicators	PADev characteristics of poverty (P) or wealth (W)
Years of Schooling	Good education level; primary education; secondary education; high school level (W)
School Attendance	Children are educated; many children are educated; the majority of children are educated; all children are educated (W)
Child Mortality	Not mentioned
Nutrition	Sufficient food; plenty of food; food sufficiency and security guaranteed (W) Food access difficulty; food insufficiency; no food (P)
Electricity	Non access to electricity (P); electricity from electric (group) (W)
Sanitation	Good hygiene; clean clothes; clean and shiny skin (W) Dirty clothes and skin; very dirty (P)
Drinking Water	Not mentioned
Floor	High-standing housing; good housing; permanent structure; sheet metal construction (W) Clay housing; straw housing; defective housing; no housing (P)
Cooking Fuel	Not mentioned.
Assets	A lot of animals; many vehicles; motorbikes; tractors; bicycles; good agricultural equipment (W) No animal; no equipment (P)

Source : Self-constructed from PADev data (2008-2012) and the MPI (UNDP 2011).

Finally, it is striking that the MPI includes child mortality, drinking water and cooking fuel indicators, where the bottom-up and participatory approach did not. These factors either play a smaller role in the studied context, or are not discriminating across the different wealth categories. For example, the area was serviced with the installation of communal water pumps providing indiscriminating access to everyone – and the rich have had piped water into their homes long before. Given their importance for the quality of life in general, to us it shows that the MPI and the PADev approach provide complementary information on poverty at different levels of aggregation.

Taken these observations together, the PADev approach to poverty proves insightful and sensitive to the heterogeneity of local poverty and destitution, in cases where income/expenditure data do not differentiate any further between people below the poverty line. It also reveals the social-relational and psychological/subjective aspects of poverty and ill-being that interact with material deprivations in ways that we do not yet fully comprehend. However, what we do know is that most poverty interventions of governments, private agents and development NGOs put relatively most emphasis on addressing material deprivations, and to a lesser extent social-relational and psychological deprivations. One

exception to this is the development interventions by the church and religious leaders, which might explain their “success” from the perspective of the intended beneficiaries (PADev report 2012). The PAdEv approach to poverty assessment can thus usefully inform development stakeholders at the local, community level, and complement the MPI, which functions at a higher level of aggregation.

3.3. Comparison to Money-Metric Poverty

The second comparison we make is with the money-metric poverty approach, using official data on the headcount ratio of Niabouri, Silly and Tô municipality. The official data used are from the INSD 2009 statistical data base on poverty in Burkina Faso. The headcount ratio simply measures the number of poor below the official poverty line, which in Burkina Faso is set at 108,454 BFCFA, equal to US\$ 216, or US\$ 0.59/day. This poverty line was estimated in 2009 by the Institut National de la Statistique et de la Démographie (INSD) based upon the measurement of household consumption expenditures. At the regional level, the INSD categorized the population into five wealth groups, resulting in the Midwestern region in the following distribution (Table 3). We use these five wealth groups as a basis for comparison to the subjective PAdEv categorization. The comparison is not clear-cut though, since the second wealth group (\$200=<500) includes people below and above the set poverty line according to the INSD 2009 data. This group is sometimes referred to as the ‘transitory poor’. Their movement across the poverty line in two directions is described in Wetta et al. (2011) for Burkina Faso.

Table 3: Percentages of Wealth Groups in Three Selected Communities According to the Money-Metric and People’s Self-Perceptions

Wealth group based on consumption data in FCFA* (INSD 2009)	Percentage of population in Midwest (per cent)	Wealth group based on subjective data (PADev 2012)	Percentage of population in Niabouri (per cent)	Percentage of population in Silly (per cent)	Percentage of population in Tô (per cent)
< 200	3.8	Very poor	10	20	5
200=<500	29.3	Poor	10	27	17.5
500=<1,000	40.9	Average	17	20	30
1,000=<2,000	18.6	Rich	36.5	20	35
>2,000	7.4	Very rich	26.5	13	12.5

*Annual total household consumption expenditure (1 \$ = FCFA 496, 2012 exchange rate)

Source : Built from annual statistical data (INSD, 2009) and PAdEv data (2008-2012).

According to the official money-metric poverty data the percentage of people deemed very poor is much lower (3.8 per cent) than according to the subjective data in Niabouri (10 per cent), Silly (20 per cent) and Tô (5 per cent). The number of people who are poor or in the middle is overestimated according to the money-metric, 29.3 and 40.9 per cent respectively, compared to the subjective data in either one of the three municipalities: 10 per cent poor and 17 per cent average in Niabouri; 27 per cent poor and 20 per cent

average in Silly; and 17.5 per cent poor and 30 per cent average in Tô. Stark differences are observed with regard to the estimated percentage of rich and very rich: this time the subjective data indicate higher population shares to be rich or very rich: 36.5 per cent rich and 26.5 per cent very rich in Niabouri; 20 per cent rich and 13 per cent very rich in Silly; and 35 per cent rich and 12.5 per cent very rich in Tô, compared to the money-metric data, 18.6 per cent rich and 7.4 per cent very rich for the region as a whole.

The money-metric poverty data give a picture of poverty at the regional level and seem to hide substantial differences at the municipality level, at least according to people's own perceptions. However, this may also be caused by sample selection differences. What is most apparent is that the money-metric data *underestimate* the percentage of perceived very poor, rich and very rich consistently in the three municipalities, and *overestimates* the perceived number of people who are poor or in the middle categories. In absence of official poverty data at the municipality level, though, the above comparison is not entirely justified. Population shares should be taken into account when calculating the percentage at municipality level. This is why the above conclusion can only be a tentative one. However, it is striking that the money-metric data *underestimate* the percentage of perceived very poor, rich and very rich consistently in the three municipalities, and *overestimates* the perceived number of people who are poor or in the middle categories.

3.4. Development benefits across wealth groups

Based on Padev Exercise 9, community members were asked to assess the relative benefit of the five best and worst (self-selected) development interventions across wealth group, then and now.³ Each of the workshop groups (if available and of considerable size included were: officials, old men, young men, old women, young women) were asked to make this assessment separately, giving the groups two times twenty points (stones) to be distributed in total. This provides a rather crude but comprehensible measurement scale, and one that is flexible and visible to follow the within group debate and negotiation before a final assessment was made.

Considering those interventions qualified as 'best' by the community population (see Table A.I in Annex), Table 4 shows the distribution of benefits across the five wealth groups, then and now. It is found that, although many of the best interventions start out with benefits for the very poor and poor at the time of their inception, benefits for the wealth groups at the bottom tend to decrease over time (if they benefit at all). *Vice versa* the rich and very rich are reported to experience increased benefits over time in most of the cases, though viewpoints do vary across community sub-groups. The reasons provided for this are that the rich and very rich have the means and assets to benefit (more); for example, if a road is constructed, the rich and very rich benefit more because they have transportation means and need to travel more often. The level of benefits derived by the people in the middle remains relatively most stable over time. Elite capture by people with more resources and higher social status is not an uncommon phenomenon, and reported in the literature before (e.g. Platteau 2004; Wong 2010).

3-Whereby "Then" refers to the implementation year of the project/intervention, and "Now" refers to the presence being the time of the field-research

Table 4 : Perceived Wealth Group Benefits of 5 Selected Best Development Interventions, Then and Now (on a scale from 0=none to 10=highest)

Communities	Very poor		Poor		Average		Rich		Very rich	
	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now
Pourou, Bon, Payaro	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	6	4	6
Niabouri-Central-men	4	2	4	3	3	4	4	5	5	6
Niabouri-officials	5	4	5	4	4	4	3	4	3	4
Niabouri-young women	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6
Kabaro-men	2	4	3	4	4	4	5	4	6	4
Silly-Central-men	5	2	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	7
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-men	2	3	2	3	4	4	6	5	6	5
Silly-officials	2	2	2	4	4	4	5	4	7	6
Silly-old women	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	6
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-men	0	0	4	2	4	4	6	6	6	8
To-Beun-central	0	0	2	3	10	9	8	8	0	0
Tô-central-women	0	1	4	4	6	6	6	6	4	3
Tô Central-men	4	2	8	6	6	6	2	6	0	0
To-Tabou central-women	0	0	5	3	6	5	5	6	4	6
To-Tabou Central-men	1	2	10	10	8	7	1	1	0	0
To-Tiessourou Central-men	2	2	5	7	6	5	4	3	3	3

Source : Burkina Faso PADev workshops, 2008-2012

These patterns appear even stronger when considering the five development interventions that were selected as 'worst' by the community members (see Table A.2 in Annex). Table 5 shows that the benefits to the rich and very rich are relatively higher from the start, and continue to stay so over time. The reverse is again true for the poor and very poor.

Table 5 : Perceived Wealth Group Benefits of 5 Selected Worst Development Interventions, Then and Now (on a scale from 0=none to 10=highest)

Communities	Very poor		Poor		Average		Rich		Very rich	
	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now
Niabouri-Pourou, Bon, Payaro	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Niabouri Central-men	0	0	6	6	6	6	5	5	3	3
Niabouri-officials	3	3	4	4	6	6	4	4	3	3
Niabouri central-young women	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
Niabouri Kabaro-men	4	4	2	4	3	5	5	4	6	3
Silly Central-men	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	10
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-men	3	2	3	2	3	4	3	4	8	8
Silly-officials	2	2	6	2	6	6	4	4	2	6
Silly-old women	6	2	6	3	4	5	2	4	2	6
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-men	0	0	2	2	3	2	6	6	9	10

Source : Burkina Faso PADev workshops, 2008-2012.

The observation that the people who are better off benefit more of development interventions than people who are worse off, and who constitute often the intended beneficiaries, is even more troublesome if we combine this with our previous observation that the percentage of people who are very poor are underestimated by the official poverty data. This implies that, if we would accept PADev's subjective data as the yardstick, even greater shares of the targeted population are excluded or marginalized from development interventions than according to the official money-metric poverty data, and greater shares of the rich and very rich are included. If indeed, development initiatives follow this 'excluding of the very poor' and 'including of the rich' pattern over time, it explains part of the weariness and suspicion regarding development interventions on the side of the poor often encountered during our field visits. It may even foster self-exclusion by the poorest of the poor from development projects as they do not expect lasting benefits to come their way.

However, the PADev methodology can also function as a comprehensible and powerful tool for monitoring development impact in the hands of the intended beneficiaries themselves. From the participatory workshops and round-up discussion sessions, this idea was brought to the fore by the participants themselves in response to the question of what PADev could mean to them? There was a broad understanding of the workings of the methodology itself across all workshop participants, and using the tool themselves, provided that guidance and training could be provided along the way, was part of their own vision.

CONCLUSION

The Participatory Assessment for Development (PADev) approach is a holistic and participatory, bottom-up methodology to assess the varied impact of development according to, and across community populations and their sub-groups. The approach brings the value of signalling the complexities and inter-relations between development interventions and how these are perceived on the ground by the intended beneficiaries. Although, it is by no means an easy task to disentangle the singular effects of one intervention compared to the other. Development practitioners, however, could seek to benefit from a more integrated perspective on the myriad of development agencies and interventions on the ground and how they impact communities jointly, or in conflicting ways. An important component of the PAdDev methodology is the participatory poverty assessment tool. Based on the PAdDev workshops in three rural communities in Burkina Faso, we explored the overlap and differences with other poverty and wellbeing assessment approaches. Compared to the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), the PAdDev approach is more sensitive to locally and livelihood specific indicators of being poor/better off. In addition, the PAdDev poverty assessment tool includes components of subjective wellbeing. As such, the PAdDev tool could function as a complementary tool (understood) at the local level to the MPI at a more aggregated level. Compared to an income-based approach starker differences appear, especially in the tails of the two distributions. What is most apparent is that the money-metric data underestimate the percentage of perceived very poor, rich and very rich consistently in the three municipalities, and overestimates the perceived number of people who are poor or in the middle categories. When using the PAdDev poverty assessment tool to evaluate the impact of development interventions on community wealth groups, elite capture and exclusion of the very poor are two observed trends that tend to strengthen over time. If then, we accept that the money-metric underestimates the number of very poor and (very) rich, the externalities are worse than reported by the money-metric poverty measure. In conclusion, community participants themselves have evaluated the PAdDev tool as a comprehensible tool to monitor the impact of development interventions over time, and a tool that can be taken in their own hands. The PAdDev tool has a potential empowering effect, if used well by the intended beneficiaries to hold development agencies and other stakeholders accountable to their promises and actions.

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Table A.1 List of best interventions

Group	Projet Description
Beun central Hommes et Femmes	Construction CSPS de Beun
Beun central Hommes et Femmes	Construction de l'école
Beun central Hommes et Femmes	Le projet forage
Beun central Hommes et Femmes	Le crédit SOFITEX
Beun central Hommes et Femmes	Les pépinières
Femmes de Tô- central	Route Léo-To-Sabou
Femmes de Tô- central	Ecole de To
Femmes de Tô- central	Dispensaire/Maternité
Femmes de Tô- central	L'union de producteurs de beurre de karité
Femmes de Tô- central	Micro crédit (Catwell)
Tô – hommes	École A à Tô, et la normalisation
Tô – hommes	Fixations des jeunes dans leurs terroirs (6ème FED)
Tô – hommes	Premier forage à Tô
Tô – hommes	Fosse fumière
Tô – hommes	Alphabétisation des populations
Tabou central Femmes	Dispensaire
Tabou central Femmes	Ecole six classes
Tabou central Femmes	Forage
Tabou central Femmes	Antenne Onatel
Tabou central Femmes	Crédit. Initiative du FAAR, de l'UGPPK, du CREDO, du CIDR de la SOFITEX et de la BACB
Tabou – hommes	Hygiène et assainissement (latrines)
Tabou – hommes	Barrage a Tabou. Rétention d'eau pour jardins, élevage et pêche
Tabou – hommes	Conservation des eaux et de sol (PGRN)
Tabou – hommes	Semences améliorées
Tabou – hommes	Normalisation de l'école a Tabou
Tiessourou Central Hommes	Maternite CSPS PNGT
Tiessourou Central Hommes	Eau PNGT
Tiessourou Central Hommes	Ecole PGNT Nabon
Tiessourou Central Hommes	Pistes rurales
Tiessourou Central Hommes	Parc de vaccination
Silly-Hommes	Ecole primaire de Silly

Silly-Hommes	CSPS de Silly
Silly-Hommes	Commissariat de Silly
Silly-Hommes	Préfecture de Silly
Silly-Hommes	Mairie de Silly
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Forage
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	CSPS
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Ecole primaire
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Micro-crédits :
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Route Silly Leo SARS To Léo
Silly-Hommes officielles	Forages
Silly-Hommes officielles	Vaccination
Silly-Hommes officielles	Ecoles PEDEB
Silly-Hommes officielles	Route
Silly-Hommes officielles	Sofitex
Silly-Femmes âgées	CSPS de Silly
Silly-Femmes âgées	Forage de Silly
Silly-Femmes âgées	Ecole primaire de Silly
Silly-Femmes âgées	CEG de Silly
Silly-Femmes âgées	Formation des habitants de Silly sur le VIH/SIDA
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-Hommes	Les forages dans chaque village
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-Hommes	La construction de l'école de Silly
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-Hommes	Le crédit de la SOFITEX
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-Hommes	L'introduction des semences améliorées
Silly-Sadouan, Bouri-Hommes	Le pont entre Dio et Ladio
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	CSPS à Bon
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Puits à grand diamètre à Bon
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Ecole primaire à Bon
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Forages (PNGT)
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Acquisition d'intrants agricoles (SOFITEX)
Niabouri - central-hommes	Construction de l'école de Niabouri
Niabouri - central-hommes	Réalisation de forages
Niabouri - central-hommes	Le CSPS de Niabouri
Niabouri - central-hommes	La route Niabouri-Boura
Niabouri – officiels	Réalisation de forages
Niabouri – officiels	Construction d'écoles

Niabouri – officiels	Construction de la mairie
Niabouri – officiels	Construction du CEG
Niabouri – officiels	Construction de CSPS;
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Agriculture
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Mairie
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Écoles
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	CSPS
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Forages
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	Forages
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	Vaccination
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	Route
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	écoles
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	retenu d'eau

Table A.2 - List of worst interventions

Group	Project Description
Silly-hommes	la culture du coton
Silly-hommes	l'exploitation du bois et la production de charbon
Silly-hommes	l'Eglise protestante
Silly-hommes	l'ACMVG
Silly-hommes	la formation des vaccinateurs villageois (Koudounga)
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	SOFITEX
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	GABIO
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Routes
Silly-Ya, Pobié, Kalao-Hommes	Pompes
Silly-Hommes officielles	BKF 1995
Silly-Hommes officielles	Pendesa 2005
Silly-Hommes officielles	Mongaza 1996
Silly-Hommes officielles	GABIO Alpha 1994
Silly-Hommes officielles	PAAP, retenue d'eau à Silly, 1999
Silly-Femmes âgées	Crédits CATWELL
Silly-Femmes âgées	Projet GABIO sur la protection de la forêt
Silly-Femmes âgées	Forage de Silly (maison des jeunes)

Silly-Femmes âgées	Coupe du vert initié par le bureau BKF
Silly-Femmes âgées	Maison des jeunes de Silly
Silly-Sadouan, Bourri-Hommes	Puits
Silly-Sadouan, Bourri-Hommes	Fosses fumières
Silly-Sadouan, Bourri-Hommes	Périmètre maraîcher :
Silly-Sadouan, Bourri-Hommes	Ruches keynienes
Silly-Sadouan, Bourri-Hommes	Reboisement
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Réalisation de bouli
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Banques de cereales
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Logements enseignants de payalo
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Forage chine de pourou
Niabouri - Pourou, Bon, Payaro	Alphabétisation des populations
Niabouri - central-hommes	La zone protégée du BKF
Niabouri - central-hommes	Information sur le crédit
Niabouri - central-hommes	Les plaques solaires
Niabouri - central-hommes	La collecte des céréales
Niabouri - central-hommes	Le puits à grand diamètre
Niabouri – officiels	Réalisation de boulis
Niabouri – officiels	Construction de banques de céréales
Niabouri – officiels	Aménagement de forêts
Niabouri – officiels	Route Boura-Niabouri;
Niabouri – officiels	Aménagement Bas-fonds PIAME
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Pistes rurales
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Ambulance
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Écoles Paysannes
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Magasin
Niabouri-Jeunes femmes	Forêt Villageois
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	ceco
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	Les plaques solaires
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	La SOFITEX
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	La banque de céréales (magasin)
Niabouri - Kabaro hommes	Le projet BKF

