Conflict and displacement in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso

In the region of Liptako Gourma, overlapping Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, an upsurge in violence since the beginning of 2018 has led to the displacement of more than 235,000 people. In Mali, long-standing tensions between Dogon (pastoralist farmers) and Fulani (nomadic herders) communities over access to land and water points escalated into clashes in 2018, and “self-defence” militias associated with both communities have led a series of attacks on the civilian population. The conflict, exploited by Islamist armed groups to strengthen their presence in the region, has spilled over into both Niger and Burkina Faso where tensions between communities are increasing and attacks against civilians, led by armed groups operating across the borders, have become more frequent. In Burkina Faso, the country most affected by the upsurge of violence in 2019, more than 70,000 people have been displaced since the beginning of the year. IDPs are in urgent need of food and shelter assistance in particular. Access to health services and education are also constrained for both IDPs and host communities.

### Anticipated scope and scale

Activities of armed groups have increased in intensity and frequency since the beginning of 2018 and are likely to further impact the civilian population and drive humanitarian needs in 2019. In Mali, attacks against communities are likely to endure, resulting in regular incidents of violence and continuing displacement. In Burkina Faso and Niger, the violence generated by Islamist groups and the repeated cross-border attacks by local militias could aggravate tensions between communities and create the ground for intercommunal conflict, with significant displacements and the need for urgent humanitarian assistance. In all countries, the violence is likely to further impact food security.

### Key priorities

+ **235,000** people displaced
+ **1,000,000** people currently in IPC phases 3-4
+ **400,000** children without access to education

### Humanitarian constraints

Insecurity and the increasing number of attacks led by armed groups are hindering humanitarian access. Security escorts are sometimes required to deliver aid. The risk of IEDs in some areas further restricts ground access.

### Limitations

Limited information is available on sectoral needs and available information is often outdated and/or fragmented. Lack of disaggregated data makes it difficult to assess specific vulnerable groups.

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Any questions? Please contact our senior analyst, Jude Sweeney: js@acaps.org
Displaced populations in Liptako-Gourma region as of 15 March 2019

Source: ACAPS using data from UNHCR, IOM, OCHA and the Protection Cluster
Overview of the situation

Liptako-Gourma is a region overlapping eastern Niger, some areas in central and northern Mali, as well as northern and eastern Burkina Faso, covering an area of around 370,000 square kilometres. More than 80% of the 17 million people residing in the region live in rural areas (ALG 08/03/2019).

Since the beginning of 2018, this region, where livelihoods are mainly concentrated around farming and herding, has been one of the Sahel’s insecurity hot spots. Intercommunal conflict between farmers and herders and attacks by Islamist armed groups have led to the displacement of at least 235,000 people in the regions considered in this report: Mopti, in Mali, Tahoua and Tillaberi in Niger, as well as the Nord, Centre Nord and Sahel regions in Burkina Faso. Though each situation finds its roots in failing governance and pre-existing tensions among local communities, the conflict in Mali has destabilised the border areas in both Niger and Burkina Faso, and armed groups have used the porous borders to strengthen their position and lead attacks in the Liptako Gourma region. Despite national, regional and international efforts, governments haven’t been able to restore stability to the region, mainly because of poorly trained and/or equipped security forces, long-standing lack of local governance, and limited chains of command within local armed groups and militias.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDPs/regions</th>
<th>January 2018</th>
<th>July 2018</th>
<th>December 2018</th>
<th>March 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>12,128 (+463%)</td>
<td>56,495 (+365%)</td>
<td>56,495 (stable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>19,444 (+3,750%)</td>
<td>53,510 (+175%)</td>
<td>62,671 (+17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>28,000 (+211%)</td>
<td>47,000 (+68%)</td>
<td>115,310 (+145%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evolution of the number of IDPs (and variation from one period to the next) in the regions of interest for each of the Liptako Gourma region

Sources: IOM 14/02/2019, UNHCR 28/02/2019, OCHA 14/03/2019

Mali

Long-standing disputes between Dogon (pastoralist farmers) and Fulani (nomadic herders) communities over land and access to scarce resources, such as water points, have deteriorated since 2015 in central and northern Mali, and have reached alarming levels since early 2018 (Human Rights Watch 07/12/2018). At least 395 civilians were killed in intercommunal clashes between June and December 2018 (UN Security Council 28/12/2018). This violence has deeply affected Mopti region where 144 instances of violence against civilians were reported in 2018. Another 32 cases were reported between January and February 2019, showing an increase in the frequency of those events. Dogon and Fulani ethnic “self-defence” militias were responsible for many of the attacks, though cases of violence led by Islamist armed groups, such as the Macina Liberation Front and the Jama’a Nusrat ul-Islam, were also reported (ACLED 08/03/2019).

Efforts have been made to settle the conflict; one of the latest was spearheaded by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and led to an intercommunity peace agreement signed by 34 village leaders on 28 August, 2018 (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue 28/09/2018). On 28 September, the leader of a Dogon militia known as Dan Nan Ambassagou signed a unilateral ceasefire agreement (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue 28/09/2018). However, none of the peace initiatives has been able to stop the cycle of violence and at least 59 cases of violence against civilians by “self-defence” and ethnic militias were recorded in Mopti region between October 2018 and February 2019 (ACLED 20/03/2019).

Continued violence and failed mediation efforts mean the estimated number of IDPs has steadily increased since the beginning of 2018. In January 2018, around 2,100 people were displaced in Mopti region. By May, that number had climbed to over 10,000 people (IOM 07/06/2018). As of 14 February 2019, IOM reported 56,495 IDPs were in Mopti region, most of them in Bankass (20,014), Koro (17,733) and Bandiagara (4,835) circles. This represents around 47% of the national IDP population (IOM 14/02/2019). Violence in central Mali has also driven more than 4,500 people to flee across the border to Burkina Faso’s since March 2018, adding to the 24,000 Malian refugees already present in Burkina Faso since 2012. (UNHCR 17/04/2018, UNHCR 10/10/2018).

Burkina Faso

Since the beginning of 2019, violence and displacement have increased exponentially in northern Burkina Faso. On 1 January 2019, armed men attacked the village of Yirgou, in the Centre Nord region. In retaliation, Koglweogo auto-defence groups attacked members of the Fulani community, perceived as supporters of the attackers (OCHA 10/01/2019). More than 68,000 people have since been displaced in the Nord, Centre Nord and Sahel regions, adding to the 47,000 people displaced by previous waves of violence in the same area in 2018 (OCHA 14/03/2019). More than 11,000 people have also fled the country, mostly into Mali, including some 3,000 since the beginning of 2019. Most of them are now living in Gossi, NTilliit and Gao municipalities, where they are also exposed to armed groups violence and insecurity (UNHCR 12/03/2019, OCHA 18/03/2019).

On 31 December 2018, a State of Emergency was declared in seven out of 13 regions, namely Hauts Bassins, Boucle du Mouhoun, Cascades, Centre-Est, Est, Nord and Sahel. The measure was adopted after an attack on 27 December that killed 10 gendarmes (military police) in the village of Toeni, Boucle du Mouhoun region, and is still in effect.
Attacks have increased in frequency and intensity since 2017 and violence has spread from the northern regions to the east of the country. Most of those attacks are attributed to Ansaroul Islam and the Support Group to Islam and Muslims (JNIM). The government is currently leading large-scale operations to reassert control over the area and a night-time curfew has been implemented in the Est region since the beginning of March.

Niger

Ongoing instability in the Malian regions of Gao and Menaka has spread into Niger, particularly affecting the border areas of Tahoua and Tillaberi regions, where the frequency of inter-communal clashes and attacks led by armed groups has been increasing since the end of 2018. While only two cases of violence against civilians were registered in 2017 in the area, there were at least 32 similar incidents in 2018, and 9 cases were recorded between January and February 2019, showing an surge in the frequency of such events. In almost half of the cases, the attacks are attributed to ethnic militias or armed groups based in Mali and attacking herders and villagers near the border. The reasons behind those attacks are unclear, though historic rivalry and control over resources are often behind intercommunal clashes in the area. Cases of attacks, especially against schools, and kidnappings have also been reported in the areas that border Burkina Faso as Islamist armed groups are taking advantage of the porous border to lead actions across the region and escape national armed forces.

Though the crisis remains for now limited in the areas closest to the border with Mali and Burkina Faso, it has led to the destabilisation of the region by causing large-scale population movements. Displacement in the area dates back to the beginning of 2018: the first movements were registered in January 2018, with around 500 displaced, and have steadily increased since as the frequency of cross-border attacks led by suspected Malian armed groups has increased. More than 62,000 people are currently displaced in Tahoua and Tillaberi. Tahoua and Tillaberi also host some 51,700 Malian refugees who fled the violence in Gao and Menaka regions. To respond to the situation, the Government declared a State of Emergency in the departments bordering Mali in 2017 and has since extended it to other areas bordering Burkina Faso. On 15 March, the State of Emergency was extended for another three months due to the continued deterioration of the security situation.

Crisis impact in Liptako Gourma region

Food: Access to food is the first need reported by IDPs in Liptako Gourma region in cases where assessments have been conducted.

In Soum province, Burkina Faso, the most recent needs assessment shows that 98% of the displaced households have identified food as one of their priority needs and at least 86% of the households have had to reduce their consumption of food. According to other assessments conducted in 2018, around 29% of IDPs had a poor food consumption score and more than 68% were severely food insecure. 61% of the displaced households and 59% of the host population households have adopted irreversible negative coping mechanisms, such as selling livestock or eating crops to cover their food needs.

Access to food is also the main need reported by IDPs in Mopti region, Mali. Insecurity has limited access to the market where food availability is insufficient. Movement between villages is constrained due to the risk of attacks. As a result, an assessment conducted in 2018 in Koro circle, showed that 89% of the displaced population...
identified food as their priority need and that 60% of all households, host and displaced, did not have any food stock (World Vision 16/11/2018). Since then, the situation has only gotten worse, with new displacements registered: while there were around 6,000 people displaced in Koro circle when the assessment was conducted, there are currently more than 17,000 IDPs in the area (IOM 14/02/2019).

Information regarding the displaced and affected host populations in Niger is scarce. However, organisations responding in the area have reported that lack of food was one of the main concerns faced by displaced population, especially in the areas where insecurity constrains access (MSF 01/03/2019). As displacement is continuing and the frequency of violent events is increasing in the border area, it is likely that needs will grow in the coming months, while access constraints and lack of funding will continue to hamper the humanitarian response.

Protection: The civilian population is facing increasing protection concerns as attacks against civilians and human rights violations are being recorded in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso.

In Mali, the UN Panel of Experts recorded 283 violent incidents against civilians, humanitarian organisations and international security personnel between August and December 2018, leading to the deaths of at least 460 civilians. More than 42% of the cases were recorded in Mopti region (UN Security Council 21/02/2019). Since January 2019, at least 41 cases of violence against civilians have been registered in Mopti region, leading to the deaths of at least 115 people, a significant increase compare to the same timeframe in 2018 (14 attacks were registered between January and 15 March 2018, leading to 32 civilian deaths). The attacks have become not only more frequent but also deadlier (ACLED 20/03/2019).

In Niger, the northern areas of Tillaberi and Tahoua regions are affected by cross-border violence and by the spillover of the Malian conflict. Several cases of attacks against border-villages and cattle-theft have been registered (Protection Cluster 14/01/2019, Protection Cluster 12/2018). In February 2019, at least 55 protection incidents have been registered in Tillaberi region, including mainly cases of attacks by armed groups on civilian settlements; IED explosions; and extortions (Protection Cluster 11/03/2019). This number seems to confirm the trend of increasing violence against civilians: 213 protection incidents were registered in Tillaberi in all 2018. (Protection Cluster 22/01/2019).

Similar attacks have been registered in Burkina Faso where violence is increasing in 2019, with 47 cases of violence against civilians registered between January and February (ACLED 01/03/2019). In 2018, 116 attacks against civilians were registered in the country, 77 of which were registered in the Nord, Centre Nord and Sahel regions. Information regarding protection issues faced by the displaced and host populations is incomplete due to access difficulty and the limited number of organisations working on the matter in Burkina Faso. However, it is likely that protection concerns are increasing, with a low but growing risk of stigmatisation of Malian refugees, who are already in a situation of displacement and whom the local population could associate to the armed groups leading the attacks, and often acting across the border between Mali and Burkina Faso. The specific situation of women, especially displaced women and women head of households, also places them at risk of gender based violence in Burkina Faso, but also in the rest of the Liptako Gourma region.

Shelter: The information available regarding shelter needs is fragmented and displaced populations across the region are living in a variety of shelter conditions, including camps, rented or borrowed housing within host communities, collective sites, etc, which complicates the needs analysis. However, several multisectoral assessments conducted in the Liptako Gourma region have shown that shelter was often an important need for the IDP population. While IDPs in Soum province, Burkina Faso, are mainly housed with relatives or in rented accommodations, others have limited to no access to safe and decent shelter options and are sleeping in tents or in the open (UNHCR 16/01/2019). The situation is likely to have deteriorated since, given a 40% increase in the number of displaced people since the last assessment was published.

In Mopti region, Mali, the information available is mostly outdated. Sectoral needs assessment conducted in three municipalities showed that, in 2018, respectively 16%, 30% and up to 45% of the IDP population has no access to shelter and sleeps in the open, in makeshift shelters or in collective sites, exposing them to weather conditions (NRC 18/06/2018, NRC 03/08/2018, World Vision 16/11/2018). In Gourma-Rharous, Timbuktu region, another assessment showed that 81% of households are living in overcrowded makeshift shelter. The average surface available is of 0.43 square metres per person, well below the recommended SPHERE standard of at least 3.5 square metres per person (CRS 20/01/2019). As displacement has continued since the assessments were conducted, the situation is expected to have deteriorated, with a larger number of people deprived of decent housing, while the pressure on host communities is likely to have increased. Girls and women are particularly exposed to gender-based violence and sexual assaults when displaced in collective sites.

An assessment conducted in IDP sites in Tillaberi, Niger, showed a similar ongoing situation. While around 22% of the displaced households are staying with host families, the vast majority (78%) have no access to shelter (DRC 08/01/2019).

Education: Insecurity, targeted killings and threats against teachers and population displacement have impacted access to education. In Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, more than 400,000 children do not have access to education in 2019 – double the number recorded in 2017 – while more than 10,000 teachers were displaced or are unable to work (UNICEF 28/02/2019).
In 2018, 790 schools were closed across Burkina Faso because of insecurity, including 432 in the Sahel region, and 150 in the Nord region. The Est region is also exposed to violence and 197 schools were closed in 2018. In December 2018, seven cases of violent events targeting education centres and staff were registered, likely a large underestimation due to lack of access and reporting. In most cases, the attackers were identified as members of Ansaroul Islam and of the Group to Support Islam and Muslims (Insecurity Insight 12/2018). The attacks are likely to be motivated by ideological purposes to control the kind of education offered (language, curriculum, etc.) and who is allowed to receive it (RFI 03/03/2019). In 2019, the number of schools closed throughout the country is estimated to have risen to 1,150 due to increased violence and mass population displacement affecting the education staff as well as the rest of the population. In total, more than 150,000 children do not have access to school because of insecurity (OCHA 18/01/2019, RFI 26/02/2019, RFI 25/02/2019, IRIN 23/11/2018). Since then, violence has continued to cause mass displacement and it is likely that the number of children out of school has increased. There is limited information available regarding the education needs of displaced children; however, at least 21% of the IDP households in Soum province have signalled the lack of schools as one of their main concerns (UNHCR 27/02/2019).

Threats against teachers and attacks against schools were also reported with frequency in Mali (France 24 13/12/2019, Insecurity Insight 12/2018). As a result, activities were suspended in more than 807 schools, affecting some 242,000 children as of December 2018. Mopti region was the most severely impacted, with around 513 schools remaining closed as of February 2019, affecting some 154,000 children (OCHA 23/01/2019, OCHA 11/03/2019). According to the most recent need assessment conducted in Koro circle, around 88% of the host and displaced households have declared that none of their children were attending school, mainly because of the insecurity, though financial reasons were also occasionally mentioned (World Vision 16/11/2018). The lack of needs assessment conducted in 2019 makes it difficult to assess the ongoing situation. However, as displacements have continued and the security situation continues to deteriorate, children in the affected areas, especially among the displaced population, likely remain out of school in 2019.

In Niger, 33 schools saw their activities temporarily suspended in 2018 while another 18 had to close permanently because of threats by armed groups, mainly in Abala and Ayorou districts at the border with Mali, and in Torodi district at the border with Burkina Faso. The number of children impacted remain unclear (OCHA 12/12/2018). According to the Protection Cluster, another 262 schools remain hard to reach because of insecurity (Protection Cluster 22/01/2019). Cases of schools being occupied by soldiers during military operations are also reported, exposing the schools to attacks by armed groups and further disrupting access to education (Protection Cluster 31/10/2018).

The security situation is also aggravating the risk of a lost-generation in a region that was already affected by important levels of interrupted schooling due to poverty or access constraints. Around 1.1 million children are considered in need of education assistance in the three countries (344,000 in Niger, 451,000 in Mali and 375,000 in Burkina Faso) according to the latest Humanitarian Needs Overviews (OCHA 21/01/2019, OCHA 11/01/2019, OCHA 15/02/2019).

Health: Insecurity has constrained access to health facilities, because travelling long distances has become dangerous, especially for women and children. The situation is worsened by the ban on truck and motorcycles implemented as part of the State of Emergency in Central Mali and in some areas in both Niger and Burkina Faso where motorcycles were used by armed groups to conduct attacks but also by the medical services to provide medicines and support the local population during medical evacuation (MSF 12/03/2019, Institute for Security Studies 21/02/2019, International Peace Institute 31/01/2019).

Insecurity has caused the health infrastructure to collapse in certain areas of the Liptako Gourma region. A clear overview of the situation is prevented by access constraints and a lack of overall data. However, some reports and needs assessments conducted in affected areas can help gain better understanding of the situation. In Mali, Mopti region presents one of the lowest ratios of trained health professionals, with only 0.84 professionals (medical doctor, nurse and midwife) per 10,000 people, well below the ratio of 23 professionals per 10,000 people recommended by WHO (OCHA 11/03/2019). In the regions most affected by the conflict, trained workers have fled the violence while 80% of the professionals are paid through international aid, making the country highly dependent on international funding (International Peace Institute 31/01/2019).

In Burkina Faso, at least four health facilities of the Sahel region are closed while another 17 offer limited services in the Sahel and Nord regions, affecting the access to health services of over 120,000 people (OCHA 13/03/2019). According to the most recent assessment conducted in Soum province, 40% of the displaced households have indicated that at least one of their members have gotten sick during their displacement, reporting mainly cases of malaria, cough and diarrhoea (UNHCR 27/02/2019).

Trauma and psychosocial impacts are expected due to conflict, especially among populations who have been displaced repeatedly, but there is a lack of data regarding the situation and response is limited. Local populations live in fear of being attacked at any time (MSF 17/01/2019, IRIN 06/03/2019, Le Monde 18/03/2019).

WASH: Access to sanitation and hygiene infrastructure is likely to be a challenge for displaced populations, especially for the IDPs staying in informal shelters and camps. On-site evaluations in the Nord and Sahel regions, Burkina Faso, have shown that...
around 20% of the population, mainly IDPs, did not have access to latrines and practiced open-air defecation (UNHCR 27/02/2019). Open air defecation was also observed in other IDP sites in Niger (Protection Cluster 31/12/2018) and Mali (World Vision 11/11/2018), increasing the risks of contamination of water points and transmission of diseases. The lack of easily and safely accessible latrines also exposes women and girls to increased risk of sexual violence. Data on the matter is often outdated but the situation is likely to have worsened following the new waves of displacement since the beginning of 2019. Overcrowding in camps and host communities will increase the risk of illnesses spreading and will further strain the already limited existing WASH facilities.

Access to clean drinking water is also a problem for most of the displaced populations. In Niger, a recent needs assessment showed that none of the displaced households in Tillaberi and Sakoir’a municipalities had a short (less than 500 metres) and quick (less than 15 minutes) access to a protected water source, as most were dependent on the river (around 8 kilometres away) (DRC 08/01/2019). In Soum province, Burkina Faso, at least 24% of the displaced population has to walk more than 30 minutes to access clean drinking water (UNHCR 16/01/2019). Such distance to the water point increases the risks of attacks by armed groups. Women are more exposed to gender-based violence and to the risk of sexual assaults when travelling long distance to collect water.

Livelihoods: Conflict, violence and displacement have impacted host and displaced populations’ livelihoods. Displaced people are often forced to leave behind their cattle and tools (UNHCR 13/12/2018). Data on the matter is often lacking or fragmented. In Burkina Faso, assessments in Soum province show that half of the displaced population is unemployed, while around 24% have been able to find precarious sources of livelihood as day labourer or farm worker (UNHCR 27/02/2019). In Mali, an assessment in Kati circle showed that most of the IDPs relied on aid and gifts from the local community to survive (Protection Cluster 14/01/2019). The situation is likely to deteriorate in 2019 as resources of the host communities will be strained by increased number of IDPs.

Violence is also impacting the livelihoods of non-displaced population as access to the market or to the fields is constrained. Risk of attacks on the roads as well as the restriction on the use of certain types of vehicles due to the ongoing State of Emergency in all three countries are impacting the movement of goods, leading to lower availability and increased cost of transportation, reflected on the price of goods (ISS 21/02/2019). Recurrent attacks and cattle theft are also impacting the livelihood of herder households in areas where transhumant pastoralism and livestock constitute one of the main sources of livelihood for the local population (Protection Cluster 22/01/2019, Fews Net 08/2014, Fews Net 23/03/2015, Fews Net 05/08/2011).

NFIs: IDPs also rely greatly on host communities and humanitarian aid to access NFIs, as their belongings were often left behind, stolen or destroyed. Cases where houses were burned down during attacks have been reported on several occasions, though there is a lack of clear data on the frequency such occurrences (IRIN 04/09/2019, Le Monde 14/01/2019). Most of the IDPs are therefore in need of clothes and shoes, mats, mosquito nets, buckets and cooking equipment. Assessment in Soum province, Burkina Faso, revealed that only 7% of the IDP population have received NFI assistance (UNHCR 16/01/2019). Similar situations have been observed in both Mali and Niger (DRC 08/01/2019, CRS 20/01/2019), exposing the affected population to vector-borne diseases (due to the lack of cloths and nets to protect from insect bites) and lower nutritional quality of the diet (due to the lack of cooking tools).

Vulnerable groups affected

Women and girls are particularly vulnerable to security risks around temporary shelters, especially when displaced by conflict. There is an increased risk of exposure to incidents of rape, sexual assault, and gender-based violence, and such incidents go largely underreported. In Mopti region, Mali, protection monitoring activities have identified several cases of gender-based violence. The most frequently observed were cases of early or forced marriages of girls aged 12 to 15, physical and/or psychological violence and restricted access to health and education services, among others (DRC 31/12/2018). The increased presence of Islamist armed groups in the Liptako Gourma region also threatens the respect of women’s right and the implementation of projects and initiatives in favour of women and girls’ empowerment (UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019).

Armed groups in the area have targeted schools in the past. Disruption to education services exacerbates the vulnerability of children who are at risk of exploitation and abuse, especially when separated from their families. School also plays an important role to ensure social cohesion and in preventing radicalisation. Out-of-school children are at risk of being recruited into armed groups, and girls especially are more at risk of suffering abuses and forced into early marriage, (DRC 31/12/2018, Girls Not Brides 2018, Reuters Foundation 28/02/2018).

People with disabilities and older people may find leaving their shelters to look for safety/assistance more challenging, especially for those living in isolated and hard-to-reach areas (UNHCR 06/2011). Despite the identification of people with disabilities among the displaced population, precise needs and vulnerabilities faced by those persons are hard to assess due to the lack of information regarding the conditions in the camps and displacement sites (UNHCR 16/01/2019, Protection Cluster 14/01/2019, Protection Cluster 31/12/2018).
Humanitarian and operational constraints

Insecurity, restricted movement and the bad state of the road infrastructure severely hamper humanitarian access in the Liptako Gourma region (UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019).

Mali

The security forces have been unable to prevent recurrent attacks against aid workers and humanitarian convoys. In 2018, 216 security incidents involving aid workers were reported. Most of these were robberies or intimidations (INSO 07/03/2019). Attacks are particularly common in the central region of Mopti, although Segou, Kidal, Gao and Timbuktu have also been affected. This represents a slight increase compared with the 133 incidents registered in all of 2017 (OCHA 20/09/2018, OCHA 07/2018). Recent incidents in Mopti region include the 12 January 2019 abduction of two aid workers and their drivers, and an attack carried out against an aid convoy on 8 December 2018 (Aid in Danger 21/02/2019).

Armed groups in northern and central Mali frequently use IEDs. More than 233 civilian victims of IEDs and ERW were registered in the country, including 82 in Mopti region alone in 2018 (compared to 7 in 2017) (OCHA 14/02/2019). Both IDPs and returnees are particularly exposed to risks of explosive devices, and may face constraints in their access to aid. A State of emergency, declared over the entire national territory since 2017, and ongoing military operations also constrain humanitarian and population movement (Jeune Afrique 25/10/2018, MSF 12/03/2019, OCHA 14/03/2019).

Burkina Faso

Insecurity, the presence of armed groups and the deployment of security forces have constrained humanitarian access (ECHO 18/12/2018). Security escorts are required on some roads, especially in the Sahel region after threats and attacks were registered, especially between Djibo and Dori, and along the road leading from Dori to Oudalan (OCHA 09/04/2018, UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019). Most of the IDPs and refugee camps are located in these areas.

On 11 January, the State of Emergency declared on 31 December was extended for six months by the authorities, which is likely to impact humanitarian access in the regions concerned (OCHA 14/01/2019). Landmines and IED incidents have also been reported by local communities in Soum province (UNHCR 16/01/2019).

Niger

Violence at the border with Mali and Burkina Faso has been increasing since the beginning of 2018 due to cross-border movement of armed groups and rising intercommunal tensions. Large-scale military operation and the implementation of a state of emergency in Tahoua and Tillaberi is also hampering humanitarian access (UNHCR 13/03/2019). As a result, some of the populations affected by violence have not been able to receive aid despite the implementation of military escorts and deconfliction (UNHCR 13/12/2018, UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019).

Access is also constrained by the lack and/or bad maintenance of road infrastructure. Though there is very limited up-to-date information, last data published by the National Institute of Statistics for Tahoua indicated that only 572 kilometres of road were paved as of 2015, while the rest (around 2,300 kilometres) were dirt roads or track roads (Institut National de la Statistique 2016).

Aggravating factors

Food insecurity and exposure to natural events

With more than 80% of the population in the region living in rural settings, agriculture and cattle represent the main source of food and livelihood for the majority of the households, rendering them particularly vulnerable in case of natural or man-made disasters (UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019).

While conflict and violence have particularly affected the Liptako Gourma region since the beginning of 2018, food security in the area has also been impacted by drought episodes and floods since 2011.

Mali

Floods often hit the country during the rainy season, which usually runs from June to September. More than 2,254 people in Mopti region were affected by the floods in 2018, damaging at least 105 houses and destroying over 210 others. Although the rainy season has ended and normal water levels gave returned, the loss of crops, food, livelihoods and shelter had lasting effects for the affected populations (OCHA 02/10/2018, OCHA 24/09/2018).

The conflict has also exacerbated the impact of the recent drought episodes on food security. Although overall food security improved across the country thanks to adequate levels of rainfall in 2018, populations that have been displaced and affected by the conflict are expected to remain food insecure and in need of continued assistance (Fews Net 20/12/2018, Fews Net 01/2019). As a result, around 124,000 people were food insecure (IPC phase 3 and above) in Mopti region between September and December 2018, a number expected to rise to 220,000 during the lean season between June and August 2019. Almost half of them are living in Koro circle, the area most affected by violence (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019, OCHA 11/03/2019).

Burkina Faso

In Burkina Faso, agriculture is the principal source of livelihood for over 80% of the population. Agriculture is mainly rainfed, making it highly dependent upon rainfall
amounts and distribution. In 2017, the dry season, which usually spans from November to May, was longer than usual and 2018 was also affected by below usual rainfalls, negatively impacting pasture lands and crops (FEWSNET 12/2018). In 2018, the lean season (June to mid-September) started earlier than usual and the estimated number of people with urgent need of food assistance increased from 257,000 in 2017 to 954,000 in 2018 (ECHO 18/12/2018).

According to the latest Cadre Harmonisé, around 307,000 people were in IPC phase 3 (Crisis) throughout the country between October and December 2018. Around 27% of the them are living in the Sahel region, 13% in the Nord region and around 9% in the Centre Nord region. Projections for the first half of 2019 show figures increasing to 651,976 people in IPC phase 3, and around 24,000 in IPC phase 4 (Emergency). All the people at risk of falling into IPC phase 4 are living in the Sahel region (IPC 10/11/2018).

**Niger**

Food insecurity and malnutrition are chronic problems in Niger. Some 600,000 people are facing Crisis (IPC-3) or Emergency (IPC-4) levels of food insecurity, including around 88,000 in Tahoua region and 282,000 people in Tillaberi region. The situation is expected to deteriorate from June to August 2019 with respectively 224,000 and 452,000 people in IPC phase 3 and above (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019).

The high levels of food insecurity in those regions are mainly driven by the conflict which is leading to population displacement, putting added pressure on host populations, and hampering access to the fields while livestock is often stolen by armed groups and militias. Climatic reasons, such as excess of humidity on newly planted crops, have also damaged food production in Tahoua and Tillaberi and this likely to contribute to increased food insecurity (Fews Net 11/03/2019). The region of Tillaberi is particularly vulnerable to the risk of floods. However, in 2018, when more than 204,000 people were affected by floods that destroyed around 7,500 hectares of crops, Tillaberi region was among the least affected (OCHA 26/09/2018). The rain season in 2019 is expected to start in June.

**Conflict in other areas**

**Continuing hostilities in northern Mali**

Despite the signature of a peace agreement in 2015, violence and instability continue to impact the northern regions of the country. The implementation of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and integration process has been slow and little progress has been made regarding the security sector reform. As a result, armed groups present in the north of the country, including signatories to the peace agreement, have been accused of human and weapon trafficking (UN Security Council 09/08/2018). The armed groups are also suspected to take part in drug trafficking, an activity that has been growing in magnitude since the 90s. Competition between criminal groups has participated in maintaining high levels of violence (International Crisis Group 13/12/2018, RFI 19/12/2018).

Furthermore, though Islamist armed groups are now mainly active in the central part of the country where they have contributed to the ongoing intercommunal conflict, their presence continues to stir violence in northern Mali as well (UN Secretary General 05/03/2019). Sporadic attacks against the population and institutional armed forces are reported in Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal regions (RFI 28/10/2018, RFI 01/10/2018, France24 21/01/2019). This continuing context of violence in the north is affecting the government’s ability to respond to the insecurity in Mopti and is straining national and international resources required to support the increasing needs of the populations.

**Boko Haram, weakened but still active in Niger**

After causing waves of displacements from Nigeria since 2013, Boko Haram started leading violent operations in Niger in 2015, mainly in the border region of Diffa. While the situation normalised between 2017 and 2018, a new upsurge of violence has been observed since the end of 2018. According to UNHCR, at least 52 violent events can be directly attributed to Boko Haram in recent months (15 in November, 17 in December and 20 in January) (UNHCR 12/02/2019, UNHCR 11/01/2019, UNHCR 11/12/2018). At least 15 other violent events were registered between February and mid-March 2019 (ACLED 15/03/2019).

As a result, there are currently some 104,000 people internally displaced in Diffa region which also hosts more than 118,000 Nigerian refugees. Some 25,000 people who had fled into Nigeria have also returned and are now staying with the other IDPs and refugees in spontaneous sites or with relatives in the host population (UNHCR 12/03/2019).

Important financial and human means are dedicated to fighting Boko Haram and responding to the needs in the east, straining the government and humanitarian actors’ resources to respond to the deteriorating context in the west (RFI 03/01/2019, Jeune Afrique 13/03/2019).
**Contextual information**

**History of conflict in Mali and Burkina Faso**

**The Malian conflict**

The security situation in northern Mali deteriorated significantly with the 2012–2013 crisis, when the government lost control of northern Mali to Tuareg groups from Azawad. Numerous and often broken truces and ceasefires — excluding Islamist armed groups operating in the area — were signed in 2013 and 2014 aimed at short term security.

A peace agreement was signed in 2015 by the pro-government Platform Movement, which includes Groupe Autodéfense Touareg Imghad et Alliés, and the anti-government group Azawad Movement Coalition. Implementation of the peace process, including regarding the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of fighters, has been slow and tensions between the groups remain.

Violence has now spread from the north to the more populated central regions of the country, and particularly to Gao, Menaka and Mopti regions. While the bulk of the Malian and international armed forces were concentrating on restoring the authority of the central government in the north, the armed groups have benefited from the security vacuum in central Mali to strengthen their positions in this strategic border area (IRIN 19/02/2018, Congressional Research Service 19/09/2018).

**Increasing violence in Burkina Faso**

Although Islamist armed groups have been active in Burkina Faso for a long time, a shift in the magnitude and frequency of their operations was observed in 2018. The armed groups have started leading attacks outside of the Sahel region where they are based. On 2 March 2018, the JNIM launched two attacks on symbolic targets: the headquarters of the national army and the French embassy, both located in the capital city of Ouagadougou, leaving at least 16 dead and around 85 people injured. (RFI 05/03/2018) Ouagadougou was also attacked in January 2016 (New York Times 15/01/2016) and August 2017 (Le Monde 14/08/2017), but the attacks in March showed an improved level of organisation and preparedness (ACLED 17/01/2019).

Since then, attacks have increased in frequency and violence has spread from the regions bordering Mali to others closer to the capital and toward the east of the country, in the regions bordering Niger where a State of Emergency has been in place since 30 November. There are now concerns that the Islamist armed groups’ influence will cross borders again and affect countries such as Benin and Togo (IRIN News 15/01/2019, Crisis Group 02/2019).

**Drivers of the current conflict**

**Tensions between Dogon and Fulani communities in Mali**

Tension between Dogon (pastoralist farmers) and Fulani (nomadic herders) communities over access to the land and resources has been reported in Mopti region as far back as the end of the 19th century. However, it was usually temporary and resolved by traditional authorities. Disputes and friction have become more frequent as the authority of traditional mechanisms has declined (Protection Cluster 20/06/2018). Moreover, repeated drought episodes, disrupted harvests and changing livestock migration patterns have intensified competition for land between herders and farmers (Mali Actu 15/07/2018, Protection Cluster 18/06/2018, UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019).

The presence of Islamist armed groups, which benefited from the lack of local governance and the limited presence of the central state, has also fuelled the intercommunal conflict. Fulani communities are perceived by other ethnic groups and the Malian armed forces as supporters of Islamist groups, which have heavily recruited Fulani herders through the manipulation of local frustration over government land-use policies favouring agriculture at the expense of pastures and livestock corridors. (IRIN 04/09/2018, News24 13/11/2019). Though the intercommunal conflict is separate from the activities of the Islamist armed groups, it is difficult to assess the situation separately as both are closely intertwined. The rapidly evolving number, structure and motives of the non-state armed groups and their members, as well as the shifting alliances and interactions between the groups, make it impossible to fully distinguish one situation from the other (IRIN 25/01/2018).

**Spill over of the Malian conflict into Niger and Burkina Faso**

Cases of tensions and violence between farmers and herders are present in other countries of the region, including Niger and Burkina Faso. Though they have not reached similar level of violence, the presence of Islamist armed groups in the area have also participated in increasing the tensions between communities. In Burkina Faso, Fulanis have also been recruited in the ranks of the armed groups, which adds to the perception that they represent the whole Fulani community. Resentment and mistrust toward the Fulani community have increased as attacks led by Islamist armed groups have become more frequent, allowing violence to spread from urban centres toward rural areas (Jeune Afrique 14/01/2019, Le Monde 22/02/2019).

Pre-existing tensions between farmers and herders in Niger have also been amplified by climate change and the availability of fertile land (UNICEF/OCDE/OCHA 27/02/2019). The increasing frequency of attacks against villages and communities at the border with Mali and growing number of Malian refugees since 2012 have also contributed to straining the relations between communities, especially when they have crossed the border with their cattle and are competing with the local population for access to water.
sources and pasture lands (Protection Cluster 31/12/2018). Armed groups from Mali and Islamist groups with a regional presence are also using the border area to launch attacks on the Nigerien forces present in Tahoua and Tillaberi regions (ICRC 22/01/2019, International Crisis Group 12/06/2018). It is often difficult to identify the authors of attacks on villages, as both ethnic militias and Islamist armed groups have been known to raid food and cattle from villages in the border area.

**Governance vacuum and waning of the rule of law**

It is important to distinguish presence of armed groups in some territories from the actual control over those territories. In Mali, the slow decentralisation process, the lack of financial means, and the exodus of public workers as violence was increasing, have left the government apparatus weak (UN Security Council 05/03/2019). Public services are often limited to the bare minimum if any, and the State is not fulfilling even the major governing functions such as providing internal security, rendering justice or administering public infrastructure. Faced with impunity, lack of opportunity and a growing feeling of abandonment, the local population, and especially the youth (around 50% of the population in Liptako Gourma region is under 15 years old), are looking toward other forms of authorities, including traditional leaders, self-defence militias and community-based armed groups, among others (IRIN 25/01/2018, UNICEF/OECD/OCHA 27/02/2019). In Mopti region, where 90% of the municipalities are classified as poor to very poor, the lack of local governance has facilitated the installation of Islamist armed groups (OCHA 11/03/2019). Though they do not exercise control over the entire territory, their presence is severely hampering movement in the region and, in some cases, armed groups are able to completely isolate some municipalities (UN Security Council 28/12/2018).

In Burkina Faso, armed groups have taken advantage of the weakness of the security apparatus of the country since the fall of former president Blaise Compaoré in October 2014, which left the security forces disorganised (Crisis Group 05/03/2018). Poor training, rivalry among agencies, and lack of human and logistic capacities are among the main weaknesses identified (International Crisis Group 28/01/2019). The Koglweogo defence groups were formed by farmers in early 2015 to respond to rising insecurity in the northern regions but have since evolved into more organised armed groups implementing their own sets of rules and passing sentences (NORIA 15/11/2018, RFI 18/03/2016). Islamist armed groups, (some local, such as Ansaroul Islam, and other regional, such as the JNIM, active in all of Liptako Gourma region), have also benefited from the governance vacuum in a region where the development deficit, lack of infrastructure and opportunities have created a profound division between the people and the government (International Crisis Group 12/10/2017).

The government is also accused of serious human rights violations and extra-judicial killings in the conduct of counter-terrorism operations. One of the latest examples occurred in February when the armed forces reported the “neutralization” of 146 armed-groups members in Burkina Faso. According to human rights organisations, at least 57 of the victims were civilians (Crisis Group 02/2019, Reuters 06/02/2019). Similar cases are also often reported in Mali and Niger and contributes to increasing mistrust and resentment toward the authorities, especially as such events often go unpunished (Le Monde 20/06/2018). It also actively contributes to the violence between communities by targeting Fulani herders suspected to be members of Islamist armed groups, therefore reinforcing the negative bias of other communities throughout the Liptako Gourma region.

**Potential evolution of the situation**

**Conflict extends to other regions/countries**

The likelihood of seeing the conflict in the Liptako Gourma region spread to the rest of Burkina Faso is increasing. Since the beginning of 2018, the presence of armed groups in the eastern regions of Burkina Faso has been felt more strongly, with a number of attacks against government officials and civilian population (ACLED 17/01/2019). Between January and February 2019, at least 36 violent events implicating the JNIM, local militias or other unidentified armed groups took place outside of the Sahel, Nord and Centre Nord regions, impacting mostly the Est and Centre-Est regions (ACLED 01/03/2019). Those figures are likely to be underestimated, as numerous events remain unreported due to access constraints. The area is home to one of the most important natural reserves in western Africa, extending between Burkina Faso, Niger and Benin. Authorities suspect that the armed groups are using this unpopulated area, with limited state presence, as a base for their operations in the region (IRIN 15/01/2019, Institute for Security Studies 08/03/2019). Insecurity has also increased in the western areas, especially along the border with Mali, but also further south near the border with Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Togo where several violent events have been registered since December 2018 (ACLED 17/01/2019).

While the extension of the conflict to the rest of the country could have severe consequences in terms of population displacement and food insecurity in Burkina Faso, countries in coastal West Africa, such as Benin, Togo, Ghana or Ivory Coast, are also threatened by the expansion of the conflict in Liptako Gourma. Those concerns were exacerbated by the recent attack on a border patrol in the Centre-Est region, at the border with Ghana (RFI 16/02/2019). According to local sources, some 275 people have fled from a village in Boulgou province, Centre-Est region, to Togo to escape from rising violence in the area (Ghana Web 24/02/2019). Displacement to coastal West African countries are likely to increase if the conflict spreads further into Burkina Faso and
could have destabilising consequences for these neighbouring countries. So far these countries have been relatively spared by Islamist violence but could represent a new target for armed groups driven not only by an ideological purpose, but also looking for access to the West African ports and trafficking routes. In Liptako Gourma, the armed groups are exploiting local vulnerabilities such as unemployment, feelings of neglect and misrepresentation by the central authorities and the lack of social infrastructure and services, all of which exist in the countries bordering Burkina Faso, and could be used by the armed groups to stir instability and attempt to establish their presence (Institute for Security Studies 08/03/2019).

**Food crisis in Burkina Faso**

The conflict in northern Burkina Faso is likely to persist over the next months and will continue to affect the food security and livelihood of the local population. Around 307,000 people were facing Crisis levels of food insecurity (IPC-3) between September and December 2018. This number is expected to rise to 676,000 during the lean season between June and August (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019). Around 64% of the population facing IPC-3 and above is living in the Nord, Centre Nord and Sahel provinces, where more than 115,000 people have been displaced by violence, impacting the livelihood and access to food (among other services) of both host and displaced populations. Thanks to a medium-to-good harvest last season, host households are still able to meet their needs (Fews Net 02/2019). However, as displacements are likely to continue and violence to spread further into the eastern and southern part of the country, humanitarian needs will increase while access constraints will hamper aid delivery.

Violence is likely to impact the next planting season (land preparation usually takes place between March and mid-May) and have lasting consequences on the food security of the local population. The violence could also have a negative impact on livestock migration (usually running between January and June) and on the livelihood of the herders. Frequentation of the markets could drop, especially in the areas closer to the border in Sahel province, which would impact the livelihood of both farmer and herder communities. Some 4.7 million people living in the areas affected by the conflict rely on livestock and cereals as their main sources of livelihood (Fews Net 2009). As a result, it is likely that the number of people in IPC phase 4 will increase in 2019 and could exceed the 24,000 expected for June-August period in the regions affected by the conflict. Should the conflict spread to the rest of the country, the general figure of food insecure people would likely increase. At least some of the 38,000 people expected to face crisis level (IPC3) of food insecurity in the Est and Centre-Est region could fall into emergency level (IPC4).

**Information gaps and needs**

There is limited age and gender-disaggregated data regarding the displaced population and wider population affected by the violence and conflict. Information regarding the conditions and needs in the camps and displaced site is also lacking. This negatively impacts the analysis of gender and age specific needs required to implement targeted corrective actions. The absence of data regarding disabilities is also impacting the quality of the analysis.

There is limited up-to-date information regarding access constraints, especially in Tahoua and Tillaberi regions, Niger.

**Lessons learned**

Food and water resources in the host areas are often strained by the arrival of displaced populations. Activities supporting the livelihood of both IDPs and host community members are important to prevent tensions and ensure sustainable reconstruction of the affected areas. Supporting host communities is crucial as most IDPs depend greatly on community support systems.

In previous displacements in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, on-site evaluations have shown that IDPs used non-protected water sources such as open wells, rivers, and lakes as their main sources of water. Assessments have also highlighted the lack of access to latrines and the high frequency of open-air defecation. Measures should be taken to ensure adequate access of both IDP and host populations to safe drinking water and latrines and to prevent the transmission of waterborne diseases.

Pre-existing tensions between communities have been manipulated by Islamist armed groups to consolidate their position in new regions. It is therefore crucial to implement programs to ensure dialogue and peaceful relations between communities and prevent intercommunal tensions from turning into a situation of armed conflict.
### Key characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key indicators</th>
<th>Mali</th>
<th>Burkina Faso</th>
<th>Niger</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regions</strong></td>
<td>Mopti</td>
<td>Nord, Centre Nord and Sahel</td>
<td>Tahoua and Tillaberi</td>
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<td><strong>Total population</strong></td>
<td>The population in Mopti was 2,651,011 in 2017 (SMART 08/2017). About 90% of the population lives in rural areas (Government 2011).</td>
<td>In total, an estimated 1.4 million people live in conflict-affected regions of Burkina Faso, corresponding to the entire population of the Sahel region. However, as conflict and violence are spreading, another 3.3 million people living in the Nord and Centre-Nord regions could be affected, while more than 1.7 million people live in the Est region, where armed groups’ violence is also increasing (ECHO 14/12/2018, OCHA 06/12/2018).</td>
<td>In 2018, an estimated 4.5 million people live in Tahoua region, including 79,000 people in the departments most affected by the conflict. Around 3.4 million people live in Tillaberi region, including 2.4 million people living the departments under the State of Emergency (OCHA 2018).</td>
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<td><strong>WASH figures</strong></td>
<td>In 2015, 74% of the total population was using at least basic drinking water sources, and 31% was using at least basic sanitation services (WHO 2015).</td>
<td>In 2015, 48% of the urban population and 12% of the rural population was using at least basic sanitation services (WHO 2015).</td>
<td>In 2015, 44% of the urban population and 6% of the rural population was using at least basic sanitation services (WHO 2015). Around 45% of the population in Tillaberi and around 35% in Tillaberi had access to modern water point (Institut National de la Statistique 2016).</td>
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<td><strong>Health figures</strong></td>
<td>In 2012, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 62.3 in Mopti, and the under-five mortality rate was at 112.4 (WHO 2012).</td>
<td>In 2017, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births was 51, and the under-five mortality rate was at 81.2 (World Bank 2017, UNICEF 07/03/2019).</td>
<td>In Tillaberi region, there was 1 medical doctor for 63,000 people as of 2015. In Tahoua, there was 1 doctor for 98,700 people. This is well below the 1/10,000 ratio recommended by the WHO and the situation is likely to have deteriorated since as violence has constrained access and displaced populations in the area (Institut National de la Statistique 2016).</td>
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<td><strong>Nutrition levels</strong></td>
<td>In Mopti region, some 154,000 children suffer from acute malnutrition, including 20,000 from SAM (OCHA 2015).</td>
<td>In Burkina Faso, 7.6% of children under 5 suffer from Global Acute Malnutrition and 1.4% of Severe Acute Malnutrition (SMART 2016).</td>
<td>In Tillaberi, 9.3% of children under 5 suffer from Global Acute Malnutrition, and 1.9% from Severe Acute Malnutrition. In Tillaberi, respectively, 7.7% and 1.3% of children suffer from GAM and SAM (Institut National de la Statistique 2016).</td>
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<td><strong>Food security</strong></td>
<td>Around 124,000 people are facing crisis levels of food insecurity (IPC-3) between September and December 2018. This number is expected to rise to 220,000 during the lean season between June and August (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019).</td>
<td>Around 307,000 people are facing Crisis levels of food insecurity (IPC-3) between September and December 2018. This number is expected to rise to 676,000 during the lean season between June and August (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019).</td>
<td>Around 600,000 people are facing Crisis levels of food insecurity (IPC-3) between September and December 2018. This number is expected to rise to 1,220,000 during the lean season between June and August (Cadre Harmonisé 02/2019).</td>
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<td><strong>Literacy</strong></td>
<td>In 2015, the adult literacy rate stood at 33.07% and the youth literacy rate (15–24) stood at 49.37% (UNESCO 2015). The primary education gross enrolment ratio was 80.08% in 2017 and the net enrolment rate was 61.27% (UNESCO 2017).</td>
<td>In 2015, the adult literacy rate stood at 34% and the youth literacy rate (15–24) at 50% (UNESCO 2015). The primary education gross enrolment ratio was 93% in 2017 and the net enrolment rate was 74% (UNESCO 2017).</td>
<td>In 2012, the adult literacy rate stood at 30.6% and the youth literacy rate (15–24) at 39.8% (UNESCO 2012). The primary education gross enrolment ratio was 75.1% in 2017 and the net enrolment rate was 65.5% (UNESCO 2017).</td>
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