



Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment

TOGO

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ECOWAS COMMISSION
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Table of Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations	4
Message from the President of the ECOWAS Commission.....	6
Statement from the Vice President of the ECOWAS Commission	7
Preface	8
Executive Summary	9
Introduction.....	11
Research Process.....	11
Terminology and Conceptual Definitions	13
Literature Review.....	14
Research Questions	15
Description of the Sample	16
Data Analysis	17
Scope and Limitations of the Study	19
Country Background.....	21
National-Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resiliencies.....	23
Rule of Law (Most Vulnerable Pillar)	26
Politics and Governance (Second Most Vulnerable Pillar).....	30
Economics and Resources (Third Most Vulnerable Pillar)	33
Population and Demographics (Fourth Most Vulnerable Pillar)	41
Security (Least Vulnerable Pillar).....	46
External Factors.....	50
Gender Considerations	52
Sub-National Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resilience Factors: Observations by Region	55
Centrale Region	55
Kara Region	61
Maritime Region	66
Plateaux Region.....	72
Savanes Region	79
Conclusion and Recommendations	85
Appendix A: Data Sample.....	88
Appendix B: Vulnerability Index	93
Appendix C: Additional References	95
Appendix D: Matrix of Vulnerabilities, Risks, Resilience Factors, and Recommendations by Human Security Pillar.....	96

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
ADCF	Association for Defense and the Council of Women
AfDB	African Development Bank
ANADEB	Agence Nationale d'Appui à la Base
ANPE	National Agency for the Promotion of Employment
ANSAT	National Agency for Food Security of Togo/Agence Nationale de la Sécurité Alimentaire
ASTOVOT	Association Togolaise des Volontaires au Travail
AU	African Union
C-14	Togolese Opposition Coalition
CACIT	Collective Associations Against Impunity in Togo
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CHR	Regional Hospital Center
CNDH	National Commission on Human Rights/La Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CRA	Conflict Risk Assessment
CRVA	Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CVJR	Commission for Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation/Commission Vérité, Justice et Réconciliation
DPA	ECOWAS Directorate of Political Affairs
DPKRS	ECOWAS Directorate of Peacekeeping & Regional Security
EBID	ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency initiative
EU	European Union
EWD	ECOWAS Directorate of Early Warning
FAIEJ	Fonds d'Appui aux Initiatives Economiques des Jeunes
FDS	Forces de Défense et de Sécurité
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FNFI	National Inclusive Financial Fund
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross domestic product
GF2D	Groupe de Réflexion et d'Action Femme Démocratie et Développement
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GSDRC	Governance and Social Development Resource Centre

HAPLUCIA	Haute Autorité de Prévention et de Lutte Contre la Corruption et Les Infractions Assimilées
HCRRUN	High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity/Le Haut-Commissariat à la Réconciliation et au Renforcement de l'Unité Nationale
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IncReps	ECOWARN's Incident Reports
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IO	International Organization
KII	Key Informant Interview
MIFA	Mécanisme Indicatif de Financement Agricole
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
OCDI	Organisation de la Charité pour un Développement Intégral
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ORESCOP	Organisation Régionale et Sous-régionale de la Communauté Peuls
PRADEB	Programme d'Appui au Développement à la Base
PND	National Development Plan
PWYP	Publish What You Pay
RESODERC	Reseau des Organisations de Developpement de la Region Centrale/Network of Organizations of the Central Region
REWARD	Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa
RPT	Rally of the Togolese People
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SitReps	ECOWARN Situation Reports
SNPT	Société Nouvelle des Phosphates du Togo/National Phosphate Company of Togo
TJRC	Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNIR	Union for the Republic
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WACEM	West African Cement
WANEP	West African Network for Peacebuilding
WHO	World Health Organization

Message from the President of the ECOWAS Commission

The 15 Member-States of the ECOWAS Community represent a thriving region of the world, with a population of approximately 366 million and a rich human and topographical diversity. From the coastline to the mountain peaks of Fouta Djallon, across the Sahara and the mangroves of the Togo Delta, ECOWAS is home to diverse families, communities, and nations.

Over the last decade, the region has witnessed significant progress in lifting the standard of living for millions. However, along with the richness of natural resources, human capital and great opportunity, there are also challenges to contend with such as natural disasters, pandemics, ethno-sectarian tensions, and security threats caused by extremism and terrorism.

Global developments and changes such as advances in technology, human migration and climate change, have added new levels of complexity, presenting new challenges for strategic planning and preparedness as we look ahead to the future.

This is where Early Warning plays a critical role in helping ECOWAS to understand the changing dynamics so as to strengthen decision making and early response at the regional and national levels. The Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessments (CRVAs) serve as an important resource in this regard. These reports are useful for strengthening the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework action plans as well as to serve as reference materials for an in-depth understanding of the human security dynamics in our Member States, and for our partners across the region.

I therefore invite national stakeholders, all ECOWAS institutions and our partners to make use of these reports for the entrenchment of peace and progress for the benefit of the Citizens of ECOWAS.

Jean-Claude Brou
President of the ECOWAS Commission

Statement from the Vice President of the ECOWAS Commission

ECOWAS takes pride in finalizing this CRVA report which aims to identify structural vulnerabilities, event driven risks and existing resilience factors in each Member State of the Community. Indeed, this is a remarkable feat towards boosting the African Peace and Security Architecture of the African Union, with ECOWAS setting the pace for the development of an African-owned data set that can be tapped into to enhance human security analysis and accurate forecasting to assist policymakers to make informed decisions on pressing issues in the region. This information can be used as a baseline for ECOWAS and its partners to inform early warning and response efforts, particularly in this time when Early Warning and Response Mechanism is being deployed at the National level.

The CRVA research leverages ECOWARN data—gathered by Field Monitors—to establish a country baseline for monitoring patterns and trends across human security pillars. By comparing ECOWARN data to other data sets, and complementing quantitative data with qualitative findings, the assessments also help the Early Warning Directorate of ECOWAS to gather more robust data that is rich, reliable and empirical. The resulting findings are more representative in terms of geography, time, and theme for each country and needs to be updated periodically.

ECOWAS will consolidate this achievement by applying the knowledge and skills embodied in the CRVA Manual. My conviction for this emanates from the fact that the training of all EWD staff in the development of the CRVA Index, which marks the climax of transfer of knowledge and skills from the USAID REWARD technical staff to ECOWAS, will allow ECOWAS to independently conduct future CRVAs. Already, the EWD has initiated a process to put to practice the defined methodological framework to conduct Regional Risk and Resilience Assessment in the Lake Chad Basin, thereby serving as the first pillar in implementing the decision of the joint ECOWAS and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to engage communities in peacebuilding processes.

We hope the Member States of our Community take ownership of this report and anchor development and peace initiatives upon it, in addressing the risks and vulnerabilities in their communities. As we decentralize Early Warning and Response to the ECOWAS countries, the Commission stands ready to accompany each Member States in the implementation of the actionable recommendations embodied in the CRVA report.

Finda Koroma
Vice President, ECOWAS Commission

Preface

The ECOWAS Early Warning Directorate has made giant strides in the practice of data driven early warning, through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of incidents and situations from multiple sources, with the added benefit of original data generated through the ECOWARN system. Indeed, the Center's state-of-the-art technological tools places it at a vantage position to monitor and analyze risks and vulnerabilities in the ECOWAS region, cutting across the key areas of human security.

ECOWAS has played, and continues to play, a critical role in the monitoring of threats to human security across the region including the Sahelo-Saharan, Mano River, Gulf of Guinea, Lake Chad and Senegambia conflict systems to improve response for the prevention and management of conflict escalation.

Beyond a narrow focus on violent conflict alone, and consistent with its mandate to promote the socioeconomic and political integration of the sub-region, ECOWAS applies a human security lens with a view towards enhancing the well-being of the population in accordance with the ECOWAS Vision 2020. Thus, this report highlights risks, structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors across five dimensions (demographic, economic, security, governance and rule of law) at the national and sub-national levels.

Each CRVA report represents a myriad of perspectives and experiences from affected stakeholders including community leaders, civil society, administrative officials, security agents, traditional and religious leaders, just to mention a few. In this way, the CRVA report serves as a strategic document to provide an overview of the human security challenges in each ECOWAS member state as well as the social and institutional resilience factors that can help manage those challenges.

We hope that this report will be useful for strategic planning in addressing issues of human security as well as to provide insights to a multitude of stakeholders including policy and decision makers in the public and private sectors for conflict-sensitive engagement within the region.

Dr. Abdou Lat Gueye
Director, ECOWAS Early Warning

Executive Summary

From 2016 to 2019, ECOWAS collected quantitative and qualitative data in Togo to better understand the structural vulnerabilities that may exist, and how those vulnerabilities affect the everyday lives of individuals and communities. This research was done in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)'s Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa (REWARD) project, as part of a broader assessment of entire West African region. As part of this process, a series of Focus Group Discussions and interviews were conducted in May 2019 in Togo to contextualize the findings and to learn more about resilience factors that mitigate risk and promote human security. The purpose of this report is to summarize these insights and perspectives, so that national stakeholders can build on their successes, and also to serve as a baseline for ECOWAS's monitoring of patterns and trends. The report provides an overview of national and subnational vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors, as well as conclusions and recommendations.

The CRVA was conducted by ECOWAS to update and expand upon the Conflict Risk Assessment (CRA) 2013-2014 country reports. To better understand the sub-national patterns and trends, the research design began with a desktop study involving a social network analysis based on a survey of peace and security actors in the country and a scoping of experts to be consulted during the fieldwork. This was followed by a Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis of patterns and trends in escalation dynamics and a quantitative analysis of relative structural vulnerabilities by country and human security pillar.

In Togo, high levels of vulnerability were found in Politics/Governance and Rule of Law, while moderate levels of vulnerability were found in

Economics/Resources and Population / Demographics, and lower levels of vulnerability were found in Security.

Challenges included sharp political polarization, election violence, and limited access to justice and public confidence in the judicial system. Youth unemployment, economic migration, and disparities in development and infrastructure were all noted as undermining of human security in the country. Many also noted a history of regional sectarianism and the risk of violent extremism spilling into Togo from neighboring countries, as well as periodic challenges relating to communal and herder/herder tensions. Environmental issues included coastal erosion and environmental degradation in the South as well as water management issues and associated migration in the North.

However, there were strong social and institutional resilience factors for effective dispute resolution and peacebuilding in Togo. Local and traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, Peace and Transhumance Committees, religious institutions, and NGOs, as well as regional and international judicial institutions all played critical roles. Women play an important role in the social, political, and economic life of Togolese society. Togo also had strong economic resilience factors, including the presence of women and youth entrepreneurs. Government programs have also increased access to finance for vulnerable groups.

The following report aims to provide an overview so that regional and national stakeholders can have a clear picture of the challenges faced by the country, as well as the capacities that can be leveraged and built upon for the promotion of sustainable human security in Togo.

Though risk/incident data naturally fluctuates and may therefore have changed since the publication of this report, the structural vulnerabilities are reflective of medium- and long-term trends. These reports focus on

the identification of structural vulnerabilities and resiliencies, and how they may impact upon events and developments as they occur.

Introduction

Research Process

The CRVA assesses structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors according to five human security pillars as identified by ECOWAS in a 2016 scoping paper.¹ The pillars are: 1) Rule of Law, 2) Politics and Governance, 3) Economics and Resources, 4) Population and Demographics, and 5) Security. Findings in this report describe how risks flow from vulnerabilities in the context of Togo both within and across the five pillars. In recognition of the fact that violent conflict has underlying social, economic, political, and security drivers but expresses itself differently depending on the context, a holistic human security framework was used in this assessment and will be used for the CRVAs in all ECOWAS member states. Furthermore, the analysis also breaks out gender considerations and external factors as cross-cutting issues that need to be

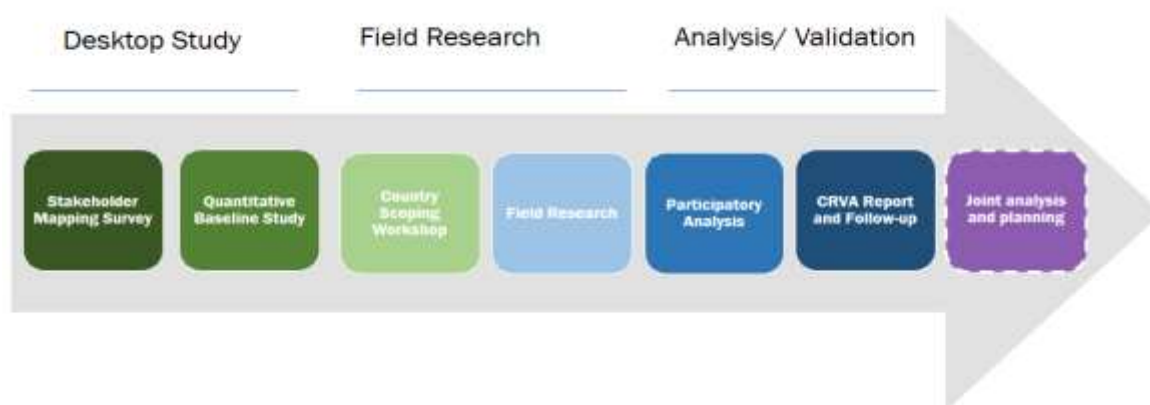
understood for effective early warning and response.²

As shown in the graphic below, the research was conducted in three main phases: Desktop Study, Field Research, and Analysis and Validation.

Phase 1: Desktop Study

The Desktop Study included a preliminary assessment of structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors.

For the assessment of structural vulnerabilities, the research used data from dozens of sources, including ECOWARN Situation Reports (SitReps). Drawing on these pre-existing data sets,³ a CRVA Index was created to measure the relative levels of vulnerability across five human security dimensions in Togo.



¹ The EWD Scoping Paper was developed by ECOWAS to help inform the CRVA process, with the human security pillars identified based on best practice approaches such as ECOWARN guidelines and the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) framework.

² EWD Scoping Paper on “Risk Assessment of Five ECOWAS Pilot Countries: Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Burkina Faso”

³ Data sources used in the development of the CRVA Index include Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, the Center for Security Studies ETH Zurich, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace.

For the assessment of event-driven risks, event data, including from ECOWARN's Incident Reports (IncReps), was triangulated against data from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) to estimate the locations and type of conflict issues at the sub-national level over time. Using multiple sources allowed for cross-validation, the filling of gaps, and the ability to identify trends in indicators and sub-indicators using queries and key word searches.

For the assessment of social and institutional resilience factors, a survey was deployed to all of ECOWAS's in-country contacts to learn more about the peace and security actors working to manage and reduce risks and vulnerabilities in the country. Respondents (including representatives of religious institutions, public sector actors, civil society, youth groups, and development actors, among others) were also asked to name organizations that they have partnered with in the last two years on issues of peace and security. Data was then uploaded to a Stakeholder Network Map for quantitative analysis and to identify leverage points, spheres of influence, and social capital. Based on this analysis, key technical experts were identified and were contacted for the next phase of the research.

Phase 2: Field Research

The Field Research began with a scoping workshop in Lomé. Using the Stakeholder Network Map, highly networked technical experts were convened in a workshop to validate the initial desktop findings and suggest a way forward for the qualitative analysis in the field. The Scoping Workshop was also used to tailor and sensitize the broader research questions and the Key Informant Interview (KII) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) instruments and questionnaires based on local context. Additionally, the Scoping Workshop also served to attain references and contacts for key actors and stakeholders in the field who would be consulted over the course of the next two weeks during the KIIs and FGDs. Thus, the desktop study

phase informed the research questions that needed further context and validation in the field, as well as the sample of respondents to be engaged (what was asked, where, and to whom).

A team of experts and researchers then conducted an in-country assessment between May 15 and May 20, 2019 with participants from the regions of Centrale, Kara, Maritime, Plateaux and Savanes. The team interviewed key stakeholders from the various hotspots identified in the desktop study and validated in the scoping workshop who have been affected by violence and have knowledge of local context and capacities. The fieldwork team included representatives from the ECOWAS Directorates of Early Warning (EWD), Political Affairs (DPA) and Peacekeeping & Regional Security (DPKRS), as well as affiliated experts, including ECOWAS Field Monitors. The KIIs and FGDs conducted during this in-country assessment collected qualitative data and information regarding various perspectives on structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risk factors, and social and institutional resilience factors relating to the different conflict issues across the country. These transcripts have been collated, streamlined to reduce repetition and vagueness, and categorized under headings for analysis and prioritization during Phase 3.

Phase 3: Analysis and Validation

After the quantitative, GIS, and survey data was validated and contextualized in the field, and the qualitative data was collected, organized and summarized, this report was drafted and was then validated by ECOWAS and USAID. This report will serve as a baseline and resource for more targeted early warning products and analysis/planning towards strategic and operational prevention of human insecurity within the country of Togo as well as associated conflict systems more broadly.

Terminology and Conceptual Definitions

In this CRVA report:

“Vulnerability” is defined as any structural factor that has the potential to be a conflict driver. These can include such things as youth unemployment, poverty, inequality, climate, patronage, demographic factors, etc.

“Risk” is defined as any event-driven factor that has the potential to be a conflict trigger. Risk factors can include specific controversies or events such as disasters or elections that may occur.

“Resilience” is defined as any social or institutional factor that has the potential to help mitigate or manage risks and vulnerabilities. These include political, cultural, and community leadership with significant social capital to influence conflict dynamics in a constructive way, including public sector, private sector, religious institutions, civil society, opinion leaders, development workers, etc. Resilience factors can include institutions that play a stabilizing role in the short, medium, or longer term.

The CRVA analysis was conducted according to the framework depicted in the figure below, whereby event-driven risk factors flow out of the structural vulnerabilities (per the red downward arrow) while social and institutional resilience factors mitigate and prevent those risks and vulnerabilities (per the green upward arrow).

For ECOWAS, this framework is useful in that it is aligned with the existing ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), which is a strategic tool to strengthen the human security architecture in West Africa. Key to the ECPF are the categories of **“Operational Prevention,”** or measures applicable in the face of crisis, and **“Structural Prevention,”** or measures that ensure that crises do not arise or re-occur. The CRVA framework is aligned with the ECPF such that identified Vulnerability Factors are to be mitigated by Structural Prevention measures, and Risk Factors are to be mitigated by Operational Prevention measures. This alignment is important for the utility and actionability of this report by users in West Africa.



Literature Review

A Human-Centric Approach to Early Warning

In academic literature, the human security lens to conflict early warning is a change from the more state-centric approaches that were in vogue throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Historically, early warning was focused on prevention and mitigation of conflict between states. In the post-Cold War period with a surge in intra-state conflict, early warning was focused on identifying the drivers and impacts of civil conflict on states. At that time, analysis focused on terminology of state “collapse” and “failure,” emphasizing impacts to neighboring countries or regions, and perpetuating a comparative paradigm of poverty and limited economic growth and conflict in contrast to more developed countries.⁴

However, as a more interconnected human and global security approach emerged in the 2000s, conceptions of state fragility and conflict analysis evolved in both development aid and policy approaches. As the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC) describes, “At a very broad level, fragility is the result of a dynamic interplay between internal factors (including violent conflict, poverty, economic and structural conditions, weak formal institutions), and external factors (including international political economy, regional and global insecurity).”⁵ While not discounting the role of the state as a key vehicle for managing and preventing conflict, the human-centric approach looks first and foremost at the impact of demographic, economic, political, and security conflict drivers on individuals and communities as well as the role that a wide variety of social and

institutional factors play in preventing conflict. Thus, the human security framework provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats that affect individuals’ lives, whether this is through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political or economic factors.

The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security outlines a human-centric approach to security in five principles: 1) *People-centered*, with a focus on protecting basic human freedoms; 2) *Multi-sectoral*, encompassing a broad understanding of threats and causes of insecurity; 3) *Comprehensive*, taking into account different types of individuals’ security from economic to social; 4) *Context-specific*, emphasizing the need to analyze specific conflict contexts and root causes of insecurity; and 5) *Prevention-oriented*, highlighting locally tailored risk prevention and mitigation measures through early warning mechanisms.⁶ This focus on cross-cutting issues and situation-specific analysis and response are central to the CRVA process and broader objectives of integrated conflict early warning and response by ECOWAS and its partners. For the CRVAs, this involves identifying conflict risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies across the human security pillars of Population and Demographics, Politics and Governance, Security, Economics and Resources, and Rule of Law.

Many indices and development frameworks have emerged for measuring resilience and fragility, from the Fund For Peace’s *Fragile States Index*⁷ to the African Development Bank (AfDB) and World Bank’s *Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)*⁸ and Mo Ibrahim Foundation’s *Index of African Governance*.⁹ Today, leading international development actors and multilateral

⁴ The Annual Bank Conference on Africa http://cega.berkeley.edu/assets/miscellaneous_files/109_-_ABCA_2015_Ines_Ferreira_Defining_and_measuring_state_fragility_A_new_proposal_May15.pdf

⁵ Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC) <https://gsdrc.org/topic-guides/fragile-states/>

⁶ Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) <https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20an>

<d%20Products/Human%20Security%20Tools/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf>

⁷ Fragile States Index, The Fund for Peace

⁸ Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), World Bank and African Development Bank (AfDB)

⁹ Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Mo Ibrahim Foundation

agencies such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the AfDB have also produced strategies, practice areas, and tools, which seek to address the drivers of fragility. The AfDB, for example, has a 2014-2019 Strategy for *Addressing Fragility and Building Resilience in Africa*, with a focus on building member state capacities and focusing on “fragile situations rather than fragile states alone.”¹⁰

As the AfDB Strategy notes, however, “there is no single solution and no predefined ‘toolbox’ for addressing fragility.”¹¹ Older academic and policy conceptions of “state failure” used analysis centered on “traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression,” as outlined in a 2009 paper by the United Nations Human Security Unit. Newer models of analysis have taken on a broader human security lens, which was in “response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone.”¹²

Thus, a human-centric approach, as opposed to a state-centric approach, is important for analyzing risks and vulnerabilities to society for robust early warning and response mechanisms. Human security provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats which affect individuals’ lives, whether through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political, or

economic factors. As such, the CRVAs seek to draw upon the more dynamic and interrelated aspects of risk and vulnerability, which look at capacities and pressures within a society with a view to identifying structural vulnerabilities, resiliencies and risks across key human security pillars. As defined by the United Nations General Assembly, “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people.”¹³ This approach is also in line with the ECOWAS Vision 2020 which seeks to promote peace, prosperity, and cohesion across the region,¹⁴ and includes a focus on strengthening many human security aspects within member states.

Research Questions

Based on the initial desktop findings, the team developed a set of framing questions broken out by the five human security pillars. These framing questions were not asked verbatim in the field, but rather informed the design of KII and FGD instruments. These instruments included simple, open-ended questions intended to prompt a discussion where respondents could express their opinions, experiences, and perceptions about the ways in which they had been impacted by vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors in Togo.

Rule of Law: To what extent is the judiciary independent of the executive? What role does the judiciary play as regards questions of justice and impunity? Is there access to legal and judicial services throughout the country? To what extent do communities rely on police and security forces to provide justice? To what extent are women’s rights

¹⁰ African Development Bank Group (AfDB) <https://www.afdb.org/en/documents/document/addressing-fragility-and-building-resilience-in-africa-the-afdb-group-strategy-2014-2019-48812>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) <https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20an>

<d%20Products/Human%20Security%20Tools/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf>

¹³ United Nations General Assembly https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Opinion/A.66.29_0.pdf

¹⁴ ECOWAS <http://www.spu.ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/VISION-RFV-in-English-for-web.pdf>

protected in practice? Is there reliance on alternative/traditional dispute resolution mechanisms? Do people resort to mob justice?

Politics and Governance: What role(s) do women and youth play in politics and decision-making? What role(s) do civil society groups, the media and social movements play in politics? To what extent do perceptions of corruption and nepotism in government erode the legitimacy of state institutions and electoral process? To what extent has the frequent political turnover in recent decades impacted perceptions of state legitimacy? Are there concerns around future elections?

Economics and Resources: To what extent has volatility in commodity prices negatively impacted the most vulnerable groups? Has this been a driver of food insecurity or conflict? To what extent have domestic, regional or international events (e.g. insecurity in Togo) affected the economy? To what extent is food insecurity a concern? In what ways do climate change or environmental pressures affect local communities? Are there disparities between urban and rural areas in terms of service provision? What role do women play in the economy? What role do youth play in the economy? What role do illicit economic activities (including smuggling and arms or drug trafficking) play in the local and national economy? What role does natural resource management and land tenure play in social cohesion?

Population and Demographics: What impact(s) has migration (both internal and to Europe) had on Togo? What role do women play in social, economic, and political life? What role do youth play in social, economic and political life? Is a disproportionately large population of disenfranchised youth putting a strain on urban resources or public services? Are there tensions or conflicts between religious or ethnic groups? To what extent does geography (ex: rural vs urban areas, or North vs. South) affect access to social services and infrastructure? How effective is family planning in terms of access and policy? How

prevalent is early marriage, gender-based violence and female genital mutilation (FGM)?

Security: What role do the security forces play in managing or worsening criminality? Are they legitimate, representative, and professional? Are there other conflict drivers such as land disputes, succession or inheritance, or resource competition? What role do communities or non-state actors play in security provision? Are there political, communal or sectarian tensions that could pose a threat to security? To what extent have illicit markets (e.g. drug trafficking) contributed to issues of criminality and violence? Are there cross-border, maritime, or transnational threats? What have been the impacts of insecurity in the broader region (e.g. extremist group activity in neighboring Mali or the Boko Haram insurgency in Togo) on local communities? To what extent is radicalization and extremism a concern, particularly among youth?

Description of the Sample

Data collected and analyzed for this research included hundreds of ECOWARN SitReps, ECOWARN IncReps, ACLED event data, and a scoping survey, as well as transcripts and notes from FGDs and KIIs in the field. Other sources, integrated to form a vulnerability index (the CRVA Index), included Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace. A complete breakdown is included in Appendix A.

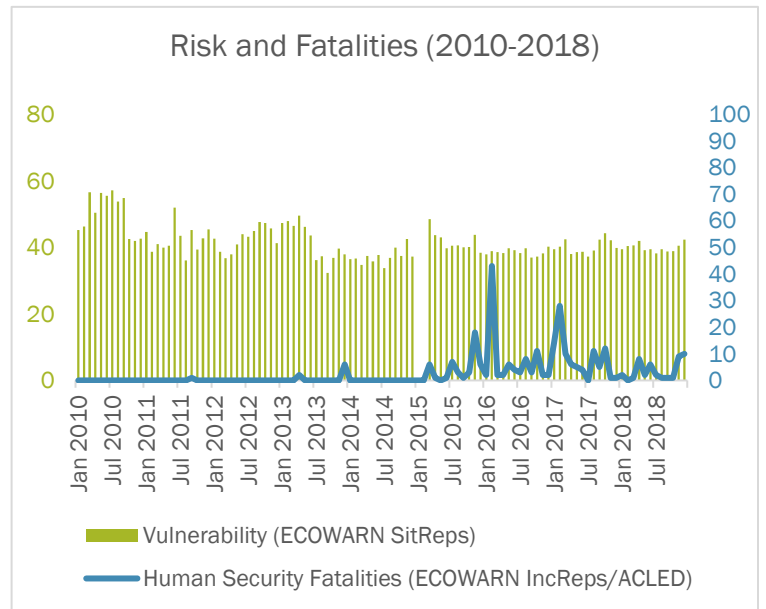
Data Analysis

ECOWARN data shows that vulnerability in Togo has stayed relatively steady as measured by taking a monthly average of the SitReps overall score from 2015 to 2019. Spikes in protests were noted in 2015, then again in 2017 and 2018. In February 2016, several were killed in an outbreak of meningitis. On February 27, several were killed in farmer-herder clashes in Savanes Region.

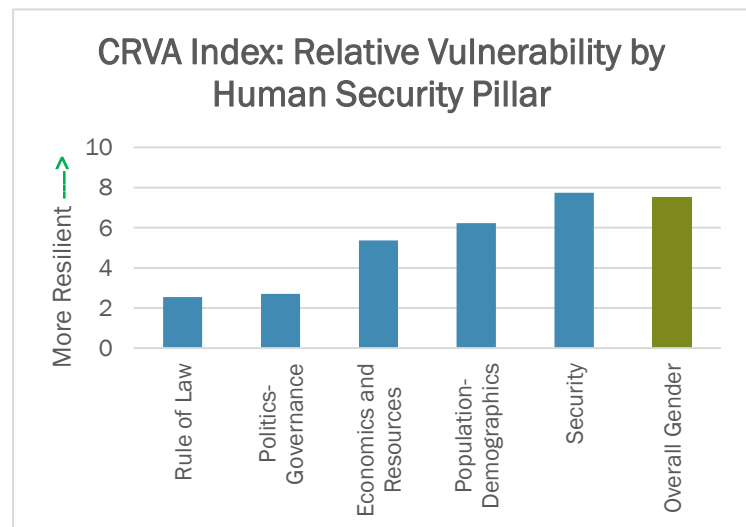
The CRVA Index to the right indicates that in Togo the Human Security pillars that exhibit the most severe levels of vulnerability are Rule of Law and Politics-Governance. These findings were contextualized by respondents in the field. In general, security was relatively strong, compared to other countries in the region. Across the five dimensions, Gender was also relatively strong compared to other countries in the region.

From 2015-2019, GIS event data shows hotspots, patterns, and trends at the sub-national level, including incidents involving famer/herder clashes in Savanes and protests in Centrale and Maritime regions.

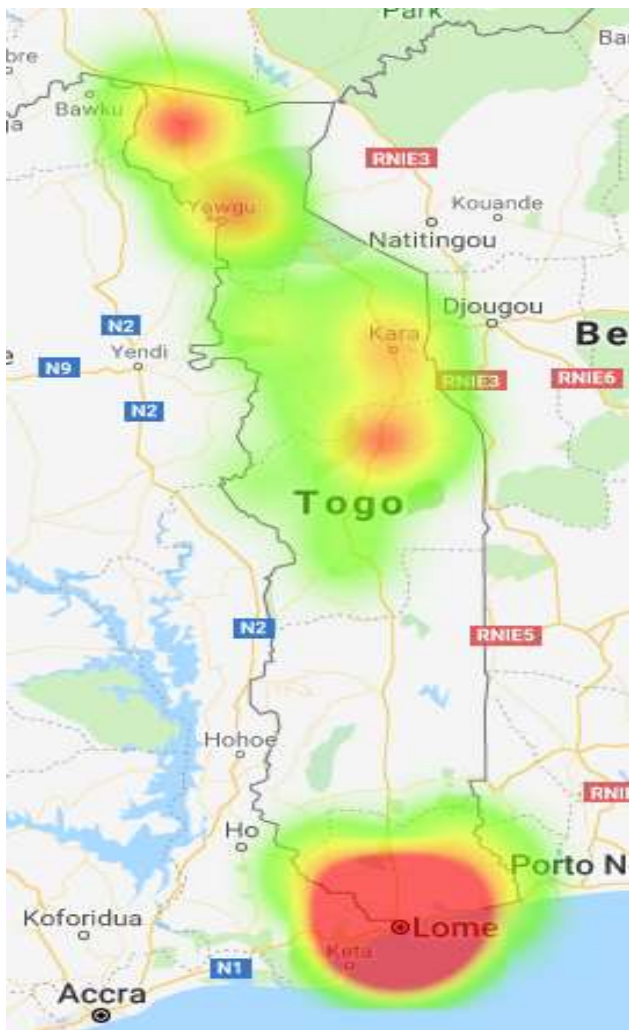
Field research was undertaken to qualify and contextualize these findings through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).



The graph above shows the trends in risk layered against vulnerability. The y axis on the left (0-80) shows the level of vulnerability with a score of over 60 reflecting higher levels of vulnerability. The y axis on the right (0-100) shows the number of conflict incidents and fatalities by month.



In the graph above, the lower the score in the y axis (0-10), the more vulnerable the Human Security Pillar.



Heatmap of event data shows hot spots of conflict-related incidents in Togo from January 2015-April 2019. These hot spots informed the field research planning. Field research focused on Maritime (Lomé and Aného), Plateaux (Atakpamé and Kpalimé), Centrale (Sokodé), Kara, and Savanes Regions.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This report seeks to layer, triangulate, and juxtapose quantitative, GIS, and qualitative data in a way that is accurate, meaningful, and representative. However, limitations to this analysis include the five- year date range for the event/GIS data and the ECOWARN SitReps. If there are conflict cycles that fall outside those parameters, there will be constraints on the ability to analyze those patterns in this report. Furthermore, this research sought to ensure representativeness in the sample of stakeholders engaged through KIIs and FGDs. To the extent that these stakeholders were representative, they added vital contextualization and validation of the desktop research. In the case of this research, Focus Group Discussions with men, women, and youth, respectively, were held in Lomé and Sokodé, while Key Informant Interviews with prominent individuals and technical experts were held with respondents from each of the five regions. We strove to include all salient perspectives from different stakeholder groups (administrative officials, traditional rulers, women's leaders, civil society, public security officials, and religious leaders). To the extent that each point of view was included, the study is representative.

Scope and limitations also apply to the use and purpose of the study. The CRVA reports support the objectives of ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). In particular, the CRVA reports identify vulnerabilities across the human security pillars in order to inform structural prevention. Structural prevention, as defined in the ECPF, comprises “political, institutional (governance) and developmental reforms, capacity enhancement and advocacy on the culture of peace.” While this report can also be used to inform operational prevention, which includes “early warning, mediation, conciliation, preventive disarmament and preventive deployment using interactive means such as good offices and the ECOWAS Standby Force,” it seeks primarily to identify the key areas of structural vulnerability at the national

and sub-national levels for strategic planning by ECOWAS and other partners in the peace and security space. However, inasmuch that operational prevention can be informed by patterns and trends in the event-driven risk factors highlighted in this report, the CRVA should serve as a baseline analysis of dynamics that are closely monitored over time. Thereby, in addition to informing strategic planning on structural vulnerability issues, the CRVA will also inform early warning products such as weekly, monthly, and quarterly situation reports that inform analysts and potential responders as to heightened conflict risk across one or more indicators and propose recommendations on response. The CRVA reports can also be used as a foundation to inform more detailed case studies around identified risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies for a country of interest or concern.

While many reports that seek to identify structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors focus almost exclusively at the national level, ECOWAS seeks to support a more decentralized early warning and response infrastructure across the region. As such, the CRVA reports also take into consideration dynamics at the sub-national level. These sub-national factors are critical to consider as they help analysts and potential responders understand the context in which specific events (risks) are occurring, which may be markedly different from the national context. A mapping of sub-national level risks, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies can also help inform strategies for engaging at the local level for structural prevention. In particular, as defined by the ECPF, taking “measures to ensure the crises do not arise in the first place or, if they do, that they do no re-occur.”

Finally, as also noted in the ECPF, conflict in West Africa tends to be highly interconnected, which often leads to cycles of violence that cross borders and can keep countries emmeshed for decades. The CRVA reports, covering all fifteen member states of ECOWAS, are also useful in helping to inform and understand the dynamics of specific

regional conflict systems, such as those that occur across the Mano River and Sahel. These regional conflict systems are influenced and interconnected not only historically and culturally, but also share many of the same structural vulnerabilities that give rise to risks and the eventual outbreak of violence, decade after decade. Thus, the CRVA reports present an opportunity to view not only the specific national and sub-national factors that lead to structural vulnerability and heightened risk, they also help highlight the nature of regional conflict systems, and the need for a holistic and systemic lens in both analysis and response.

Country Background

Togo gained independence from France in 1960. The country's first president, Sylvanus Olympio, was killed in 1963 in one of post-colonial Africa's earliest presidential assassinations and replaced by Nicolas Grunitzky.¹⁵ In 1967, Gnassingbé Eyadéma led a coup d'état against Grunitzky and seized power.¹⁶ Despite several coup attempts during the 1980s, Eyadéma and his political party, the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), led Togo for nearly 40 years, until his death in office in 2005.

While Togo shows significant resilience and capacity in regard to economic performance and gender equality, there remain challenges in areas of political representation and inclusiveness. Eyadéma ruled Togo as a one-party state under the RPT until 1993.¹⁷ This period was marked by allegations of human rights abuses and suppression of political space. In the early 1990s, Eyadéma agreed to open up the country to multiparty elections and in 1992 a new constitution was drafted.¹⁸ However, in 1993 Eyadéma dissolved the government, prompting violent protests and condemnation and sanctions from the international community.¹⁹ Elections were next held in 1998, and Eyadéma was re-elected.²⁰ In 2002, the legislature amended the constitution to remove presidential term limits and change elections from two rounds to one.²¹ Presidential

elections were again held in 2003, and Eyadéma was re-elected.²² Then, when Eyadéma died in office in 2005 the Togolese military declared his son, Faure Gnassingbé, as president, a move which the international community condemned as a coup d'état.²³ Both the African Union and ECOWAS instituted sanctions against Togo in response to the decision.²⁴ Under international and regional pressure, Gnassingbé stepped down and ran in elections held in April 2005.

Since then there have been cycles of protest and reform, beginning with reconciliation talks between the president and the opposition in April of 2006. By August, the government had signed an accord to include the opposition in a transitional government.²⁵ Legislative elections were held that year which gave the majority of the seats in parliament to the RPT. Gnassingbé was re-elected in 2010 and again for a third term in 2015.²⁶ In both the 2010 and 2015 elections, opposition parties alleged incidents of fraud, although observer missions declared the elections to be free and fair.²⁷ In 2012, Gnassingbé transformed the RPT into the Union for the Republic (UNIR).²⁸

Most recently, in 2017, protests began again over constitutional reforms which would include the imposition of presidential term limits.²⁹ The

¹⁵ BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107024>

¹⁶ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/togo>

¹⁷ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/togo>

¹⁸ BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107024>

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ International Foundation for Electoral Systems <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1763/>

²¹ Washington Post https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/07/why-did-14-opposition-parties-just-boycott-togos-legislative-election/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a5dc92a13e62

²² International Foundation for Electoral Systems <http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1899/>

²³ Freedom House

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/togo>

²⁴ CNN

<http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/africa/02/26/togo/>

²⁵ BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14107024>

²⁶ Freedom House

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/togo>

²⁷ ECOWAS <http://www.ecowas.int/elections-home/togo-election-2015/>

²⁸ Radio France Internationale

<http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20120415-togo-le-rpt-est-mort-vive-unir>

²⁹ Africa Is A Country

<http://africasacountry.com/2017/09/the-end-of-the-eyadema-dynasty-in-togo/>

protests were centered in the capital of Lomé and in the northern city of Sokodé, but spread to other parts of the country as well, including northern areas previously considered to be government strongholds. Security forces at times responded forcefully to the protests, as the government placed restrictions on social media and messaging platforms.³⁰ Between August and December 2017, an estimated 16 people, including two soldiers, were killed in clashes between protesters and security forces.³¹ In February 2018, the Togolese government and opposition leaders agreed to mediation led by the Ghanaian president, Nana Akufo-Addo.³² Gnassingbé's UNIR party retained a

majority in December 2018 parliamentary elections after the 14-party C-14 opposition coalition boycotted the poll after its demands for electoral reform were not implemented.³³

As demonstrated by the country's deep political tensions that gave rise to and continue to fuel the ongoing protests, Togo is particularly vulnerable in the areas of governance and rule of law, particularly around issues of elections, corruption, impunity for security force abuses, and a perception of bias toward the ruling party within state institutions.

³⁰ The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/sep/21/no-business-no-boozing-no-casual-sex-when-togo-turned-off-the-internet>

³¹ News24 <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/embattled-togo-leader-breaks-silence-in-new-year-address-20180104>

³² AfricaNews <http://www.africanews.com/2018/02/21/togo-opposition-halts-protests-as-ghana-led-mediation-bears-fruits/>

³³ France 24 <https://www.france24.com/en/20181224-togo-presidents-party-wins-majority-parliament-provisional-results>

National-Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resiliencies

Based on desktop research using the ECOWARN and ACLED data sets, surveys of peace and security actors in key regions in Togo, field research that included KIIs and FGDs, and participatory analysis by the CRVA field research team, the following national-level risks, vulnerabilities, and resilience factors were identified:

Structural Vulnerabilities	<p>Rule of Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Slow-moving adjudication processes• Perceptions of corruption, impunity, and bias in the judicial system• Poor access to justice for poor and vulnerable populations• Low capacity of the judicial system, including backlog of cases• Understaffed, ill-equipped, and inhumane conditions in prison system <p>Politics and Governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Perception of highly polarized political processes• Perception of nepotism, bias and favoritism in government and public sectors, particularly along ethnic and political lines• History of irregular/postponed elections• Underrepresentation of women at the ministerial level• Disengagement of youth from political processes <p>Economics and Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Perceptions of inequitable distribution of resources• Political unrest impacting investment• Perceptions of corruption• Climate change and environmental degradation• Pollution of waterways and fisheries• Illicit economy <p>Population and Demographics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Youth unemployment• Perceived disparities in healthcare and education spending and services in urban versus rural areas• Environmental pressures, such as irregular rains and drought• Youth bulge• Poor infrastructure in rural areas, including roads, clinics, and schools <p>Security</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Perception of security sector bias in some regions• Criminality, including drug and human trafficking• Political violence around elections/campaigns• Transhumance-related conflict issues• Land based disputes
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Event-Driven Risks

Rule of Law

- Incidents of political corruption, including judicial bribery
- Incidents of excessive force, particularly during periods of political unrest

Politics and Governance

- Incidents of corruption or mismanagement
- Polarizing elections
- Use of hate speech during political campaigns

Economics and Resources

- Environmental pressures and the effects of climate change
- Price volatility
- Land and boundary disputes
- National and international microfinance programs

Population and Demographics

- Tensions between ethnic groups over land competition
- Criminality, specifically child trafficking
- Teenage pregnancy
- Effects of climate change, such as soil erosion
- Environmental effects of extractives practices, such as pollution of waterways and fisheries

Security

- Incidents of criminality, including theft and road banditry.
- Cases of gender-based violence (GBV), including domestic violence
- Increase in cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, sale of adulterated fuel, and human trafficking
- Tensions arising from transhumance

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Rule of Law

- Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms
- Religious institutions
- Traditional leaders
- ECOWAS Community Court of Justice
- Civil Society Organizations (WANEP-Togo, CACIT, ACAT, etc.)
- Police and gendarmerie (in some regions)

Politics and Governance

- Female representation in National Assembly
- Women's political parties
- Civic education NGOs
- Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN)

Economics and Resources

- Women/youth entrepreneurs
- Women/youth microcredit and microfinance schemes
- NGOs, CSOs, and INGOs

- Multilateral financial institutions
- National Inclusive Financial Fund

Population and Demographics

- NGOs and INGOs (i.e. Compassion International, Peace Corps, GIZ)
- Religious institutions
- Multilateral institutions (AfDB, ECOWAS, EU)
- National Agency for Food Security of Togo (ANSAT)

Security

- Peace and transhumance committees
- Religious institutions
- Traditional Leaders
- INGOs and NGOs
- Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) (can build upon some of the associated mechanisms, recommendations, and interventions which may have shown promise)

Rule of Law (Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of corruption, impunity, and bias in the judicial system • Slow judicial processes • Limited access to justice for poor and vulnerable populations • Low capacity of the judicial system, including backlog of cases • Understaffed, under-resourced, and inhumane conditions in prison system
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidents of corruption, including bribing judges • Incidents of excessive force, particularly during periods of political unrest
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local and traditional dispute resolution mechanisms • Religious institutions • Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) • ECOWAS Community Court of Justice • WANEP-Togo • Police and gendarmerie (in some regions)

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Togo is most vulnerable in the area of Rule of Law, with an aggregate score of 2.5. This score is well below the regional average of 6.3 and is the third lowest in the region.

Within Rule of Law, Togo is most vulnerable in the area of Judicial Independence (score of 1.0 with a regional average of 4.8). While the Togolese constitution affirms the right to a fair public trial, the executive branch is perceived as strongly influencing the judicial system and undermining judicial independence.³⁴ The Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court are also viewed as partisan, including key decisions on elections and a 2010 ruling that excluded nine opposition MPs from the parliament.³⁵ In addition, nominations to influential judicial posts are often perceived to be dependent on political and ethnic connections.³⁶

In interviews with youth in one region, the perception of judicial favoritism was cited, closely tied with ethnic and/or political affiliation. Other interviewees noted that people often do not bother going through formal justice mechanisms such as the courts even if they have access to them, or knowledge of the law. This is due to the belief that, unless the individual or family is of a favored ethnic or political status, they would not be treated fairly. Judicial rulings around human rights, such as freedom of speech and assembly, were noted by field respondents, in particular, as being highly politicized.

Togo is also vulnerable in the area of Accountability and Impunity (score of 1.0, with a regional average of 4.7). The Togolese judicial system is undermined by perceptions of corruption and inadequate staffing and resources. This was also noted during field interviews, where respondents related that the justice system is hampered by a backlog of cases, meaning that justice was often delayed, and

³⁴ U.S. Department of State
<https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2016&dliid=265312#wrapper>

³⁵ Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI)
<https://www.bti->

project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2016/pdf/BTI_2016_Togo.pdf

³⁶ Ibid.

many cases remained unresolved, particularly for the poor.

Similarly, in Savanes, fieldwork interviewees also voiced mistrust in the judicial system, and the belief that there was ingrained and systematic bias across institutions mandated with carrying out the rule of law. Some pointed to extreme sentencing that did not necessarily match the crime, while others noted that certain judges are assigned to cases deemed financially lucrative through bribery or other corrupt practices. Many agreed that while the law itself mandates judicial independence, in practice, this is rarely the case.

Also, during the fieldwork in Togo, participants in KIs and FGDs noted that despite the government's High Authority for the Prevention and Fight Against Corruption and Related Offenses (HAPLUCIA), launched in early 2017, corruption in the judicial system is perceived to be high. Moreover, according to Freedom House, officials serving in HAPLUCIA are directly appointed by the president, raising further concerns about their independence and neutrality.³⁷

In a survey on people and corruption in Africa, conducted by Transparency International in 2015, only 37 percent of respondents from Togo reported having trust in the court system, and nearly half (48 percent) felt that judges and magistrates were corrupt.³⁸ Twenty-two percent of respondents also reported that they had paid a bribe to the courts in the past year.³⁹ During the fieldwork, participants in both the KIs and FGDs in several regions noted that while they may have access to the judicial system, it is perceived as corrupt. Specifically,

interviewees related the perception that only those with political power, wealth, or those belonging to certain ethnic groups could expect justice. Bribery was believed to be common, with some fieldwork participants noting that even those convicted of a crime could avoid serving a sentence if they bribed the right official.

In addition to delays, corruption and bribery, an AfroBarometer policy paper from March 2017 noted that common complaints around the court system included lack of knowledge around the intricacies of the judicial system, absence of legal counsel, and the high cost of going to court.⁴⁰

In rural areas where it is more difficult to access the formal court system, customary law often takes precedence.⁴¹ The Togolese government has recently begun to address issues of access, training, and staffing by building and renovating new appeals courts, hiring more judges and training additional clerks.⁴² Despite these initiatives, which began over two years ago, many of those interviewed during the course of the fieldwork reported that, particularly outside of the capital and major urban centers, there remained very little capacity in this regard.

Related to Accountability and Impunity, Togo created a Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) to address the violence that occurred in the country between 1958 and 2005.⁴³ Beginning in 2009, the TJRC gathered over 22,000 accounts from victims of violence and resolved to have hearings for 523 of them.⁴⁴ This process resulted in 68 recommendations set forth to improve the electoral system, reform the judicial

³⁷ Freedom House, Freedom in the World Report, 2019: Togo <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/togo>

³⁸ Transparency International, People and Corruption in Africa Survey, 2015 https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_africa_survey_2015

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Afrobarometer <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad147-togos-judicial-system-marked-popular-distrust-perceptions-corruption>

⁴¹ U.S. Department of State <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/ind ex.htm?year=2016&dliid=265312#wrapper>

⁴² Afrobarometer <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad147-togos-judicial-system-marked-popular-distrust-perceptions-corruption>

⁴³ Freedom House, Freedom in the World Report, 2017 <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

⁴⁴ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/HealingthewoundsofthepastforabetterfutureinTogo.aspx>

system, engage civil society, address issues with security forces, and to address impunity.⁴⁵ These recommendations have led to reforms in the justice system, including a code of conduct for judges.⁴⁶ However, many felt that the Commission was not successful in accomplishing its goal of addressing widespread perceptions of injustice or encouraging broad reconciliation, and opposition supporters are critical of the impunity that they feel persists despite the TJRC's efforts.⁴⁷

There are challenges within the prison system, as many prisons are overcrowded and defendants face extended pretrial detentions.⁴⁸ While there is a mechanism by which detainees can be released after having served half of the sentence for their alleged crime while awaiting trial, inadequate record keeping often means that these cases are overlooked.⁴⁹ Detention conditions are also poor, with prisons failing to provide adequate food or medical care.⁵⁰ The lack of sanitation, ventilation and potable water can result in diseases, including malaria, amongst the prison population.⁵¹ Twenty-seven deaths were reported in Togolese prisons in 2016.⁵²

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Togo has a stronger score in Gender Representation in Legislation and Judicial institutions (5.5) than the regional average (4.8). The Togolese constitution provides for equality between men and women, and in 2011 the government passed the National Policy on Gender Equality and Equity.⁵³ However, the reliance on customary and traditional law (most prevalent in rural areas) often means that, in practice, women face discrimination in areas such as land

ownership and inheritance.⁵⁴ In addition, while rape, sexual harassment and female genital mutilation (FGM) are punishable under Togolese law, there is no specific law criminalizing domestic violence.⁵⁵ Social stigma, lack of police intervention, and low levels of knowledge around legal protections also deter women from reporting cases of gender-based violence.⁵⁶ Women also remain underrepresented within judicial institutions. For example, as of September 2017 only two of the 14 members of the Administrative and Judicial Chambers of the Supreme Court were women.⁵⁷

In fieldwork interviews, respondents from several regions noted that despite the lack of confidence in the formal justice system, vigilantism or citizens carrying out reprisals against those believed to have committed crimes is relatively rare. There is also a reliance on both family and traditional justice mechanisms, both through family structures as well as village chiefs, elders, or the leaders of local religious institutions. In Centrale, respondents spoke of the role of the Chef de Quartier, who is either elected or chosen by hereditary succession and reports to the village chief. The Chef de Quartier cannot formally arbitrate a dispute but can play a mediation or conciliation role.

In Kara, interviewees noted that there is a slowly increasing level of trust in the police and gendarmerie, even if they still felt the courts were generally biased. Female respondents noted instances where the police or gendarmerie had been willing to intervene in a conflict to uphold a citizen's rights, including women. As in Centrale, respondents in Kara noted that mob justice has

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/TogoTheroadtoawardshumanrights.aspx>

⁴⁷ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ U.S. Department of State <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/265524.pdf>

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

⁵³ OECD <http://www.genderindex.org/country/togo/>

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Supreme Court of Togo http://www.coursupremetogo.tg/juge/chambre_administrative

been on the decline in recent years, with very few acts occurring, as faith in the police and gendarmerie increases.

Other social and institutional resiliencies in the sector that were noted by KII and FGD participants included the presence of local, alternative dispute resolution practices, often carried out by religious institutions and traditional leaders. In Savanes, participants looked favorably on such initiatives by the Catholic Church, which also allows for non-Catholics to utilize their services to informally adjudicate and resolve cases.

Multilateral institutions such as the Community Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which exercises both human rights and non-human rights jurisdictions, was noted in several interviews as having been pivotal in addressing some of the structural and procedural gaps in the country.

In Maritime, interviewees highlighted the role of civil society organizations and governmental institutions in safeguarding the rights of prisoners. In particular, the Collection Associations Against Impunity (CACIT) and the National Commission of Human Rights (CNDH) were identified. The former was reported as advocating for prisoners detained without trial and the latter was acknowledged for its work on improving prison conditions.

Other participants from Plateaux noted the role that the West African Network for Peacebuilding-

Togo (WANEP-Togo) has played in teaching critical skills in conflict resolution. These foundational trainings in conflict resolution skills, they reflected, are important in helping resolve matters of contention such as land conflicts before they rise to the level of needing the formal justice sector to intervene.

Finally, respondents in several regions also noted that the Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN), which is mandated to promote national unity through truth and reconciliation mechanisms, is generally viewed in a positive light. In Kara, the HCRRUN has compensated victims of social injustice during the country's political crisis. Overall, the HCRRUN is viewed at the local level as a potential source of societal and institutional resilience. It was mentioned repeatedly in field interviews across regions as well as across sectors.

Politics and Governance (Second Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Perception of highly polarized political process• Perception of bias and favoritism in government and public sector based on ethnic or political affiliation• History of irregular/postponed elections• Underrepresentation of women at the ministerial level• Disengagement of youth from political processes
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Incidents of corruption• Polarizing elections• Use of hate speech during political campaigns• 2020 elections
Social and Institutional Resiliencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Female representation in National Assembly• Women's political parties• Civic education NGOs• Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN)

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Togo is second most vulnerable, following the Rule of Law pillar, in Politics and Governance, with a score of 2.7. This score is below the regional average of 3.97. Within this pillar, the country is the most vulnerable in the area of Governance and Perceived Legitimacy (2.24), and most resilient in the area of Gender Representation in Politics (5.9).

Togo scored a 4.2 in the area of Elections and Political Participation, which is below the regional average of 5.28. The 2013 parliamentary election saw a 66.06 percent voter turnout, compared to 84.92 percent during the previous election.⁵⁸ Though these elections were held with some delay,

they were judged to be free and fair.⁵⁹ The 2015 presidential election had a voter turnout rate of 60.94 percent, slightly below the 2010 election (64.68 percent).⁶⁰ The main opposition candidate in 2015, Jean-Pierre Fabre, opposed the election results in which Faure Gnassingbé won reelection with 58.75 percent of the vote.⁶¹ However, the independent ECOWAS Election Observation Mission declared the election was free and fair.⁶² The 2015 election was more peaceful compared to other elections, particularly the 2005 election when an estimated 400 to 800 people were killed in political violence.⁶³ The 2018 parliamentary elections saw Gnassingbé's UNIR party lose three seats despite boycotting by a 14-party opposition coalition called C-14 due to what they described as an unfair playing field.⁶⁴ Regional leaders called

⁵⁸ Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance <http://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/279/40>

⁵⁹ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/togo>

⁶⁰ Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance <http://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/279/40>

⁶¹ Reuters <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-togo-politics-election-idUSKBN0NP1B720150504>

⁶² Reuters <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-togo-election-idUKKBN0NH0T520150426>

⁶³ IRIN <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2005/09/26/un-report-says-least-400-people-died-political-violence>

⁶⁴ Agence France-Presse <https://www.voanews.com/a/togo-president-s-party-wins-majority-in-parliament/4713975.html>

the vote, which had an official turnout of about 60 percent of voters, “free and transparent.”⁶⁵

While parliamentary elections took place in 2007, 2013 and 2018, local officials have been appointed by the ruling party since 1986.⁶⁶ Local elections were originally slated to take place in December 2018, but are now scheduled for 2019, while presidential elections will be held in 2020.⁶⁷

In fieldwork interviews, participants broadly expressed concerns regarding unrest and potential violence leading up to the 2020 presidential elections. In Centrale, there was a high degree of tension and uncertainty expressed by interviewees about participating in political processes in general, as they are believed to be highly polarized.

Similarly, in Maritime, fieldwork respondents, referencing the outcome of the 2017-2018 political crisis, spoke of a sense of disillusionment and resignation within the opposition.

In an environment where, participants related, anything could be taken out of context and be used as justification for violence, many believed that the safest course of action was to forgo any involvement at all in the political process, including voting.

In other regions, such as Kara, opinions diverged, with some feeling that the government was becoming more democratic and inclusive, and others believing it was highly corrupt and based purely on nepotism.

As with other pillars in Togo, the views of interviewees on whether the local or national government was democratic and inclusive, or

corrupt and based on nepotism, appeared to be influenced by an individual’s ethnic or political party affiliation. In general, the majority of those interviewed believed that nepotism is widespread in Togo, and party affiliation reportedly allows for better access to government jobs.⁶⁸

In Savanes, for example, field research interviewees spoke frequently of a “North-South” divide in the country, which gives rise to a host of ethnic and political bias, particularly during election cycles. Others from the region pointed to the perceived misallocation of resources along party or ethnic lines, uncoordinated decision-making processes, and a cooption of traditional rulers, and the negation of their former independence, by the government.

Overall, ethnicity is unevenly represented in the political and security establishment, with Northerners perceived as being more predominant, and Southern ethnic groups, though economically significant, less represented in elected or appointed positions of influence. Political rhetoric can sometimes be ethnically polarizing.⁶⁹

In terms of freedom of expression, in several regions, particularly Savanes, interviewees spoke of the closing of media space and the overall censorship of opposition party views during the 2018 legislative elections. Across regions, participants noted that particularly during election cycles, it is common for there to be a general silencing or crackdown on opposition or divergent views, and believe that this will occur again in 2020, potentially leading to another round of violence and popular unrest surrounding the elections.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Freedom House
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

⁶⁷ World Politics Review
<https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/27387/the-movement-to-oust-togo-s-gnassingbe-dynasty-faces-an-uncertain-year>; Al-Jazeera
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/togo-announces->

[referendum-legislative-election-dates-180918190412347.html](https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/ind-referendum-legislative-election-dates-180918190412347.html)

⁶⁸ U.S. Department of State
<https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/ind-ex.htm?year=2016&dliid=265312#wrapper>

⁶⁹ Freedom House
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/togo>

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

As within the Judiciary, gender representation in politics (5.9) is well above the regional average (4.3). In January 2019, Yawa Djigbodi Tsegan of the UNIR became Togo's first female head of the National Assembly.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, women remain underrepresented in political decision-making positions at both the national and subnational levels. As of 2019, only 15 (16.5 percent) of the 91 members in the National Assembly were women.⁷¹ In 2013, Togo amended the electoral law to require gender parity in candidate lists starting in the 2018 legislative elections. In addition, state funding for political parties is now tied to the number of women elected from these parties.⁷²

As with other issues surrounding politics and governance, opinions generally diverged on female representation and participation, depending on the region. In Centrale, for example, women reported being underrepresented, or not represented at all, in the political sphere. Youth also noted that they are generally not engaged or shut out of the political sphere. In Kara, some interviewees pointed to the fact that women represent 17.6 percent of the seats on the National Assembly, while others noted that very few women hold ministerial positions, or those that convey true political power and influence.

At the local level, particularly in Kara, women's groups noted that even if they are not given formal positions of power, such as at the ministerial level, they nevertheless are politically active and have found ways to organize. There are an increasing number of women's political groups that play a

central role, according to interviewees, in educating voters on citizenship and political participation. Kara experienced a comparatively low level of unrest, such as protest activity, during the 2017 political crisis, and women felt that their role, and the role of civil society in general, in calming tensions was critical to this outcome. Furthermore, in Maritime, the chief reported that women have been gaining prominence in the chieftaincy structure, given that they can now serve as advisors in the royal court.

⁷⁰ Daily Mail <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-6627007/Togo-elects-female-head-National-Assembly.html>

⁷¹ Au Togo <https://autogo.tg/6eme-legislature-au-togo-15-femmes-deputees-dont-11-nouvelles-elues/>

⁷² Quota Project <http://www.quotaproject.org/country/togo>

Economics and Resources (Third Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political unrest impacting investment • Perceptions of corruption • Climate change • Pollution of waterways and fisheries • Illicit economy
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental pressures and the effects of climate change • Food insecurity • Price volatility • Land and boundary disputes
Social and Institutional Resiliencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women/youth entrepreneurs • Women/youth microcredit and microfinance schemes • Religious institutions • NGOs and INGOs • Multilateral financial institutions • National Inclusive Financial Fund

Vulnerabilities and Risks

Togo has a relatively strong economic performance across sectors, compared to other countries in the region. It is the third most vulnerable category, with an aggregate score of 5.3, with a regional average of 5.0. The country is most vulnerable in the area of Economic Productivity (2.1, with a regional average of 4.3), and most resilient in the area of Gender Education and Employment (7.3, with a regional average of 4.98).

Togo has experienced steady economic growth since the 2008 worldwide economic recession, with GDP growth at 4 percent in 2010, 4.8 percent in 2011, and peaking at 5.9 percent in 2012.⁷³ It then slowed to 5 percent growth in 2016 and 4.4

percent in 2017 but rebounded to 4.7 percent for 2018..⁷⁴ The African Development Bank estimates real GDP growth of 5 percent in 2019 and 5.3 percent in 2020, assuming that the political crisis is resolved and that public and private investment recovers.⁷⁵ The consumer inflation rate has also decreased from 8.7 percent in 2008 to 2.5 percent in 2012,⁷⁶ hitting a low of 0.9 percent in 2016 before rising to 2 percent by the end of 2018.⁷⁷ Also, according to the African Development Bank, in addition to the 2017 political crisis negatively impacting the country, the impacts of a debt-to-GDP ratio adjustment (from 82 percent in 2016 to a target of 70 percent in 2019), has slowed real GDP growth in Togo significantly (from nearly 6 percent in 2012, to 4.7 percent in 2018).⁷⁸

⁷³ Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

⁷⁴ African Development Bank <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/west-africa/togo/togo-economic-outlook/>; The World Bank <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/togo/overview>

⁷⁵ African Development Bank <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/west-africa/togo/togo-economic-outlook/>

⁷⁶ Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

⁷⁷ World Bank <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>; World Bank <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/togo/overview>

⁷⁸ African Development Bank: <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/west-africa/togo/togo-economic-outlook/>

The Togolese economy is largely reliant on the primary sector, with agriculture, extractives, and fishing making up 36.8 percent of the economy.⁷⁹ The secondary sector, represented mainly by manufacturing, has also slowed, according to the African Development Bank, in 2017. Agriculture and fishing provide the majority of jobs in Togo, with about 70 percent of the population relying on these sectors.⁸⁰ The tertiary sector, specifically markets, constitutes 26 percent of the economy,⁸¹ while non-market activity is around 18.3 percent.⁸² The secondary sector constitutes 17.4 percent of the economy in Togo.⁸³ Vulnerabilities in the economy have been attributed to various factors, including elevated costs of production, insufficient diversity of the economy, underdeveloped industry, a non-dynamic private sector, and insufficient demand.⁸⁴ Also, as noted above, the impacts of the 2017 political crisis had a negative impact on the economy, overall.

The agricultural sector in Togo is seen as having the most opportunity for growth,⁸⁵ and the good climatic conditions in 2016 contributed significantly to its GDP growth for that year, making up 1.2 of its 5 percentage points.⁸⁶ Agricultural products constitute around 20 percent of Togo's exports, the most significant of which are coffee, cocoa, and cotton.⁸⁷ Crops grown for food consist mainly of cereals and tubers,⁸⁸ and common livestock include cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, and poultry.⁸⁹ The Togolese government has made significant interventions in the agricultural sector, including the development of agro poles and the

establishment of an Agricultural and Financing Mechanism, according to the African Development Bank's 2019 African Economic Outlook report.⁹⁰ Other areas that have received government priority include the energy sector and public finance, with the former including the development of a plan for universal access to energy by 2025. In public finance, the government has strengthened the internal revenue authority, removing fiscal exemptions, and streamlining public procurement policies.⁹¹

In interviews with field research participants in the Centrale region, the cultivation of corn, cassava and yams make up the primary economic activity of most residents. Women are highly involved in the sector, particularly in the production and sale of cereals. Animal husbandry also plays a role in the agricultural sector, although participants noted that this requires a larger degree of initial capital outlays than other areas. Fieldwork participants also mentioned that transhumance, as well as the importation of cattle from Mali, have made the raising and sale of animals less profitable than other activities. Climate change was noted by multiple interviewees as having led to water scarcity in recent years, which negatively impacts livelihoods, particularly across the agricultural sector. In other regions, climate change was also mentioned as negatively impacting livelihoods overall, and the agricultural sector in particular. Additionally, some respondents noted that poor infrastructure, particularly a lack of roads, or roads that wash out or become impassable during the

⁷⁹ Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

⁸⁰ UN Food and Agriculture Organization <http://www.fao.org/in-action/plant-breeding/our-partners/africa/togo/en/>

⁸¹ Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

⁸² UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

⁸³ Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ African Development Bank <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/west-africa/togo/togo-economic-outlook/>

⁸⁷ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

⁸⁸ UN Food and Agriculture Organization <http://www.fao.org/in-action/plant-breeding/our-partners/africa/togo/en/>

⁸⁹ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

⁹⁰ African Development Bank, African Economic Outlook Report, 2019

https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/2019AEO/AEO_2019-EN.pdf

⁹¹ Ibid

rainy season, also hamper their ability to get agricultural products to markets, both within and outside of the country.

The extractives industry also makes up a large percentage of Togo's exports, with refined petroleum at 21 percent, natural calcium phosphates at 11 percent, electrical energy at 9 percent, and cement at 6 percent of exports in 2015.⁹² The mining sector alone made up 22 percent of Togo's exports in 2014.⁹³ Phosphate extraction is largely owned by the state, but private sector mines also extract limestone, iron, dolomitic marble, and alluvial gold.⁹⁴ As of 2014, there were 29 mining operators, but small scale mining and the types of minerals mined were both expected to increase.⁹⁵ There are five main industrial scale mines in Togo: WACEM extracts limestone from two deposits in Tabligbo; SNPT has two phosphate mines in Hahotoé and Kpogamé; MM Mining extracts iron in Bassar; SCANTOGO extracts limestone near Tabligbo at Yoto Commune; and POMAR extracts marble near Pagala Village in Blitta Commune.⁹⁶ As of 2014, the government was looking for an investor for a large iron deposit in Bandjeli.⁹⁷ Certain issues have arisen within the mining sector, including poor governance, inadequate capacity, authorities with unclear roles, inadequate data from the extractives industry, and the "poor corporate accountability" of SNPT.⁹⁸

In the Centrale region, resource extraction has been a source of particular tension, with local residents protesting the presence of a Chinese-owned gold mining company throughout 2018. In interviews with field research respondents, residents complained not only of poor

compensation rates, but also stated that the operations were causing environmental degradation in the area. In October of 2018, in a bid to calm tensions and halt the threat of protests and vandalism, the government embarked on a sensitization campaign in both Centrale and Plateaux, where gold mining operations were also occurring. Despite this attempt to restore calm and negotiate a solution, unrest continued. In November of 2018, the government asked the Chinese companies to temporarily halt all exploration and extraction operations in Centrale, until the problem could be resolved.⁹⁹ While other regions of the country have not necessarily seen similar levels of unrest around natural resource extraction, the impacts are still widely felt. The Maritime region, for example, which has the largest reserves of phosphate in all of sub-Saharan Africa, has experienced environmental degradation and the pollution of waterways, in part due to mining activities. During interviews, residents from Maritime reported the negative impacts resulting from resource extraction on livelihoods, despite this region being home to the capital of Lomé and enjoying relatively higher standards of living than other areas, particularly those in the North. Specific impacts included a reported lack of fish in the lagoons and ocean, as well as increased competition for arable land.

In the area of Economic Inequality, Togo scored a 4.96, which is below the regional average of 6.0. Though Togo's economy has been growing and the national poverty rate has decreased from 58.7 percent in 2011 to 55.1 percent in 2015,¹⁰⁰ the GINI Coefficient rose from 42.21 in 2006 to 46.02 in 2011, indicating increasing inequality.¹⁰¹ In

⁹² Atlas of Economic Complexity
http://atlas.cid.harvard.edu/explore/tree_map/export/tgo/all/show/2015/

⁹³ World Bank
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/417861468187809852/pdf/PAD1072-PAD-P149277-IDA-R2015-0259-1-Box393233B-OUO-9.pdf>

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Togo First Online
<https://www.togofirst.com/en/mining/3011-2125-togo-government-asks-chinese-mining-firm-iun-hao-mining-to-cess-all-activities-at-tchaoudio>

¹⁰⁰ World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=SI.POV.GINI&country=>

¹⁰¹ World Bank
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=TG>

addition, in 2011, the income share held by the poorest 20 percent of the population was only 4.8 percent.¹⁰² In the same year, the wealthiest 10 percent held 34.5 percent of income.¹⁰³ Inequality between rural and urban areas is also a concern, and a 2016 study found that rates of rural poverty and rural-urban inequality actually increased between 2006 and 2011, even as poverty rates decreased nationally.¹⁰⁴

During the course of the field research, interviewees in several regions spoke of rising food prices, a lack of access to microcredit, and the negative impacts of climate change as all contributing to trapping people in cycles of poverty. In Kara, respondents spoke of uneven economic development and investment, with the areas in and around Lomé being favored, while rural areas languished. Others noted the lack of job opportunities for youth, which has resulted in some turning to illicit markets to earn a living. Interviewees also spoke of how increasing levels of poverty and lack of opportunity, especially for youth, has compelled increased migration to other countries in the region, particularly Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. In the central regions of Togo, interviewees related the perception that the political crisis of 2017, and continued political polarization and potential for future unrest, has led to a decrease in foreign investment in the region.

In the area of Undernourished Population, Togo received a score of 7.9. While this score is above the regional average of 5.78, food security in certain areas continues to be an issue, where an estimated 4.9 percent of the population is suffering from acute malnutrition.¹⁰⁵ In 2010, 29.7 percent of children under 5 were found to be chronically malnourished, and around 30 percent of children had stunted growth because of malnourishment.¹⁰⁶ The numbers were highest in

the Savanes region, where 43 percent of children under five faced chronic malnourishment.¹⁰⁷

During the course of the field research, interviewees across regions spoke of how climate change, which has led to unpredictable rains, as well as fluctuating market prices for foodstuffs, have increased food insecurity. Farmers and small-scale growers also complained of the inability to access small loans or microcredit schemes, and of small businesses being heavily taxed, causing many to fall into poverty and resulting in food insecurity. Other issues mentioned during the course of the field research included the interpolation of wholesalers into value chains, such as cashews. Whereas formerly, farmers were able to sell directly to foreign markets, with the increased presence of wholesale marketers, it has become prohibitively expensive to access these markets for small scale growers, driving many out of business and into poverty.

Another issue that was raised across the regions visited was that of land rights and land tenure. Particularly in a country so heavily reliant on agriculture for livelihoods, competition for land is high, especially when farmers and small-scale agribusinesses have to compete with large extractive industries or wholesalers, who can afford to buy up large plots of arable land. In Maritime, and its capital city of Lomé, which is home to over 10 percent of the country's total population, demographic pressures are high and competition for land is fierce and expensive, with only the elite or those relatively well-off financially able to gain access to prime locations. In other regions, such as Kara, while not as densely populated, the double selling of land was a major concern voiced by interviewees. In these cases, a seller will promise, and accept payment from, two different buyers for the same piece of land, often then to disappear

¹⁰² World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>

¹⁰³ World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&series=SI.POV.GINI&country>

¹⁰⁴ Ametoglo, M. and Guo, P. https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/79705/1/MPRA_paper_79705.pdf

¹⁰⁵ World Food Programme
<http://www1.wfp.org/countries/togo>

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

while the two parties become locked in a land dispute that could go on for years. In a region so heavily dependent on agriculture, land rights are fundamental, and such practices have become increasingly common over the years, according to respondents. Other land-related issues concerned ongoing boundary disputes, with one or more parties often expressing grievances that the local courts were biased along ethnic or political lines, or were susceptible to bribery, with the party who could afford to pay the most inevitably having the issue resolved in their favor. Even those who claim customary ownership of land have experienced hardship, with the cost of land titles becoming so expensive, that even those who are rightfully entitled to land, unable to legally prove ownership of it.

As in several other dimensions, Togo is relatively strong in the area of Gender – Education and Employment, with a score of 7.3. This score is well above the regional average of 4.98. While the rates of primary school completion have improved from 72.3 percent in 2011 to 84.3 percent in 2015,¹⁰⁸ secondary education rates remain low (33.3 percent).¹⁰⁹ The data does reveal some disparities between males and females, as net enrollment in primary school in 2014 was at 94.3 percent for males and 88 percent for females.¹¹⁰ In tertiary education, the gap again widens between males and females, with 14.9 percent of males enrolling and only 6.4 percent of females enrolling in 2015.¹¹¹ Literacy for youth is at 88.9 percent for males and 81.4 percent for females.¹¹² However, the gender gap is more pronounced among adults,

¹⁰⁸ World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>

¹⁰⁹ UN Development Programme
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

¹¹⁰ World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² UN Development Programme
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

with a literacy rate of 78.3 percent for males and only 55.3 percent for females.¹¹³

Women in Togo primarily work in the informal economy or domestic sector. While the Togolese labor code recognizes equal pay for equal work, this and other labor protections apply only to the formal sector, meaning that many women are underpaid and receive fewer benefits and protections.¹¹⁴ In addition, despite legal protections in regard to inheritance and property ownership, many Togolese women face barriers under customary law and can only access land through their husbands or natal family.¹¹⁵ Due to their lower wages, women are often unable to secure bank loans, although microfinance and tontine programs are popular, particularly in rural areas.¹¹⁶

Finally, although it does not appear as an explicit category in the CRVA Index, illicit economic flows are a concern in Togo. UN reports have found that Togo has become a regional hub for money laundering and drug trafficking (primarily cocaine and heroin).¹¹⁷ Piracy and illegal fishing off the coast of West Africa in the Gulf of Guinea are also ongoing issues.¹¹⁸ This was confirmed across regions by those interviewed over the course of the field research, with illicit sales in adulterated fuel from Benin and Nigeria frequently mentioned, along with drugs and illegal currency. In Kara, one respondent purported that child trafficking had also become an issue in the region, fueled primarily by poverty, which was estimated to be as high as

¹¹³ World Bank
<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>

¹¹⁴ Development and Cooperation
<https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/women-togo-fight-equal-economic-opportunities>

¹¹⁵ OECD <http://www.genderindex.org/country/togo/>

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI)
https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2016/pdf/BTI_2016_Togo.pdf

¹¹⁸ Deutsche Welle <http://www.dw.com/en/west-africas-tough-battle-with-piracy/a-36018239>

70 percent in 2010, according to the African Development Bank.¹¹⁹

Environment

A primary environmental threat in Togo is the risk of flooding. Floods throughout Togo in September of 2007 resulted in the deaths of over 20 people and left 20,000 homeless.¹²⁰ The flooding took place throughout the North and in the Plateau region where the river rose, destroying homes, crops and killing livestock.¹²¹ More recently, in June of 2015, the region saw intense rain and flooding throughout Ghana, Togo and Benin, impacting 46,000 people.¹²² The heavy rains have been responsible for erosion on the mountains, destroying homes and infrastructure, and for lives and property being lost in low-lying areas where water gathers.¹²³ The 2007 flooding also caused outbreaks of malaria, diarrhea, and gastroenteritis,¹²⁴ and further floods could worsen the prevalence of malaria and waterborne illnesses such as cholera.¹²⁵

Togo is also vulnerable to the effects of climate change, particularly changes in rainfall patterns and sea-level rise. It is predicted that the already-different climates of the North and South of the country will further diverge in coming years, with rainfall diminishing in the South and increasing in the North.¹²⁶ Decreased rainfall in the South will likely lead to overuse of the aquifer underneath Lomé, increasing salinity in the groundwater, while

increased rainfall in the North will increase the already high probability for floods.¹²⁷

Climate change is also leading to a resurgence of pests and diseases that affect crops and livestock, which may, in turn, negatively impact the Togolese economy and food security throughout the country.¹²⁸ Coffee and cacao, two of Togo's export crops, are facing mirids and locusts, as well as diseases such as brown rot, swollen root, and dieback.¹²⁹ Dietary staples such as grains, specifically corn and sorghum, will have more trouble growing as rainfall diminishes in the South, and will themselves become more vulnerable to disease.¹³⁰ Pastures may also face damage due to floods or lack of rainfall, and disease amongst livestock will grow.¹³¹ These changes may accelerate trends in urbanization, as people move to the cities when farming conditions become more difficult.¹³²

Though Togo has only 56 kilometers of coastline,¹³³ coastal erosion has also become an issue exacerbated by climate change.¹³⁴ Togo, along with the entire West African coastal area, is facing coastal challenges such as sea-level rise, warming of ocean waters, and increased storms and flooding on the coast.¹³⁵ Some areas of coastline are receding at a rate of 10 meters per year.¹³⁶ In Togo, beaches that once attracted tourists are receding, and people are moving away

¹¹⁹ African Development Bank.

<https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/west-africa/togo/>

¹²⁰ BBC <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7537006.stm>

¹²¹ International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies <http://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/news-stories/africa/togo/the-floods-in-togo-continue-to-claim-victims/>

¹²² International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies <http://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/news-stories/africa/togo/preparing-for-climate-change-across-francophone-africapreparing-for-climate-change-across-francophone-africa-69329/>

¹²³ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

¹²⁴ International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies <http://www.ifrc.org/en/news-and-media/news-stories/africa/togo/the-floods-in-togo-continue-to-claim-victims/>

¹²⁵ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ World Bank

<https://blogs.worldbank.org/nasikiliza/keeping-the-ocean-at-bay-combating-coastal-erosion-with-west-africas-sand-river>

¹³⁴ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

¹³⁵ World Bank

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/west-africa-coastal-areas-management-program>

¹³⁶ Ibid.

from coastal towns.¹³⁷ Warming waters have also changed fish migrations and breeding cycles, impacting the livelihood of fishing communities along the coast.¹³⁸

“There is the problem of the advancing sea that is causing coastal erosion, and this poses a great threat to coastal populations. As an illustration, the road linking Aného to Lomé is the third of its kind. The first was engulfed by the sea, while the second was almost overtaken by the sea and was abandoned for the third which was built recently.”

- Traditional Leader, Maritime Region

Throughout the course of the field research, in all regions visited, environmental degradation was noted as having a negative impact on people’s lives. Flooding, soil erosion, the contamination of waterways due to resource extraction, and unpredictable rainfall have all become inextricably intertwined with economic hardship and poverty.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite notable pressures and vulnerabilities, people interviewed across the regions have found ways to survive and capitalize on existing social and institutional resilience factors. One such resilience that was common across all regions visited was the role of women in the economy. Women tend to have greater access to microfinance and microcredit programs, and are also key actors in the agricultural sector, in particular. In the Maritime region, women interviewed reported that they pool their resources by organizing themselves into *tontines*, which then allows them to make larger investments collectively. In Kara, a government program known

as the National Inclusive Financial Fund (FNFI) allows women greater access to land through a revolving loan system. Started in 2014, the FNFI also targets youth, and has provided start-up capital for local craftsmen, including support for equipment for craftsmanship and handiwork. In May 2019, it put out a call for women and youth interested in making t-shirts, as well as setting aside funds for those needing new hardware for the production of local crafts. With a steady 93 percent loan recovery rate, the government has decided to expand the program. In April 2019, for example, it was announced that the government would set aside 25 percent of public procurements for youth and women entrepreneurs across the country, raising it from 20 percent for the prior year.

¹³⁹

In Plateaux, NGOs have proved pivotal in supporting local economies, as well as multinational financial and regional institutions, such as the AfDB and ECOWAS. For example, respondents spoke of an NGO initiative that provides sewing machines to young girls apprenticing with women craftsman and entrepreneurs. The AfDB was also cited as a source of resilience in assisting farmers with obtaining loans from banks for the purchase of agricultural equipment and livestock that they otherwise would not have been able to get on their own. The ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development was also cited by interviewees as crucial in the provision of agricultural supplies and livestock, as well as investing in infrastructure, schools and health clinics.

Other resiliencies frequently cited across the regions at the household level were religious institutions. In Centrale, respondents noted the role that the local mosque often plays in helping community members who are food insecure. In Kara, respondents spoke of national and

¹³⁷ World Bank <https://blogs.worldbank.org/nasikiliza/keeping-the-ocean-at-bay-combating-coastal-erosion-with-west-africas-sand-river>
¹³⁸ UN Development Programme http://www.adaptation-undp.org/sites/default/files/downloads/togo_snc.pdf

¹³⁹ Togo First Online <https://www.togofirst.com/en/economic-governance/0705-3086-national-fund-for-inclusive-finance-urges-youth-and-women-entrepreneurs-to-manifest-their-interest-for-public-procurements>

international organizations such as the Peace Corps and Water Charity as providing important support to struggling communities through various initiatives including building wells and drilling boreholes. Other INGOs and national NGOs mentioned across regions included Fonds d'Appui aux Initiatives Economiques des Jeunes (FAIEJ), le Programme d'Appui au Développement à la Base (PRADEB), l' Agence Nationale d'Appui à la Base (ANADEB), and the National Agency for the Promotion of Employment (ANPE). One frequent criticism of these various initiatives, however, is that there is little advertising or awareness-raising on their activities or how to access their services.

Finally, in all regions visited during the fieldwork, interviewees spoke of the role that diaspora communities play in supporting the local economy. Many young people, unable to find local employment after graduation from secondary school, migrate abroad to countries such as Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, and Libya. From there, they send back regular remittances to support their families. According to the World Bank, in 2018 alone, remittances from abroad to Togo topped 400 million USD, and accounted for 8.2 percent of overall GDP, putting the country in the top ten list of African countries that get the most money from their diaspora communities.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ The World Bank Group
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press->

[release/2019/04/08/record-high-remittances-sent-globally-in-2018](https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/04/08/record-high-remittances-sent-globally-in-2018)

Population and Demographics (Fourth Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth unemployment Perceived disparities in healthcare and education spending and services in urban versus rural areas Environmental pressures, such as irregular rains and drought Youth bulge Poor infrastructure in rural areas, including roads, clinics, schools
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tensions between ethnic groups over land competition Child trafficking Teenage pregnancy Effects of climate change, such as soil erosion Effects of unsustainable or unsafe extractives practices, such as pollution of waterways and fisheries
Social and Institutional Resiliencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NGOs and INGOs (i.e. Compassion International, Peace Corps, GIZ) Religious institutions Multilateral institutions (AfDB, ECOWAS) National Agency for Food Security of Togo (ANSAT)

Vulnerabilities and Risks

Togo’s fourth-most vulnerable category is Population and Demographics, with an aggregate score of 6.23, above the regional average of 4.77.

Togo is an ethnically and religiously diverse country, with no one ethnic group making up a majority of the population. There are nearly 40 ethnic groups in Togo, the largest of which are the Ewe, Kabye, Wachi and Mina.¹⁴¹ While the Togolese government does not collect ethnic or religious data as part of its census, the University of Lomé estimated in 2004 that 33 percent of Togo’s population practice traditional animism, 28 percent are Roman Catholic, 14 percent are Sunni Muslim, 10 percent are Protestant (including Methodists and Lutherans), 10 percent are other

Christian denominations, and 5 percent are unaffiliated.¹⁴² Christian communities are found largely in the South while Muslims live predominantly in the Center and North.¹⁴³ Religion has not historically been a source of conflict; marriage between people of different religious groups is not uncommon, and many people do attend other religious services when invited.¹⁴⁴

Within the category of Population and Demographics, Togo is most vulnerable in Age Distribution (score of 6.1, with a regional average of 5.26). As of 2016, Togo had a population of 7.6 million,¹⁴⁵ and the population is growing at rate of about 2.5 percent.¹⁴⁶ As a result, Togo has a large youth population, with 42 percent of the population under the age of 15 and only 3 percent of the population over the age of 65.¹⁴⁷ Due to this

¹⁴¹ CIA World Factbook <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/to.html>

¹⁴² U.S. Department of State <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2015religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2015&dclid=256081>

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=TG>

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ World Bank <http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/2.1>

population distribution, youth unemployment is a challenge, particularly in rural areas.¹⁴⁸ A study from 2011 showed that 62.1 percent of rural youth and 37.9 percent of urban youth were unemployed.¹⁴⁹ As the youth population expands, issues such as illiteracy and unemployment could pose increasing pressure on development.

During the course of the field research, the issue of youth unemployment was noted across all regions. In Plateaux, interviewees noted that there tends to be an assumption that youth will find employment in the public sector after graduating, only to face the harsh reality that there are far fewer jobs than candidates. Private sector employment tends to be much more limited and provides even fewer job opportunities than the public sector. As noted in other sections, there is also a prevailing perception in some regions that government jobs, even at lower levels, tend to be reserved for those from certain ethnic or political affiliations, and thus youth often are disincentivized to apply from the start.

In Centrale, interviewees related that there is a high dropout rate among youth due to the inability of parents to pay school fees. These youth, lacking secondary education, are then left more vulnerable to having to find jobs in the illicit economy, or migrate abroad for other opportunities. Some additionally noted the phenomenon of trafficking, especially of young girls who have not gone to school or those who have had to drop out, to countries such as Gabon, seeking job opportunities, which may turn out to be misleading.

Similarly, in Kara, high rates of youth unemployment were frequently mentioned as a key vulnerability. Juvenile delinquency is reportedly rife in the region, and many youth choose to emigrate abroad in search of other opportunities, both in the

formal and informal (and illicit) sectors. This trend has been growing, according to interviewees, and has inspired other young people to follow suit.

In Maritime, respondents spoke of the interplay between environmental pressures and the economic challenges faced by youth. Historically, youth in the region have engaged in commercial sand extraction and fishing. However, the former activity has been prohibited due to its negative effects on coastal erosion, while fishing has been impacted through pollution, and the effects of phosphate mining.

While a majority of the population still lives in rural areas, the search for economic opportunities is increasingly driving people to urban areas such as Lomé, where 23.9 percent of the population lived as of 2014.¹⁵⁰ In 2013, 39 percent of the Togolese population was living in an urban area,¹⁵¹ and the World Health Organization estimates that the number will rise to 42.5 percent by 2020.¹⁵²

In interviews in Maritime, for example, the issue of youth unemployment was still central to many interviewees, but given the concentration of national and foreign corporations, particularly around the extractives sector, in the region, there was the perception that there may have been more opportunities than in rural areas. Nevertheless, even in the region that is home to the capital city, the trend of youth emigration abroad for better opportunities is still predominant.

Togo also receives scores of 7.2 in Fertility and Maternal Mortality and 7.4 in Female Life Expectancy and Early Marriage. Both of these scores are above the regional averages of 6.09 and 5.9, respectively. Women in Togo have an average

¹⁴⁸ The Government of Togo
http://www.youthpolicy.org/national/Togo_2012_Youth_Employment_Report.pdf

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Demographic and Health Survey
<http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

¹⁵¹ World Health Organization
<http://www.who.int/gho/countries/tgo.pdf?ua=1>

¹⁵² World Health Organization
<http://apps.who.int/gho/data/node.main.nURBPOP?lang=en>

of 4.7 children,¹⁵³ and the average age of a woman in Togo when she has her first child is 21 years old.¹⁵⁴ The maternal mortality rate in Togo is 368 out of 100,000 live births, which is lower than the average of 551 for Sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁵⁵ Family planning and levels of contraceptive use remain low. Nineteen percent of women reported observing family planning practices, while it is estimated that 34 percent of women have unmet needs in terms of family planning.¹⁵⁶

There are laws against early and forced marriage in Togo, but the practice still occurs and is often underreported.¹⁵⁷ A survey from 2010 found that the prevalence of early marriage is higher in rural areas, particularly in the northern region of Kara.¹⁵⁸ However, the average age of marriage for women in 2014 was 22.3 years old and the average age for men was 27.6 years old.¹⁵⁹ Life expectancy in Togo is 60.2 years on average (60.9 years for women compared to 59.4 for men).¹⁶⁰

In regions where field research was conducted, the issue of maternal health was often part of a larger discussion about the poor state of health care facilities in rural areas, compounded by bad roads and poor infrastructure, overall. In Plateaux, for example, interviewees noted that early pregnancy is common, and with women forbidden to inherit land, they often are left highly vulnerable if not married when they become pregnant, or if their spouse dies or is otherwise unable to work. In

Centrale, teenage pregnancy was also mentioned as a key concern, closely intertwined with high dropout rates for school-aged girls, whose parents often cannot afford to educate them.

Health

Access to healthcare in Togo has been declining in recent years, and in 2015, only 22 percent of the population expressed satisfaction with the healthcare system.¹⁶¹ In 2006, 62 percent of the population had access to a healthcare center, and by 2011 that number had declined to 42 percent.¹⁶² Accessibility of healthcare is linked to geography and financial resources, with a growing disparity between the rural and urban populations.¹⁶³ There are only 0.5 physicians per 10,000 people,¹⁶⁴ and in 2010, 70 percent of all physicians were located in Lomé.¹⁶⁵ Childhood malnutrition is around 30 percent nationwide, though rates are higher in rural areas. For example, while around 16 percent of children in Lomé are malnourished, that number is 43 percent for children in the Savanes region.¹⁶⁶

Ongoing health concerns in Togo include meningitis, malaria (particularly for children under 5 years of age) and HIV/AIDs, which has a prevalence rate of 2.4 percent among those aged 15 to 49.¹⁶⁷ The prevalence of female genital mutilation (FGM) is declining, and the majority of the population (95 percent of women and 96

¹⁵³ UN Development Programme http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

¹⁵⁴ CIA World Factbook <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/to.html>

¹⁵⁵ UN Development Programme http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

¹⁵⁶ Demographic and Health Survey <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

¹⁵⁷ Government of Canada, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada <http://www.refworld.org/docid/53392eda4.html>

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ The World Bank <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=health-nutrition-and-population-statistics&Type=TABLE&preview=on>

¹⁶⁰ UN Development Programme http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Demographic and Health Survey <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ UN Development Programme http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

¹⁶⁵ Demographic and Health Survey <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ UN Development Programme http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

percent of men) feel the practice should end.¹⁶⁸ However, an estimated 4.7 percent of women have undergone this practice, and the occurrence is higher among Muslim women, and women in the Centrale and Savanes regions.¹⁶⁹

A lack of access to basic healthcare services was noted across all regions in field interviews, with either the lack of, or poor condition of, local health clinics frequently mentioned. Closely related to this is the poor state of infrastructure in many rural areas, where even getting to a health care clinic can be a challenge when roads wash out or become impassable during the rainy season. Other issues noted around health also confirmed the lack of doctors or nurses, particularly in rural regions, with those who do choose to stay in Togo mostly moving to the capital where wages are higher and availability of medications and medical technology more prevalent. Most interviewees in rural areas noted that for anything beyond the most basic healthcare services, such as X-rays, ultrasounds, or surgeries, they had to go to Lomé, an expensive and often challenging prospect, depending on how far away the community is from the capital. Diseases such as malaria are common, and medication to treat them less so, making preventable and treatable diseases far more prevalent, and deadly, than in other countries or regions.

The issue of child trafficking was also mentioned in areas like Kara, where parents face extreme challenges in educating and providing basic healthcare for their children, and are often left vulnerable to predatory and disingenuous offers by traffickers to take the child to other regions or countries where they would stand more of a chance of being adopted or cared for, only to end up trafficked into domestic or sexual slavery.

Land/Environment

As mentioned in other sections, the issue of land pressure is paramount in Togo, and continues to constitute a considerable vulnerability in the country. In addition to frequent and often unresolvable conflicts over land tenure and customary land rights, climate change has put tremendous pressure on certain regions. Unpredictable rains, soil erosion, pollution and the poisoning of waterways and fisheries through unsafe practices around the extractives sector were frequently mentioned by interviewees across all regions visited.

In Plateaux, the intersection of land conflict and group grievance was noted to be particularly acute. For example, Northerners, perceived to be favored by the government and in the public sector generally, have begun moving south due to issues surrounding transhumance and climate change causing the destruction or degradation of formerly arable land. In doing so, they often come into conflict with Southerners who may already be using desired land for agricultural production, sometimes without a recognized right to ownership or tenure, as these can be expensive if not outright impossible to procure. According to interviewees, this has set up dynamics of open conflict in the region, which often breaks down around ethnic or regional lines.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

As in other pillars, despite significant pressures in the area of population and demographics, there exist social and institutional resilience factors across regions to cope and survive. The role of NGOs, INGOs, and multilateral institutions like the AfDB and ECOWAS in the provision of healthcare and educational services is critical in many regions visited during the fieldwork. Respondents frequently noted that international organizations

¹⁶⁸ Demographic and Health Survey
<http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

¹⁶⁹ Demographic and Health Survey
<http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

like the German Development Agency, GIZ, and the American Peace Corps, have built schools and clinics in regions like Centrale, while others, such as the INGO Compassion International have shored up existing resources in other areas such as Kara.

Government-sponsored initiatives in the health, food, and education sectors were also noted as being a resilience factor in a few regions. In Kara, the government-sponsored National Agency of Food Security of Togo (ANSAT) was noted as a resilience factor helping to prevent chronic food insecurity. During harvesting season, ANSAT purchases cereals for storage when prices are low and then when prices increase during the dry season, they release the stored supplies to the market to increase supply and provide communities the ability to purchase critical foodstuffs at lower prices.

Finally, in several regions, respondents spoke of positive efforts by local and international NGOs to help educate and sensitize local populations about the risk of teenage pregnancy, female genital mutilation (FGM), and maternal health. Religious institutions, especially Koranic schools, have often stepped in to fill the void in certain communities where schools and teachers are lacking, noted respondents. However, it was cautioned that although both Muslim and Christian institutions could provide critical resiliencies in shoring up the education sector, many were feared to be operating outside of the oversight of the

government, and not adapting or implementing regular educational curriculum, in favor of religious-only based education.

Security (Least Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Perception of security sector bias in some regions• Criminality, including drug and human trafficking• Political violence around elections/campaigns• Transhumance-related conflict issues• Land based disputes
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Incidents of criminality, including theft and road banditry• Cases of gender-based violence (GBV), including domestic violence• Increase in cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking• Tensions arising from transhumance
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Peace and transhumance committees• Religious institutions• INGOs and NGOs• Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN)

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Togo is least vulnerable in the area of Security, with an aggregate score of 7.7 out of 10. The regional average is 6.83. Within the Security pillar, Togo was most vulnerable in the subcategory of Political Violence, scoring a 4.2, with the regional average being 6.15, and least vulnerable in the subcategories of Refugees and IDPs, scoring a 7.8, with a regional average of 6.47, and Criminal and Collective Violence, scoring an 8.75, with a regional average of 6.6.

As of August 2017, Togo was hosting more than 12,500 refugees, a majority of whom were from Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁷⁰ In 2015, there were 5,000 IDPs in Togo due to natural disasters, and there were 1,500 IDPs due to conflict or violence in

2016.¹⁷¹ Since protests and political violence began escalating in late 2017, hundreds of Togolese have also sought asylum in Ghana and Benin.¹⁷²

Though Togo has been relatively peaceful for the past decade, the country has a history of political violence, particularly around elections.¹⁷³ The 2005 elections, which Faure Gnassingbé held under international pressure after the death of his father Gnassingbé Eyadema, led to violent protests after observers claimed the election had been fraudulent and reported that opposition supporters had been intimidated.¹⁷⁴ Opposition supporters clashed with security forces during the protests that followed the elections, resulting in the deaths of more than 400 people and causing around 40,000 people to flee the country.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ UN High Commissioner for Refugees <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/tgo>

¹⁷¹ World Bank <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TGO>

¹⁷² Voice of America <https://www.voanews.com/a/togo-new-refugee-crisis-brewing-hundreds-flee-unhcr/4089154.html>

¹⁷³ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

¹⁷⁴ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2006/togo>

¹⁷⁵ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2006/togo>

Though election-related violence has diminished in recent years, demonstrations and protests are common and can lead to violence and conflict.¹⁷⁶ In March of 2015, it was reported that security forces opened fire on a student protest, and in November of 2015, they allegedly fired on a protest over a nature preserve in the North of Togo, killing seven protesters and one local police officer.¹⁷⁷ More recently, opposition protests in 2017 and 2018 have drawn tens of thousands of people.¹⁷⁸ It is believed that at least 16 people were killed and 200 injured over the course of the protests.¹⁷⁹ The government has also restricted the internet in response to the protests.¹⁸⁰

“Terrorism is not committed by Muslims. It’s people who hide behind religion. We pray to God it will not come here.”

-Men’s FGD, Centrale Region

Togo has not experienced an international terrorist attack in recent years, despite attacks by extremist groups in neighboring countries such as Burkina Faso. In March 2019, U.S. Military Major General Marcus Hicks warned that the rapid and alarming deterioration of the security situation in Burkina Faso due to extremist groups could spill over to neighboring Togo, Benin, and Ghana.¹⁸¹ Concerns around the potential for terrorist attacks persist due to Togo’s involvement in UN peacekeeping operations in Mali.¹⁸² Additionally, Maritime respondents expressed concerns about how

¹⁷⁶ U.S. Department of State <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=21475>

¹⁷⁷ Freedom House <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

¹⁷⁸ BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41174005>

¹⁷⁹ Al Jazeera <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/togo-opposition-coalition-urges-constitutional-change-protests-171109185320671.html>

¹⁸⁰ BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41174005>

¹⁸¹ The Guardian <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/07/alarmin-g-burkina-faso-unrest-threatens-west-african-stability>

¹⁸² United Kingdom <https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/togo/terrorism>

political, economic, and social frustrations amongst certain groups could make them vulnerable to radicalization.

Togo is least vulnerable in the category of Criminal and Collective Violence/Insecurity. Ongoing security concerns include criminality, of which armed robbery and theft are notable examples.¹⁸³ The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is also an issue, and arms are often used in criminal attacks and intercommunal clashes.¹⁸⁴ Togo is also a transit country for drug trafficking (primarily heroin and cocaine)¹⁸⁵ and for SALW trafficking.¹⁸⁶

Due to the predominance of agriculture, conflicts over land and natural resources management are also a concern. In addition to clashes between herders and farmers, conflicts over land ownership and fraud of selling land more than once have been increasing in Togo. State regulation of land (titles) often conflicts with traditional land ownership practices, creating questions surrounding who has rights to the land and increasing social tensions.

During the field work, participants in two regions - Plateaux and Centrale - cited the threat of terrorism and violent extremism as a key security concern. Despite there not having been any recent terrorist attacks in the country, many participants were acutely aware of the regional spread of radical ideologies and groups across parts of the West African subregion, and feared that the rising trend of extremist-related violence in Burkina Faso could

¹⁸³ U.S. Department of State <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=21475>

¹⁸⁴ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung http://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/fes_trafficking-in-small-arms-and-light-weapons-in-west-africa-routes-and-illegal-arm-caches-between-ghana-togo-benin-and-nigeria.pdf

¹⁸⁵ UN Office on Drugs and Crime http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Booklet_1_EXSUM.pdf

¹⁸⁶ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung http://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/fes_trafficking-in-small-arms-and-light-weapons-in-west-africa-routes-and-illegal-arm-caches-between-ghana-togo-benin-and-nigeria.pdf

spread across the border into Togo. Specifically, some respondents worried that the high numbers of unemployed youth could become easy targets for recruitment by extremist groups, who may promise them money or other tangible benefits for participating in terror attacks. In Centrale, participants felt that existing ethnic and political cleavages, as well as deep-seated group grievances, could easily be manipulated into extremist rhetoric for recruitment purposes, similar to other countries, such as Nigeria or Burkina Faso.

Another vulnerability that was raised across regions was the threat of violence arising from transhumance, as climate change and other land pressures drive herders from their traditional routes further South onto farmlands. In Kara, although there are established laws dictating the time periods (January-May) that herders may use established corridors for their cattle, several interviewees reported that these are being violated, with herders arriving earlier and leaving later. In most cases, across regions, participants pointed to how the issue of transhumance has ignited ethnic and religious tensions between settled Muslim and Fulani groups who have been living in Togo for generations, and their Christian neighbors.

In Savanes, some field research participants felt more directly threatened by the lack of security in certain areas, as well as the perception that government security forces could not be relied upon to manage or prevent criminal activities. This was mixed, however, with others who reported that this was improving or had greatly improved over the past several years, particularly with the establishment of security checkpoints, the expansion of military bases, and regular reviews by local police forces that took into account the reported quality of services provided.

As in other sectors, land conflict was cited nearly uniformly across all regions as a security threat. With some participants reporting that land tenure cases, or land eviction cases, could take up to 25 years to resolve due to a lack of capacity in the

courts system, people are frustrated and often take matters into their own hands. The issue of double-selling of a piece of land has often resulted in conflict between neighbors, which has the potential to become violent if police are not called in soon enough.

Additionally, several other security-related issues arose during field interviews with some frequency. One was a history of political violence, which was frequently cited in some regions, such as Savanes, as a security vulnerability, with people recalling elections and political protests that turned violent, resulting in multiple cases of death or injury. Secondly, many participants in the KIIs and FGDs spoke of the growing illicit economy in drugs, weapons, and counterfeit or laundered currency as posing a threat, particularly given the high rates of youth participation in these activities. Drug trafficking was noted to be on the rise in certain areas, such as Kara and Plateaux, with youth both participating in the trafficking, and becoming users of the drugs themselves. Higher rates of drug addiction among youth was blamed for a rise in petty crime, as well as porous borders that many interviewees from the Plateaux region felt was a key component in facilitating cross-border banditry and theft perpetrated by criminals and criminal networks in Ghana.

Finally, in some regions, including Plateaux, women raised the issue of criminal violence as a security vulnerability. Some noted that there was little consideration of how insecurity specifically impacts women, and as many women travel frequently inside the country, as well as to neighboring countries to sell agricultural goods and products, they are highly vulnerable on roads. Some noted having been followed and targeted at night on roads, particularly if criminals thought they may be returning with money from crops or products sold that day at markets.

Domestic violence was also cited routinely in field interviews, with women noting that although there may be laws in place outlawing it, in some regions,

police rarely enforced these laws, preferring not to become involved in what they viewed as family matters. In Savanes, some interviewees spoke about how women themselves have also become increasingly involved in the illicit economy, due to both a weak security sector facilitating the ease of such transactions, as well as limited opportunities for women in other sectors, such as agriculture or legitimate trade, to earn a living. As in other areas, women involved in illicit activities tend to be more vulnerable to specific threats, such as rape and theft, than their male counterparts.

Social and Institutional Resiliencies

Despite security risks and vulnerabilities across the country stemming from issues such as political violence and criminal activity, there also exist resiliencies that are relied upon to keep people safe. In Plateaux, Peace Committees have been formed and are composed of traditional chiefs, local representatives, CSOs, and religious leaders. The Committees, originally established by the government, work alongside experts and the police to resolve conflict and were viewed as having a positive impact, with several noting that they should be expanded. Also in Plateaux, the establishment of Transhumance Committees was noted as playing a similar role as the Peace Committees, though specific to farmer-herder conflicts, providing dispute resolution mechanisms. Other resilience factors across the regions visited included awareness-raising campaigns carried out by local and international

NGOs, including initiatives specifically targeting men and the security sector about the scourge of domestic violence. In Centrale, Plan International and Groupe de Réflexion et d'Action Femme Démocratie et Développement (GF2D) were two mentioned that are having a notable impact in this regard.

As with the Rule of Law and Politics and Governance pillars, participants also cited the positive efforts of the Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) in conflict prevention and helping to promote social cohesion. In certain regions, such as Kara, the police and gendarmerie are generally viewed in a positive light and are seen as factors of community resilience.

External Factors

Togo is a member of multiple international and regional organizations, such as the United Nations, ECOWAS, World Trade Organization, African Development Bank, International Organization of La Francophonie, International Monetary Fund, International Finance Corporation, and the World Bank.¹⁸⁷ In 2018, the African Development Bank developed the Mécanisme Indicatif de Financement Agricole (MIFA); a mechanism to decrease the risk of lending to the agricultural sector and increase credit access for farmers.¹⁸⁸

Although Togo has not been directly affected by violent extremism, it is susceptible to the spillover effects of such terrorist attacks, primarily due to porous borders and grievances among certain communities. Over the past three years, Burkina Faso, Togo's neighbor to the North, has experienced over 200 terrorist attacks.¹⁸⁹ The main concern on the part of Togo's government and many citizens interviewed during the course of the field research is that extremists will enter Togo through its northern border and take advantage of youth unemployment and political disaffection to radicalize Togolese citizens; or expand to Benin, forcing Togo to fight the spread of terrorism along two borders.¹⁹⁰ To address the threat of terrorism, the government has stationed troops at the northern border and has begun working with

neighboring countries to pool military resources.^{191,192}

Additionally, the ongoing political crisis in neighboring Benin, triggered by a ban on opposition parties during the April 2019 parliamentary elections, poses a threat to Togo's stability.¹⁹³ The continuation of deadly protests in the post-election period and frustrations about the perceived authoritarian turn of the country could worsen the security situation in Benin, potentially leading to spillover in Togo.

As a result of porous borders, Togo suffers from human and drug trafficking. Youth unemployment has led many young people to leave Togo in search of economic opportunities in Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali, where some have reportedly become victims of sex trafficking and forced labor.¹⁹⁴ In other cases, Togo serves as a transit point and occasional destination for human and child trafficking.¹⁹⁵ Aside from human trafficking, Togo has become a transit hub for Nigerian drug traffickers carrying cocaine and heroin,¹⁹⁶ making Lomé one of the top five cities for heroin seizures across the region.¹⁹⁷

Within the Security pillar, Togo is less vulnerable in the subcategory of Refugees and IDPs, scoring a 7.8, with a regional average of 6.47. However, Togo is host to more than 12,500 refugees, most of whom are from Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁹⁸

Economically, Togo is vulnerable to shifts in global commodity prices due to a lack of diversification.

¹⁸⁷ International Model United Nations Association <https://imuna.org/resources/country-profiles/togo>

¹⁸⁸ African Development Bank Group. <https://www.afdb.org/en/news-and-events/african-development-bank-president-awarded-togos-highest-civilian-honor-18264>

¹⁸⁹ Foreign Policy <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/02/01/terrorism-threatens-a-former-oasis-of-stability-in-west-africa-burkina-faso-mali-compaore/>

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ The Economist <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2018/12/15/burkina-faso-west-africas-linchpin-is-losing-its-war-on-terror>

¹⁹² Institut Thomas More <http://institut-thomas-more.org/2019/03/04/jihadist-threat-the-gulf-of-guinea-states-up-against-the-wall/>

¹⁹³ International Crisis Group

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/may-2019#benin>

¹⁹⁴ U.S. Department of State

<https://www.state.gov/reports/2017-trafficking-in-persons-report/togo/>

¹⁹⁵ Ibid

¹⁹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/to.html>

¹⁹⁷ Associated Press

<https://apnews.com/d8f00cb294024d6e9a8832cc1d3102d0>

¹⁹⁸ UN High Commissioner for Refugees

<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/tgo>

Commodities, including gold, refined petroleum oils, and cotton account for one-third of the country's exports.¹⁹⁹ Togo's economy is also vulnerable to episodes of political instability. In 2018, after elections were repeatedly postponed, ECOWAS was asked to step in and act as mediators. When the ruling and opposition parties could not come to an agreement, protests continued, and the opposition party called for voters to boycott the election.²⁰⁰ Such dynamics can affect the confidence of investors,²⁰¹ negatively impacting the current account deficit. Domestically, Togo's economy is vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The agricultural sector accounts for nearly 40 percent of GDP and employs over 60 percent of the population.²⁰² However, irregular rain, soil erosion, and other cyclical climate shocks have limited agricultural production and led to food insecurity,²⁰³ ranking Togo 80th on the Global Hunger Index.²⁰⁴ Climate change may also encourage herders to stay for longer periods of time, adversely impacting farmer-herder relationships.

¹⁹⁹ Center for International Development at Harvard University
<http://atlas.cid.harvard.edu/countries/215>

²⁰⁰ Freedom House
<https://freedomhouse.org/blog/elections-togo-what-happens-when-world-isn-t-watching>

²⁰¹ International Monetary Fund
<https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2018/12/12/Togo-Third-Review-under-the-Extended-Credit-Facility-Arrangement-and-Request-for-46462>

²⁰² World Bank
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/togo/overview>

²⁰³ World Food Programme
<https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000103467/download/>

²⁰⁴ Global Hunger Index
<https://www.globalhungerindex.org/togo.html>

Gender Considerations

Togo receives strong Gender scores across multiple dimensions, with a 7.5/10 cumulatively, which is well above the regional average of 4.86.

While there are laws in place to protect women and to promote women's participation in the political and economic spheres, women still face discrimination under customary law and gender disparities persist in Togo. Togo ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1983, but has yet to sign the Optional Protocol to CEDAW.²⁰⁵ Togo has, however, signed and ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.²⁰⁶ Togo also approved amendments to the Electoral Code in 2013, requiring that parties have an equal representation of women and men.²⁰⁷ This Law on Political Party and Electoral Campaign Funding also dictates that a certain percentage of funding for a party should be decided in proportion to the number of women elected from that party.²⁰⁸ While there are no laws limiting women in politics, traditions and expected roles may keep them out of the political sphere,²⁰⁹ and women often remain underrepresented in political decision-making, both at the national and local levels. Currently, 16 of the 91 seats in the National Assembly are held by women.²¹⁰

As noted in the national and regional sections of this report, women play an important role in the Politics and Governance pillar, with representation in the National Assembly, a female Speaker of Parliament, and also through spearheading and participating in women's political parties and groups at the subnational level. Across the regions

examined over the course of the fieldwork, however, many women interviewees in the KIIs and FGDs felt that women were still not holding positions of power, such as ministerial roles, and thus were often not able to give voice to, or implement legislation that addresses, issues that specifically impact women and girls. Moreover, despite legislation existing at the national level that protect the rights of women, this is often not translated to the local level, where issues of domestic violence and other forms of GBV are not adequately addressed by local authorities or the court systems. It was noted in multiple interviews across regions that local justice systems tend to view these issues through the lens of "family matters," and delegate authority back to male members of households or villages. In Kara, however, it was noted that the police and gendarmerie have, of late, become more responsive to violations of human rights, including women's rights, and have become more willing to intervene in such cases. although this is more the exception than the rule in Togo.

Within the economic realm, women in Togo are legally allowed to sign contracts, open bank accounts, and own property, but discrimination is still an issue, particularly for rural women operating under customary law.²¹¹ Under customary law, land access is granted through the husband or natal family, and repudiation is a common practice which leaves women with no possessions.²¹² An estimated 81 percent of Togolese women work, but most of them work in the informal sector and thus are not protected by labor laws.²¹³ As noted in sections throughout this report, women play a fundamental role in the economy in each region visited over the course of the field research, and are often responsible for bringing goods and

²⁰⁵ UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights <http://indicators.ohchr.org/>

²⁰⁶ African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights <http://www.achpr.org/instruments/women-protocol/>

²⁰⁷ Freedom House

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ U.S. Department of State

<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/265524.pdf>

²¹⁰ Freedom House

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/togo>

²¹¹ U.S. Department of State

<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/265524.pdf>

²¹² OECD <http://www.genderindex.org/country/togo/>

²¹³ Ibid.

produce to markets, both within Togo as well as outside of the country. As such, they are often pivotal in ensuring their families and wider communities do not experience chronic food insecurity, and they are more often eligible for microcredit and microfinance schemes, helping them to secure the necessary capital to start and maintain small businesses. One such government-supported and implemented scheme, known as the National Inclusive Finance Fund (FNFI), focuses on empowering women and youth to start small businesses. Active since 2014, and with a reported loan repayment rate of 93 percent, the FNFI was mentioned across several regions as a success story for female empowerment in the economic sector. Initiatives by local and international NGOs to provide women and girls with the necessary skills training, capital, and equipment to start businesses or invest in land collectively were also noted as playing a crucial role in women's empowerment in the economic sector. Multilateral financial institutions and regional organizations, such as the African Development Bank (AfDB) and ECOWAS, were also often cited as being important facilitators of women's empowerment through targeted loans, agricultural investment initiatives, and skills training.

Despite successes in the economic realm, the day-to-day inequities and challenges faced by women at the household level still can leave them quite vulnerable overall. For example, although the "Persons and Family Code" was passed outlining protections for women, many of the provisions are either unknown, or not adequately enforced.²¹⁴ The Code does grant parents equal rights in raising children, but the father is still considered the head of the household.²¹⁵ It also allows for either spouse to file for divorce, and for widows to inherit or for sons and daughters to inherit equally after the father's death.²¹⁶ However, the inheritance can be

waived in favor of customary law, which does not allow women to inherit, and the Code also allows for polygamy. A reported 33.8 percent of women ages 15 to 49 were in a polygamous marriage in 2010.²¹⁷ Abortion is legal in cases of rape, incest, impaired fetus, or when the woman's life is in danger.²¹⁸ Women are also entitled to 14 weeks of paid maternity leave, half paid by the government and the other half paid by the employer.²¹⁹ However, as noted above, many women work in the informal sector which excludes them from these social benefits and many are simply unaware that such protections exist, leaving them unable to adequately advocate on their own behalf.

Gender-based violence is also a widespread issue facing women in Togo. Under Togolese law, rape is punishable by 5 to 10 years of imprisonment, and the new Persons and Family Code does acknowledge and punish marital rape.²²⁰ Though rape is generally investigated when reported, stigma against victims often means they will not report it, which limits the amount of data on the subject.²²¹ In a report from 2013-2014, 29 percent of women ages 15 to 49 reported being victims of gender-based violence, 11 percent of women had experienced sexual violence, and an estimated 48 percent of those women who were victims of violence neither reported it nor spoke to anyone about it.²²² While female genital mutilation (FGM) is still practiced by Muslim and Fulani communities, the practice was banned in 1998 as punishable by fines and jail time of up to 5 years, and its prevalence had declined to 2 percent among women ages 15 to 49 by 2012.²²³

Over the course of the fieldwork research, and in interviews with women's focus groups, GBV was reported as manifesting in various forms across all sectors. For example, in some regions, where women frequently travel long distances to get their

²¹⁴ OECD <http://www.genderindex.org/country/togo/>

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Demographic and Health Surveys <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR301/FR301.pdf>

²²³ OECD http://www.genderindex.org/country/togo/#_ftnref

goods and produce to market, they are vulnerable to rape and theft on the roads at night. In other regions, particularly those on the border with neighboring countries, the illicit economy has flourished, in some cases overtaking the traditional, informal economy, and women have become involved here too. As in other cases, women involved in illicit trading or the cross-border trafficking of drugs or other contraband face different risks than men, including sexual harassment, being specifically targeted for theft and banditry, and rape. Women demonstrating during political cycles or election seasons have also been the victims of GBV, with some noting that their male relatives, religious institutions, and cultural traditions still tend to discourage women's political participation or engagement in the civic space.

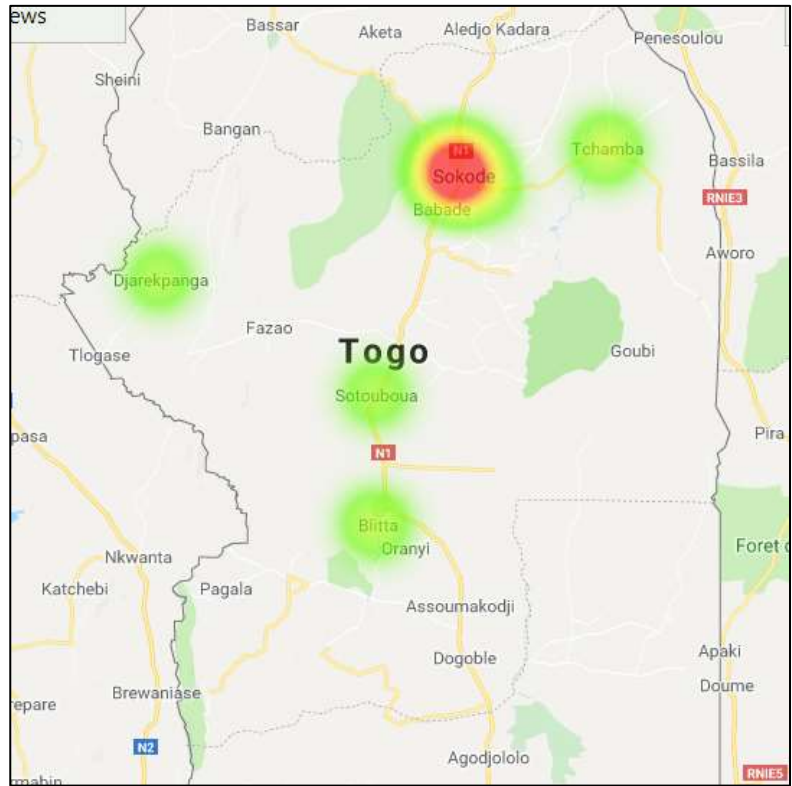
In other sectors, such as population and demographics, women also remain vulnerable. Particularly in rural areas, access to maternal health care can be challenging, and often be completely non-existent. Women have reported that inadequate infrastructure - from poor roads to health clinics lacking in doctors and medication, to poor sanitation and lack of access to potable water - have put their lives and safety at risk. More and more, however, local NGOs and INGOs have stepped in to fill this void, although women who were interviewed reported that the need still far exceeds the available resources. While incidents of FGM, rape, and other forms of GBV were generally seen to be on the decline in certain regions, such as Plateaux, women across regions nevertheless reported that teenage pregnancy remains an enduring vulnerability across communities, taking girls out of school and, without proper care, putting them at high risk for infection, disease, or death.

Despite these notable vulnerabilities, women in Togo remain one of the country's most important resilience factors across all sectors. Investments made by the Togolese government, multinational financial and development institutions, private foundations, and, particularly, local and international NGOs have contributed significantly to improving the lives of women, and their ability to participate across all sectors examined during the course of this fieldwork. Although there remains much to be done, Togo may nevertheless stand as an example for other countries in the region of what is possible when the government and society invests in the lives, and livelihoods, of women and girls.

Sub-National Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resilience Factors: Observations by Region

Centrale Region

Togo's mountainous Centrale region is located in the middle of the country between Kara and Plateaux and borders the neighboring countries of Ghana and Benin. According to the most recent census, Centrale is home to 617,871 Togolese²²⁴ and is the least densely populated region of Togo.²²⁵ However, the second largest city of Togo, Sokodé, is in Centrale. The population is predominantly Muslim,²²⁶ particularly the Tem (or Kotokoli) people who live in and around the city of Sokodé. The region of Centrale is 13,500 km², of which over 20 percent is protected forests.²²⁷ Agriculture is Centrale's main economic focus, with 40 percent of the working age population employed in agriculture.²²⁸ Centrale has a poverty incidence rate of 80.2 percent, the second highest in Togo.²²⁹ Though not the poorest region of the country (the poorest being Savanes in the far North), local stakeholders frequently linked the relative underdevelopment in Centrale to the intermittent political unrest in the region. In 2017-2018, for instance, political protests in Sokodé turned violent in the runup to the December 2018 parliamentary elections, particularly in August 2017, when at least two protestors were killed and then again in October 2017, after the arrest of a politically outspoken Imam and the subsequent lynching of two soldiers by protestors.



Heat Map of ECOWARN and ACLED incidents reported from 2015-2019 in Centrale region were mainly clustered around the town of Sokodé.

²²⁴ General Directorate of Statistics and National Accounting Togo

<http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/#>

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ United States Department of State Bureau of Democracy

<https://www.state.gov/reports/2016-report-on-international-religious-freedom/togo/>

²²⁷ Togo Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.african-union-togo2015.com/en/togo/about>

²²⁸ World Bank Group

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/179631474899157168/pdf/Togo-SCD-Final-2016-09222016.pdf>

²²⁹ General Directorate of Statistics and National Accounting Togo <http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/TGPVS2016/poverty-statistics-of-togo-2011?povertylevel=1000010>

Structural Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived corruption in both the political and judicial systems • Polarized politics • Inadequate access to credit opportunities, especially for women • Poverty and youth unemployment • Ill-equipped hospitals and schools • Child trafficking • Land disputes • Farmer-herder conflicts
Event-Driven Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water insecurity • Effects of climate change • Illicit economic activity, including human and arms trafficking • Incidents of criminality • Incidents of farmer-herder conflicts • Incidents of terrorism and violent extremism
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs • State-sponsored entrepreneurship programs for youth • Microfinancing loan programs for women • Inter-denominational cooperation initiatives • Sensitization and reporting mechanisms for GBV and child abuse • Alternative dispute mechanisms, predominantly facilitated by religious institutions, donor organizations, and NGOs • Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN)

Rule of Law

As in other regions of the country, Centrale faces significant challenges regarding the formal mechanisms for redress and dispute resolution. Five key vulnerabilities were highlighted in the interviews. First and foremost was the issue of perceived corruption. Respondents felt that anyone convicted of committing a crime could easily avoid serving their sentence by bribing the right official. Secondly, youth mentioned the issue of favoritism within the judicial system, especially along ethnic lines. A third issue highlighted in the interviews is the perpetual backlog of case files that frequently delay judicial proceedings, or even cause cases to be left unresolved indefinitely, a problem that disproportionately affects the poor. Fourth was the issue of a lack of awareness, to the degree that community members do not know their legal rights or obligations, which renders them

vulnerable to exploitation and neglect. Finally, when it comes to issues of human rights, such as freedom of speech and assembly, many respondents reported that such rulings and judgments are politicized.

Despite the reported lack of confidence in the judicial system, respondents noted that there is little in the way of vigilantism or of taking the law into one's own hands. Generally, a dispute will first be handled at the level of the family, then it is taken to the traditional chiefs, Chef de Quartier, or the Imam. If a crime is committed, the suspect is taken to the gendarmerie. The Chef de Quartier is either elected or chosen by hereditary succession and reports to the Chef de Village. According to the Togolese constitution, he or she cannot arbitrate in situations of conflict but can play a mediating and conciliation role.

To assist with dispute resolution, specifically in regard to sociopolitical controversies and grievances incurred between 1958 and 2005, the government has instituted the Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN), mandated to promote national unity through truth and reconciliation mechanisms. One of the recommendations proposed through the HCRRUN was the establishment of peace committees in different parts of the country to manage and mitigate any conflict risks that may emerge.

Politics and Governance

Out of the five regions in Togo, residents of Centrale expressed the most anxiety in the area of politics and governance. While the prefect emphasized the openness of the public square to all political debates and campaigns, many local residents reported going to great lengths to disassociate themselves from any political orientation, saying that the environment was so polarized that anything could be taken out of context by one side or the other. When asked, in general, if there were any leaders or institutions in which they had confidence, one man said, “Even with other institutions of governance, we have no confidence. For instance, we have no confidence in the chieftaincy. It’s all corrupt. I can only trust myself.”

“People have become enemies because of political parties.”

- *Women’s Leader, Centrale Region*

In Centrale, women are underrepresented in political leadership and youth do not feel included in the process or that their needs are a priority.

In addition to political tensions among families and within communities, interviewees also expressed fear of security forces, perceiving them to be politicized. This dynamic was particularly salient

over the course of the 2017-2018 protests as opposition parties demanded presidential term limits, the release of political prisoners, a bipartisan National Electoral Commission, and postponement of the legislative elections.

In a polarized environment with such a lack of confidence in leaders and institutions, there is an important role to play for women, who have the power to encourage young people to renounce violence. Muslim and Christian religious leaders also promote peace and inter-religious harmony. Donors and non-governmental organizations such as the US Embassy, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and, the Network of Organizations of the Central Region (RESODERC), also play an important role in fostering dialogue.

Considering the challenges with national governance described above, a very important development is the process of decentralization, which could start with the June 2019 local elections. At the regional level, the executive will continue to be held by the presidentially appointed prefect. However, many expressed cautious optimism that the process of decentralization will begin to address structural vulnerabilities. Interviewees hope that the devolution of power and resources to locally elected leaders will lead to greater accountability and effectiveness of development initiatives.

Economics and Resources

The primary economic activity in the Centrale region of Togo is agriculture, particularly the cultivation of corn, cassava, and yams. Women are especially active in the marketing and sale of cereals and kola, which is used in weddings, baptisms, and other ceremonies.

Youth work predominantly in construction and road transportation, although some are also involved in animal husbandry. However, this requires substantial capital, and with transhumance and

the importation of cattle from Mali, falling prices make animal husbandry less profitable as a source of income.

Other economic challenges mentioned by respondents include climate change and increased water scarcity, which adversely affects livelihoods. This, compounded by a lack of access to finance for micro-enterprises and a rising cost of living, locks many into a cycle of poverty that is difficult to break. Taxes on businesses were cited as a barrier to social mobility. Another barrier was interpolation of wholesalers into the cashew value chain, making it prohibitively less profitable for small farmers who previously could sell directly to foreign buyers at a higher price.

Natural resource management can also be a controversial matter. For example, the Chinese company Jun Hao Mining, was forced to suspend activities after local communities protested environmental impacts and compensation rates for local workers. In 2008 when they reportedly threatened to vandalize the company, the government suspended their permit to reduce tensions.

Some people also expressed the perception that political protest and polarization may have hindered private sector investment and negatively impacted economic development in the region. Inasmuch as people express the sentiment of being economically undermined by public policy, or otherwise constrained by factors outside of their control, some have turned to protests while others have turned to the illicit sale of fuel, brought over from Benin and Nigeria.

Despite these challenges, residents of the Centrale region have found ways to manage and survive. For example, one noted resilience mentioned by field interviewees are microfinance programs for women to access loans. Some felt, however, that these programs could be better calibrated for

efficiency and scale given the critical role that women play in the economy. NGOs like Human Dimension, and Association for Defense and the Council of Women (ADCF) were noted for their work on women empowerment. The National Inclusive Finance Fund (FNFI) was also mentioned as a success in this area.

Although many expressed the sentiment that Centrale region was neglected by both the public and private sector generally, there have been some investments in, amongst other areas, agriculture, poultry farming, and grants subsidies. For example, a slaughterhouse is being built in Sokodé²³⁰ to help catalyze the animal husbandry industry in the region.

The government has put in place some programs to support young people in entrepreneurship. Programs such as Fonds d'Appui aux Initiatives Economiques des Jeunes (FAIEJ), le Programme d'Appui au Développement à la Base (PRADEB), the Agence Nationale d'Appui à la Base (ANADEB), and the National Agency for the Promotion of Employment (ANPE), all play important roles. However, there are many young people in Sokodé who are not informed about the existence of these support programs.

When all else fails, people travel abroad for work, (e.g. to Nigeria, Gabon, or Libya) particularly in the dry season when there is less opportunity at home. For those who are very vulnerable, they can turn to religious institutions.

Population and Demographics

Key challenges highlighted by the interviews included insufficient resources for services such as healthcare and education. Schools in Centrale, for example, are obliged to recruit teachers themselves, who are then paid through contributions from parents. Additionally, there is a high dropout rate among poor families who cannot

²³⁰ Togo First
<https://www.togofirst.com/en/agriculture/2405-3225-togo->

[more-than-xof400-million-invested-in-the-construction-of-three-slaughterhouses](https://www.togofirst.com/en/agriculture/2405-3225-togo-more-than-xof400-million-invested-in-the-construction-of-three-slaughterhouses)

afford to pay their children's education fees, especially for girls, and teen pregnancy was also mentioned as an important and related challenge. One of the corollaries of poverty and a weak education system in a country with high levels of migration, is the existence of child trafficking. This can happen either with or without the complicity of the parents, and children are most often sent to other countries to work as domestic servants. According to a Chef de Quartier, those sent to Gabon are often trafficked along the seaway. "When you learn that a boat going to Gabon sank, you will find that there are many children of Sokodé among the victims," he said.

These challenges are addressed in various ways by religious institutions and NGOs. For example, in an environment where there are insufficient resources allocated to schools, Koranic schools have proliferated. Non-governmental organizations have also built schools, and it is important that these schools have the necessary credentials and content for students to gain the requisite skills to enter the labor market after they graduate.

In general, when people face social challenges, they turn to organizations such as GIZ, the Peace Corps, and local NGOs. Due to successful sensitization in the region, issues of female genital mutilation (FGM) and child abuse generally are being addressed. For example, there is a toll-free number for people to report child abuse, and an organization called Creuset Togo which supports children accused of witchcraft and other victims. Finally, there is a good collaboration between religious denominations, with religious leaders meeting regularly to discuss challenges and how to address them.

Security

Incidents of lethal and criminal violence are relatively infrequent in Togo generally, and in Centrale specifically, compared to other countries in the region. However, in the protests of 2017-2018 there were several deaths, including the

killing of protestors and the lynching of two soldiers. The militarization of the internal enforcement of public order was noted by respondents as a deterrent to violence, but also as an example of government-sponsored suppression.

"We were terrified and intimidated. Some fled the city. I myself left for a time. I'm not politically active but I went to my village. Some haven't come back. They're afraid to come back. Even my 3-year-old is terrified of soldiers now. There has been a serious rupture of trust between people and the army and also between people."

- Men's FGD, Centrale Region

Aside from political violence, other vulnerabilities include land disputes, sometimes along ethnic lines. For example, one respondent highlighted rising tensions between a Tem (Kotokoli) community and the Kabye. Inasmuch as political and religious tensions fall along the same ethnic fault lines, there is the potential for mutually reinforcing conflict dynamics that could escalate. "There could be an explosion regarding land, though it is still latent," he said.

A related potential security vulnerability is the issue of farmer-herder conflicts. According to Togolese law, herders are permitted to cross into the country during the months of January to May, so as not to interfere with the harvest period. However, due to climate change and a lack of enforcement, these regulations are often violated, leading to the potential for clashes.

Finally, one topic that came up repeatedly as a potential threat is the issue of violent extremism. To the extent that people feel unrepresented politically, unprotected by security forces, and undermined economically, many respondents were worried that some youth may be susceptible to radicalization, a risk that could be further

heightened by ethnic, political, and religious divisions in the country.

Although the risk and vulnerabilities seem elevated, the underlying context is quite conducive to an environment of peace and security. While people report a lack of confidence in the rule of law, violent crime is nevertheless quite low. Despite a reported fraying of the social fabric which could otherwise lead to group-based violence, respondents were unequivocal in their assertions that there is a strong social cohesion between the different faiths. As one Muslim youth put it, “We celebrate with our Christian brothers.”

Other types of violence are also on a positive trajectory. According to a Chef de Quartier in Centrale, sexual violence has decreased thanks to the sensitizations of non-governmental organizations like Plan International. Another organization called Groupe de Réflexion et d’Action Femme Démocratie et Développement (GF2D) also combats violence against women, and there are community focus groups addressing violence against women. With sensitization, women can anonymously denounce their husbands in cases of domestic violence.

An important government initiative that works to promote social cohesion and prevent conflict is the Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN). Finally, it was emphasized that in Centrale women have also played an important role in promoting peace during times of political tension.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

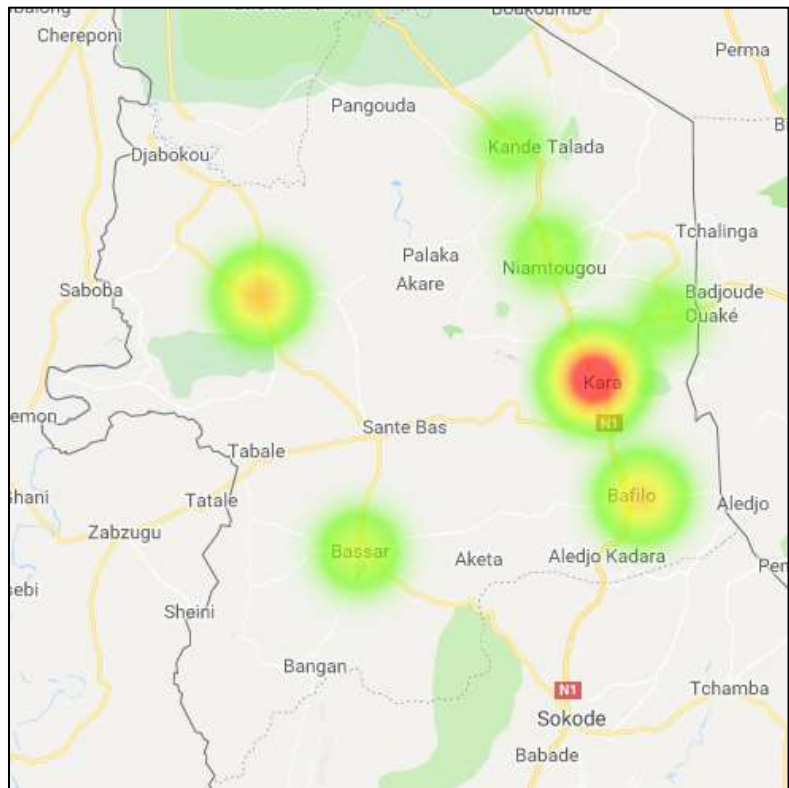
In the face of the many vulnerabilities and risks that effect the people of Centrale region, there are also established and reliable social and institutional resilience factors. Respondents talked

about the important role of religious institutions in the region, highlighting the fact that Muslim and Christian leaders worked together to promote inter-religious harmony and peace. NGOs and donor organizations operating in the region also facilitate dialogue and peacebuilding initiatives, positively contributing to resiliency.

Women in Centrale have access to microfinancing loan programs, young people can benefit from government entrepreneurship endowments, and there is an established cross-border labor route into neighboring countries for people who are unable to find work in Togo during the dry season. The region has also made great strides in sensitization of issues relating to FGM, child abuse and trafficking, as well as other forms of GBV, putting in place reporting and support mechanisms to identify and assist vulnerable groups.

Kara Region

The Kara region is located in the northern half of Togo, south of the Savanes region and north of Centrale. It is home to 769,940 Togolese, just over 12 percent of the population, making it one of the least dense regions in the country. The economy of the Kara region is primarily based on farming of livestock and agriculture, with farmer-herder conflicts a common risk in the region. Demographically, the Kabyè ethnic group is predominant. As the President of Togo's family is originally from the region, and the Kabyè are perceived as being overrepresented in the military and public administration nationally, this dynamic contributes to North/South regionalism in the country. Still, Kara's poverty rate is nearly 70 percent, and the Human Development Index indicates that both education and health are underdeveloped in Kara, suggesting there are opportunities for the promotion of resilience in the region.



Heat Map of ECOWARN and ACLED incidents reported from 2015-2019 in Kara region were mainly clustered around the town of Kara.

Structural Vulnerabilities

- Perceived corruption in the judicial system; lack of confidence in the judicial system; impunity
- Perceived corruption and nepotism in the political structure
- Underrepresentation of women in decision-making roles
- Uneven distribution of resources and infrastructural disparities, particularly along the North-South divide
- Climate change and environmental pressures
- Land tenure issues
- Youth unemployment
- Weak infrastructure and poor social services, specifically ill-equipped hospitals, poor roads and limited access to potable water

Event-Driven Risks

- 2020 presidential elections
- Food insecurity
- Criminality, particularly child trafficking and the smuggling and sale of adulterated fuel

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

- Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms
- Awareness-raising campaigns on women's rights
- Poverty alleviation and infrastructure improvement projects by CSOs, NGOs, IOs, and the government

Rule of Law

While a lone respondent reported a general level of trust in the judicial system, perceptions of the formal judicial structure were largely negative, primarily stemming from perceived political corruption. Although interviewees acknowledged the government's anti-corruption efforts, notably the Haute Autorité de Prévention et de Lutte Contre la Corruption et Les Infractions Assimilées (HAPLUCIA)²³¹, they cited the pervasive climate of impunity, bias towards the wealthy, and the perceived lack of impartiality in adjudication processes - which has undermined public trust in the judicial system - as vulnerabilities in the region's rule of law structure.

Beyond the formal court setting, people living in Kara region have found other ways to settle disputes. For minor issues (and occasionally land disputes), people turn to traditional chiefs, religious leaders, and resource persons.

Additionally, given the perceived biases in the court system, fieldwork participants noted an increased level of reliance on the police and gendarmerie. As a result, individuals have refrained from mob justice. Furthermore, interviewees noted that women's rights are increasingly respected as authorities have proven their willingness to intervene when rights are violated.

For respondents, another mechanism that addresses the shortcomings of the formal court system is the Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity

(HCRRUN), which was created at the recommendation of the Commission Vérité, Justice et Réconciliation (CVJR).²³² According to Kara region respondents, the HCRRUN has compensated victims of injustice.

Politics and Governance

Discussions about politics and governance in Togo led to a divergence of opinion. Some respondents held that governance was highly democratic, whereas others described the government as a corrupt system full of nepotism.

Unrest leading up to the 2020 presidential election, however, was a widely held concern. Given the events of the 2017-2018 political crisis, which was triggered by renewed calls for constitutional reform and the restoration of presidential term limits, interviewees expressed fears about the possibility of violently suppressed demonstrations, especially since ECOWAS-led talks failed to bring the positions of the Gnassingbé government and the C-14 opposition coalition into convergence.

Although women living in the region have historically been instrumental in leading awareness-raising campaigns on issues relating to citizenship, political participation, and peace promotion, interviewees noted that women are still underrepresented in decision-making roles.

Fieldwork participants also identified ineffective decentralization structures, perceived corruption

²³¹ Haute Autorité de Prévention et de Lutte Contre la Corruption et les Infractions Assimilées (HAPLUCIA) <http://www.haplucia-togo.org/>

²³² Sarkin Prof, Jeremy J. <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/pcs/vol24/iss1/2/>

and nepotism as further issues of concern. As one key informant interviewee explained, “When there is a competition, ministers and authorities propose names that are selected. At the level of recruitment into the armed forces, the generals are making use of their knowledge.”

Despite the aforementioned risks relating to the 2020 elections and the legacy of the 2017-2018 protests, participants cited the mobilization of civil society organizations (CSOs) as a source of resilience in response to the potential for political unrest. In addition, the historic role of women in easing political tensions in the region and the memory of the Kara region experiencing fewer protests than the other regions in 2017 are viewed as potential resilience factors.

Economics and Resources

Fieldwork participants identified the inability to invest in income-generating activities, due to poverty and limited access to credit; increased engagement in child trafficking, attributed to poverty; and rising commodity prices (specifically oil) as key economic vulnerabilities. Interviewees described how rising commodity prices have affected the purchasing power of inhabitants and negatively impacted food security as people are unable to have three meals a day. Economic issues specific to youth were also noted during the fieldwork. According to fieldwork participants, the persistence of youth unemployment in the region has resulted in increased migration to Nigeria and Côte d’Ivoire for better opportunities, as well as a turn towards illicit economic activities, such as the smuggling and trade of adulterated fuel.

Concerns about the state of the region’s undiversified economy, dominated by trade, agriculture, and animal husbandry, revolved around the limited access to local and regional markets, which was attributed to poor roads. The region’s economic activities are further challenged by the effects of climate change. Irregular rainfall was cited as a primary contributor to low

agricultural yields, food insecurity (also driven by fluctuating prices), and low income for farmers. According to Kara interviewees, the impact of climate insecurity on agricultural productivity, coupled with a limited access to credit, has left farmers in a cycle of poverty.

Additionally, respondents reported that land tenure issues, in the context of the region’s agriculture-based economy, continue to be an ongoing vulnerability throughout Kara. Specifically, participants cited the persistence of double selling, boundary disputes, and increasingly expensive land, affordable only to elites.

“Out of 10 cases in court, eight relate to land because there is a phenomenon of double selling, more in Kara City. People consider that land has become a source of money.”

- Religious Leader, Kara Region

Finally, perceptions of infrastructural disparities along the North-South divide and the uneven distribution of resources were prevalent. As one interviewee expressed, “There is an inequality in the sharing of resources of the country that is rich in wealth. The exploitation of gold in Bandjeli is an example. In Pya, the native village of the President of the Republic, you will see huts, dilapidated houses, which is hard to believe. There is discontent because the south seems to be more developed. We do not understand the delay of local development.”

Despite these challenges, people living in Kara region have found ways to address the pressures associated with these economic difficulties. Community initiatives, notably the organization of youth and women into savings and credit groups and the training of youths in self-employment and entrepreneurship endeavors by several associations, are a few examples of such avenues. Additionally, government-led initiatives like the National Inclusive Financial Fund (FNFI), which

grants women greater access to land through a revolving loan system and boasts a 93 percent loan recovery rate²³³, were listed as resilience measures.

The role of ANSAT in addressing challenges relating to food security was also noted. The agency purchases cereals on the market during harvest for storage when prices are low. In the dry season, when prices increase, they release the stored cereals to the market to increase supply. By doing this, the price falls to an affordable level, allowing more people to buy the food they need despite the lower levels of production.

Resilience measures relating to development projects in the region were also identified. In particular, respondents spoke of boreholes erected by the government and non-profits like the Peace Corps and Water Charity. For respondents, these boreholes have helped alleviate water shortages.

Population and Demographics

Demographic issues relating to women and girls were largely defined by feelings of positivity. Particularly, interviewees reported a decrease in early marriage, stemming from an increased enrollment of girls in schools; the effectiveness of sex education in lessening the prevalence of early pregnancy; a decline in GBV violence; the role of the Kara Social Affairs Department in establishing safe spaces for GBV victims; and a decline in the incidence of female genital mutilation (FGM). However, participants noted that the marginalization of women in decision-making in the household, driven by their limited access to land and credit, is an ongoing concern.

Respondents expressed concern for the region's social service structures, specifically the disparity in the government's distribution of social services. Perceptions of bias in the distribution of social

services relating to health, particularly along regional lines, were prevalent. During one KII, an interviewee described how Kara region's ill-equipped hospitals and health centers have driven people to seek medical services in Lomé and neighboring Benin. Furthermore, respondents noted how the increasing vulnerability of the population impacts the already weak infrastructural system, spreading scarce resources even thinner. Other issues of concern include poor sanitation and limited access to potable water.

Despite the weakness of the region's social services sector, respondents acknowledged the presence of government-led and NGO-led efforts in the areas of education and health. On the former, respondents spoke of the country's free primary education, the provision of school supplies by NGOs like Compassion International, and the presence of school cafeterias, which receive donated foods from benefactors. On the latter, while respondents noted the deficiencies with the Regional Hospital Center (CHR), they recognized that the presence of the hospital was more than what some areas in the country could speak of. To get citizens more involved in the nation-wide community, churches have invited government leaders to sensitize the National Development Plan (PND), a plan to modernize infrastructure and make Togo a logistics and business hub for the future.

Interviewees also reported a greater sense of community despite occurrences of conflicts among herders and farmers, and other indigenous groups. Additionally, according to respondents, the impact of the 2017-2018 political unrest on social cohesion was negligible, with one participant stating, "The socio-political crisis in 2017 had no real impact on social cohesion. Everything is going well in the region."

²³³ Togo First <https://www.togofirst.com/en/finance/1909-1630-togo-at-june-30-2018-the-national-fund-for-inclusive-finance-had-raised-cfa30bn-from-state-and-lenders>

Security

Respondents from the Kara region reported a general level of trust in the role of security personnel in ensuring the safety of inhabitants. For these interviewees, the presence of security forces has been reassuring.

The primary security concern in the Kara region centered on the role of transhumance in fostering insecurity. Given the scarcity of arable land as a result of pressures stemming from climate change, herders have increasingly disregarded transhumance routes and have started entering earlier and staying later than they traditionally have, increasing tensions with farmers. According to respondents, these farmer-herder conflicts have an ethnic and religious dimension, as most nomadic herders are Fulani Muslims, adversely impacting relations between local farmers and settled Fulani who have lived as neighbors for generations.

Other security threats identified by participants in the Kara region included attacks on public transportation - cited as being prevalent in rural areas - robberies, thefts, and road accidents. Fieldwork participants, noting the link between youth unemployment and criminality, spoke of pronounced engagement of young adults in drug use.

Finally, while fieldwork interviewees maintained that the region was not vulnerable to the threat of terrorism, they explained how preconceived notions about the role of Muslims in terrorist acts in the region and internationally have deteriorated relations between Muslims and Christians.

Social and institutional measures listed as countering the instability presented by the above vulnerabilities include the Organisation Régionale

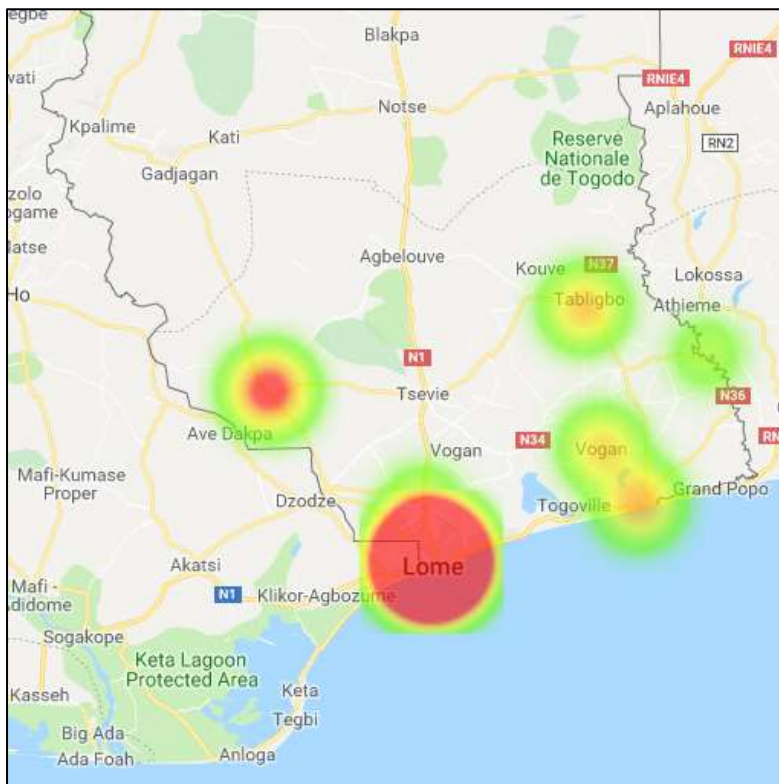
et Sous-régionale de la Communauté Peuls (ORESCOP), which works on inter-ethnic conflict involving the Fulani; and the peace promotion initiatives of district and traditional chiefs and religious leaders. As one respondent recounted, “One person was killed in Kpezindé township. Following the accusation made by one village over another, the prefect asked the pastors to discuss with the members of the two villages to avoid confrontation.”

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite the risks and vulnerabilities discussed, Kara region has several resilience factors that have helped mitigate these challenges. Informants highlighted the importance of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, like traditional and church leaders, in managing conflicts. NGOs, CSOs, IOs, and the government were repeatedly acknowledged for their efforts to alleviate poverty, especially for women and farmers, and improve infrastructure. In addition, the government and NGOs were viewed positively for their efforts to sensitize the population to GBV.

Maritime Region

Togo is a long, thin country north to south, with a 56 km coast on the Bight of Benin. Clustered around that narrow coastline is about 40 percent of the entire population of the country, living on the 11 percent of the land that makes up the Maritime region.²³⁴ People are drawn to this region by infrastructure, services and markets which make for a higher standard of living than in the northern parts of the country. The capital city, Lomé, is situated in Maritime, and itself makes up over 10 percent of the entire country's population. The main ethnic groups in Maritime are the Ewé and Guin,²³⁵ who share a common cultural and linguistic heritage with their counterparts in Ghana and Benin. Like most Togolese living in the south, people in the Maritime region mainly practice Christianity.²³⁶ Economic activities include animal husbandry, fishing, and the farming of corn, cassava, yams and cowpea.²³⁷ Maritime also has one of the largest phosphate reserves in Sub-Saharan Africa. Environmental challenges include coastal erosion, flooding and the pollution of waterways. As the administrative capital, it is also the locus of political activity, and has therefore come under pressure during times of protest, as occurred in the early 1990s during the transition from a single party to multi-party system; in 2005 after the death of Eyadéma Gnassingbé; in 2015 after the election; and most recently in 2017-2018 as protesters demanded constitutional reforms in the run up to the legislative elections.



Heat Map of ECOWARN and ACLED incidents reported from 2015-2019 in Maritime region were mainly clustered around the City of Lomé.

Structural Vulnerabilities

- Population density
- Perceived politicization and corruption of the justice system
- Lack of confidence in the security forces
- Poor access to justice, especially in rural areas
- Lack of economic opportunities for youth
- Coastal erosion

²³⁴ African Development Bank
<https://projectsportal.afdb.org/dataportal/VTopCountry/show/TG>

²³⁵ Togo Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<http://www.african-union-togo2015.com/en/togo/about>

²³⁶ United States Department of State Bureau of Democracy
<https://www.state.gov/reports/2016-report-on-international-religious-freedom/togo/>

²³⁷ Ministère de l'Environnement et des Ressources Forestières du Togo

Structural Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water and air pollution • Migration to urban centers • Poor infrastructure
Event-Driven Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2020 elections and potential for renewed violent protests • Violent repression of protestors by security forces • Clashes between youth and police over illicit fuel sales • Gender-based violence (GBV) • Livestock theft
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious and traditional institutions working to reduce tensions between different groups. • Civil society organizations that provide support to access justice systems, including CACIT, WANEP, Association des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture au Togo (ACAT-Togo), Conseil Episcopal Justice et Paix (CEJP-Togo), Concertation Nationale de Société Civile (CNSC), and the Réseau Paix et Sécurité pour les Femmes de l'Espace CEDEAO (REPSFECO-Togo). • Community "Vigilance Committees"

Rule of Law

Challenges in the area of rule of law highlighted by respondents included the perception of a lack of independence, the politicization of justice, and a lack of popular confidence in the security forces.

Freedom of speech is sometimes curtailed, especially during times of political unrest. Others cited corruption within the judiciary, particularly in cases of land disputes. In the rural areas, access to justice was mentioned as a weakness, specifically because poor people in the villages (especially widows) may not be able to afford to travel to the city where the institutions of justice are based, or feel as though they may not be given a fair hearing when they arrive. In the context of a lack of confidence in the justice system, sometimes people take the law into their own hands through mob justice.

To mitigate these challenges, civil society organizations, such as the Collective Associations Against Impunity (CACIT), play an important role. As one respondent said, "Four years ago we went to the Aného court to plead the case for some

detainees who were detained without trial. We also bring food and we organize activities for them." There are also civil society initiatives to protect the rights of vulnerable people such as children, women, people with disabilities, albinos, etc.

The National Commission of Human Rights (CNDH) also has been working to improve the condition for detainees. Some also cited the role of traditional leaders in petitioning the government when there are problems, although others felt that the chieftaincy is sometimes perceived as having been compromised by politicization.

For dispute resolution, people often turn to the Catholic Church or the traditional authorities. Cases of rape are also frequent, especially in the family unit where stigma often precludes accountability.

The High Commission for Reconciliation and the Strengthening of National Unity (HCRRUN), which was created on the recommendation of the Commission for Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation (CVJR), made recommendations to resolve issues of political violence from 1958-2005. This platform

could be used as a basis for addressing more recent grievances.

“The village chiefs and canton chief also intervene in the resolution of the problems. When there are disputes in the community, people tend to resort to leaders. It is when the problem is serious that they seize the police or the gendarmerie.”

- *Women’s Leader, Maritime Region*

Politics and Governance

Maritime, as the most populous region, and Lomé as the administrative capital, have been in the crosshairs of periodic political controversy since the 1990s. Most recently, in 2017-2018, protests broke out over constitutional reform and the timing and process surrounding the legislative elections. The protests reached such a magnitude as to draw in Ghanaian President Nana Akufo-Addo and Guinean President Alpha Condé as official ECOWAS mediators to help resolve the crisis. Unsatisfied with the roadmap and recommendations, a coalition of 14 opposition parties (called C-14) boycotted the parliamentary elections in December 2018. After the election, protests died down. However, some are concerned about the possibility of renewed protests in the run-up to the national elections in 2020 and the credibility and transparency of those contests, given lingering division and distrust in the political space. Others felt that the opposition was so disheartened and “resigned” after the experience of 2018, that they would not mount as aggressive a campaign to influence the process as they did previously. Aside from boycotts, other challenges around the issue of political participation include the role of women and youth in politics. Nevertheless, Togo has more gender representation in Parliament than most

other countries in the region, and recently voted Yawa Tsegan the first woman to the role of Speaker of Parliament in January 2019.

Many in the region are cautiously optimistic that decentralization, starting with the June 2019 local elections, will help to promote a sense of confidence and accountability in leadership, as well as empowering local representatives with the mandate and resources to address the needs of their constituents.

Another institution of governance where women have been gaining prominence is the chieftaincy. Chief Ahuanwoto Lawson, king of Aného, acknowledged that women are less represented than men in politics and decision-making bodies, but added, “Before the beginning of my reign, women could not serve as advisors in the royal court. Since 2002, with my reign, women now can. Gradually they will reach the chieftaincy.”

Civil society and the media play an important role in socio-political life in regard to informing the population and advocating on certain issues. On International Women’s Day, for example, women from different villages of the prefecture gathered in Aného to be sensitized on the importance of their role and the necessity that they participate in both the social and political aspects of public life in their community.

Economics and Resources

In a small agricultural country with a weak trading position on the global market, poverty and youth unemployment are challenges to be contended with, even in the capital city. Togo’s economy has lagged behind comparable countries since the 1990s, such as neighboring Benin. Yet, overall, GDP per capita has been gradually improving since the early 2000s,²³⁸ and poverty has reduced from 61.7 percent in 2006 to 55.1 percent in 2015.

²³⁸The World Bank
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC?locations=TG>

Women in Maritime carry out commercial activities - such as selling vegetables, poultry, and small ruminants - sometimes traveling to the Centrale region to buy produce and export to Burkina Faso. Young people drive motorcycle taxis. Many are employed as civil servants in the public sector. Still, in Maritime, where population density is high and environmental impacts of industry and mining are felt, respondents such as Chief Ahuanwoto Lawson, king of Aného, cited an insufficiency of fish in the sea and the lagoon, and arable land for farming.

Another environmental challenge repeated frequently by respondents pertained to flooding and coastal erosion. Issues of nepotism due to regional or political affiliation exacerbate inequities. Many also face challenges accessing finance due to prohibitive rates in the banks. In this context, many young people resort to illicit trafficking, such as in the illegal transport of fuel from Benin and Nigeria, though there is often no mechanism to enforce the prohibition of this activity, or simply remain unemployed. Other illicit activities include the double-sale of land causing property disputes, which are not always resolved by the courts in a way that is seen to be impartial and legitimate.

One area of potential growth is in the revitalization of phosphate mining in the region, which is used for fertilizers. Maritime has one of the largest phosphate reserves in Sub-Saharan Africa. Historically, it had been one of the world's largest producers before the late 1990s, when it was left underexploited. However, a recent surge in investment portends a likely increase in jobs and revenue.²³⁹ In addition to the economic opportunity, however, comes potential environmental impacts that also need to be managed, a concern that was articulated by many respondents who rely on agriculture and fishing for their livelihoods. The Extractive Industries

Transparency Initiatives (EITI) and Publish What You Pay (PWYP) are in place to help promote responsible natural resource management, but these mechanisms should be more socialized with affected communities for maximum impact.

At the household level, individuals facing financial difficulties turn to churches, mosques, family members, or their neighbors for support. People also look to microfinance institutions for loans. For example, the State has set up an inclusive financing program to give micro-credit to women and young people. Women also organize themselves into tontines as a way of pooling their money for investment.

Population and Demographics

Challenges mentioned by respondents related to environmental pressures (coastal erosion, flooding, lack of arable land and pollution), health and disease (malaria and cholera), lack of clean water, and teenage pregnancy. These pressures have a negative impact on livelihoods, and on women and youth in particular.

Many youth, for example, have historically earned their livelihoods by commercial sand extraction (which has been prohibited due to its effects on coastal erosion - damaging roads and property) and fishing. Fishing has also reportedly been negatively impacted through pollution, including due to the effects of phosphate mining, which is undergoing a resurgence in investment. This resurgence has the potential to be an economic boon and increase government revenues. Infrastructure and services are relatively strained in Maritime due to population density in the southern part of the country. Young people move to Lomé from other regions of the country in the hopes of finding employment in construction or as motorcycle taxi drivers. Of these rural/urban migrants, a woman in a focus group was quoted as

²³⁹ The Africa Report
<https://www.theafricareport.com/2030/mining-phosphate-the-green-ore-glimmers/>

saying, “they lack housing and very often sleep in stations and markets. This movement of rural exodus has consequences – the lack of agricultural labor [in rural areas].”

Services are less available to those in the rural areas of Maritime. Any social stresses that may arise from these pressures, however, are mitigated through efforts at inter-communal and inter-faith dialogue and collaboration. As a security official stated, “Religions have a harmonious relationship. On April 27, Togo’s Independence Day, religious denominations meet together. They do not want to pave the way for a division that can weaken that harmony.” Civil society and traditional leaders help to protect vulnerable children, including the foundation of King Nana Ane Ohiniko Quam-Dessou XV, which builds schools and provides financial support in Aného.

Security

While the presence of security services is more robust in Maritime than in some of the other regions of the country, respondents highlighted a few concerns, chiefly the potential for political/election violence and violent extremism. Several noted that political/election violence is more of a historical phenomenon than a current reality, especially during the 1990s and in 2005. But some felt that the public space was quite polarized, and that there was a prevailing sentiment of distrust of the security agencies regarding political matters. According to one respondent, “It is with the approach of the elections that people are afraid. There is always violence, especially when counting votes.”

With respect to violent extremism, there have not been incidents of terrorism in Togo to date. However, the conditions are worrying according to some, particularly given economic frustrations among certain groups, political protests, and sectarianism in the wider region. As one security

official stated, “The people are not worried about the terrorist threat [...] but there is a risk. [...] vigilance is required.” Given these concerns, it was not helpful when in 2018 several mosques were vandalized in northern Lomé, where many northern Togolese have settled. The West African Human Rights Defenders’ Network released a statement condemning the attacks.²⁴⁰ Countering the potential of violent extremism will require more than surveillance, border patrol, and control of financial flows from overseas. Religious and community leaders play an important role in promoting peace.

These stakeholders are vital to effective conflict management across a range of issues. For example, one thing that was mentioned in every region was the illegal sale of adulterated fuel by young people. At a certain point, in Maritime, this reportedly led to clashes with the police. However, as one respondent said, “The situation has calmed down for two years following an intervention by the King of Guin,” who petitioned the government on behalf of the community.

Other security challenges mentioned by respondents included cases of rape (which were said to be “very frequent”) and cases of robbery (which were not). Theft of livestock was cited as a vulnerability. One respondent said that when the government banned the collection of sand due to problems of coastal erosion, some young people moved into other forms of criminality.

In general, however, the security situation in Maritime was reported to be relatively good though security agencies would benefit from an increase in material, financial, and human resources. Women are underrepresented in the military; increasing the number of women soldiers and strengthening community engagement would help to address some of the vulnerabilities mentioned by respondents. In the meantime, to fill the gap, one respondent highlighted the role of community-

²⁴⁰ West Africa Human Rights Defenders Network <http://www.westafricadefenders.org/wp->

<content/uploads/2018/08/PRESS-RELEASE-ON-FIRE-WAVE-OF-MOSQUES-IN-TOGO.pdf>

based security efforts: “To cope with the shortage in the number of security agents, vigilance committees have been set up under the authority of the traditional chiefs. These are the scouts. When it comes to patrolling, scouts, for example, do rounds during the night.”

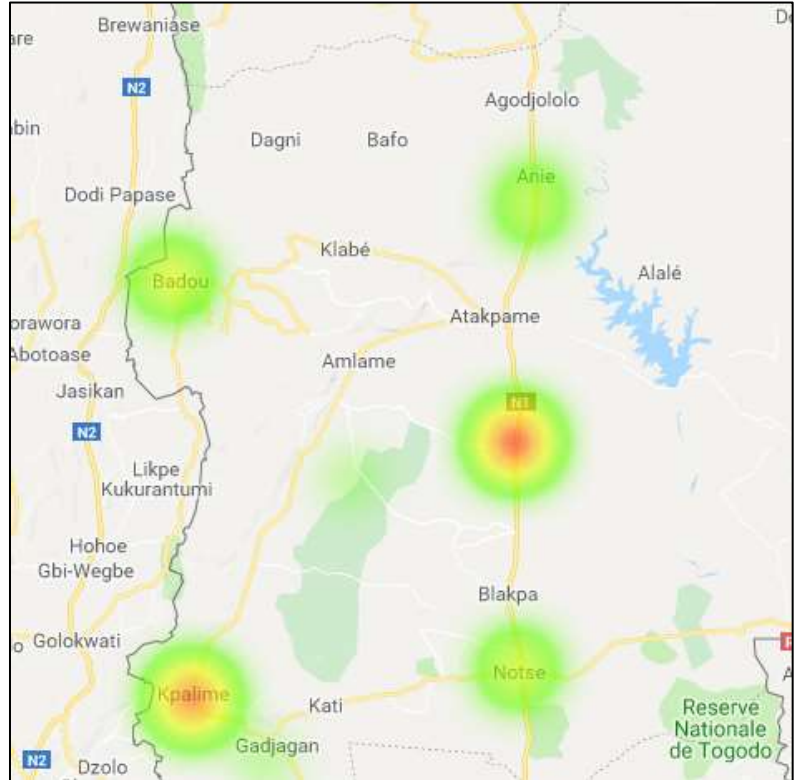
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite the vulnerabilities highlighted above, Maritime has several resiliencies that mitigate risks. The participation of religious groups in the peace process is a resiliency that helps to both

reduce inter-community tensions and combat extremism. Additionally, interviewees cited several community security arrangements, which fill gaps left by the police. Individuals also discussed civil society groups, such as CACIT, WANEP, ACAT, CEJP-Togo, REPSFECO, and others, that aid individuals in accessing the justice system. Economic resiliencies include government microfinance institutions, but individuals also highlighted the willingness of community groups, neighbors, and churches to provide economic assistance.

Plateaux Region

The Plateaux region is located north of Maritime and south of Centrale. It is the second most populated region of Togo, home to 1,375,165 Togolese,²⁴¹ a majority of whom are Christian.²⁴² The predominant ethnic groups are the Akposso, Ifè, Kabyè, Ewé, and Kotokoli.²⁴³ Plateaux's poverty rate is 64.7 percent.²⁴⁴ Plateaux's economy is mostly agriculture-based, with 58 percent of the working age population primarily employed in agriculture.²⁴⁵ Plateaux grows 85 percent of the country's coffee and cocoa plants.²⁴⁶ In addition to agriculture, the region is home to the main center of training for the arts in the city of Kpalimé.²⁴⁷ This region is mainly pressured by a lack of investment, by climate change disrupting temperature and rainfall patterns, and by a combination of poor record-keeping and pervasive corruption driving land disputes.



Heat Map of ECOWARN and ACLED incidents reported from 2015-2019 in Plateaux region were mainly clustered around the prefectures of Ogoou and Kloto.

Structural Vulnerabilities

- Perceptions of corruption and bias in the judicial system
- Lack of autonomy in local government structures, perceived state interference
- Perceived politicization of appointed representatives
- Underrepresentation of women and youth in political spaces
- Youth unemployment
- Lack of infrastructure and basic services
- Climate change
- Lack of investment, especially in rural areas

²⁴¹ General Directorate of Statistics and National Accounting <http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/#>

²⁴² United States Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor <https://www.refworld.org/country,,USDOS,,TGO,,59b7d82fa,0.html>

²⁴³ Ministère de l'Environnement et des Ressources Forestières du Togo <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/tgo01f.pdf>

²⁴⁴ General Directorate of Statistics and National Accounting, Togo

<http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/TGPVS2016/poverty-statistics-of-togo-2011?povertylevel=1000010>

²⁴⁵ World Bank Group <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/179631474899157168/pdf/Togo-SCD-Final-2016-09222016.pdf>

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ministère de l'Environnement et des Ressources Forestières du Togo <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/tgo01f.pdf>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land conflicts • Corruption • Violence against women and girls • Porous borders
Event-Driven Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2020 presidential elections • Transhumance • Terrorism • Chieftaincy conflicts
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and international credit and microfinance programs, specifically MIFA and FNFI • Peace advocacy through sermons and peace committees • CSOs conducting outreach to women • Alternative dispute-settlement mechanisms like traditional priests and transhumance committees • Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN)

Rule of Law

Slow-moving adjudication processes, a pervasive climate of impunity, perceptions of political corruption, an absence of impartiality, and the lack of judicial independence were identified as undermining factors to the rule of law in the region. As one respondent explained, “I have a lot of friends who want to do their job well in the justice system but there is a pressure that prevents them from going all the way [...]”.

The role of the judiciary in fostering the land tenure problems in the country was of great concern to respondents. According to interviewees, magistrates have a history of colluding with surveyors on arbitrary subdivisions, actions which have contributed to the intensification of land conflicts. During a key informant interview (KII), an interviewee recounted a land conflict, triggered by the discovery that surveyors collaborated with the judges to keep huge swaths of land when subdividing a piece of land. For interviewees, the lack of effective accountability measures ensures the continuation of such actions.

Feelings about the ability of traditional institutions to address the gaps in the formal judicial system were mixed. While some interviewees held that these institutions were trustworthy, others maintained that their roles as political tools and their involvement in intensifying conflicts were evidence to the contrary. Religious institutions, particularly the Atakpamé higher traditional priest, were, however, noted sources of resilience.

Although women, according to interviewees, are largely uninformed about their rights, the increased engagement of women in the paralegal profession was identified as a viable way to address this issue. Another resilience factor in the area of rule of law is the HCRRUN, which has worked to compensate victims of social injustice and establish peace committees throughout the country.

Politics and Governance

The key issue that was identified in the region focused on elections. Regarding local elections, fieldwork participants spoke of how the lack of elections in over two decades,²⁴⁸ coupled with the governmental appointment of local representatives, has made prefects beholden to the government, thereby hindering accountability. The perceived prioritization of governmental interests at the expense of constituents was identified as a barrier to effective decentralization and governance. However, a respondent explained how initiatives like the development efforts of the Ogou first deputy are working to restore confidence in the local governance structure.

Discussions about national-level elections drew upon the legacy of elections in the country and how those experiences could inform the 2020 elections. Longstanding themes of the electoral system that respondents feared could re-emerge in 2020 included the perceived lack of transparency, nepotism, partisan bias in media spaces, violently repressed demonstrations, and cases of electoral malpractice. One respondent claimed that during the 2018 legislative elections, Sahelian immigrants unlawfully acquired voting cards, thereby limiting the voting rights of natives. Another stated, “The credibility of the elections is not assured, the results of the ballot boxes do not often reflect the will of the people so that the majority decides not to vote.” In addition, the lack of a widely accepted resolution to the 2017-2018 political crisis and the absence of a provision on retroactive term limits in the amended constitution of May 2019²⁴⁹ could reignite protests, should Gnassingbé seek a fourth term in 2020.

Participants also expressed concern about the underrepresentation of women and youth in the political arena. Although advocacy efforts by the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and the

German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH (GIZ) were described as pivotal in educating women about political participation, respondents maintained that enduring socio-cultural norms undermine pronounced female political empowerment. According to various Plateaux respondents, currently, the engagement of women and youth in politics is largely defined by self-serving reasons, specifically as a pathway to escape poverty. One respondent stated, “Often, women and youth are typically seen supporting political parties only because it is a matter of necessity to make money.”

Other issues of concern identified during the fieldwork included corruption; uneven distribution of resources; poor processes relating to separation of powers; ineffective information-sharing protocols on nation-wide projects and women’s rights; and the perceived suppression of democratic freedoms, particularly freedom of assembly.

Economics and Resources

As with other regions in the country, Plateaux respondents expressed concerns about the interplay between climate change and the region’s undiversified economy, dominated by agriculture, trade, and livestock farming. The effects of climate change, notably irregular rainfall, were identified as central drivers of low agricultural productivity. Labeled as destructive to the ecosystem, environmental pressures associated with climate insecurity were also reported as contributors to the region’s low agricultural yields. For fieldwork participants, the lack of adequate governmental responses to the threats posed by climate insecurity is worrying. During one KII, an interviewee stated, “The scarcity of rainfall has a negative impact on agriculture and consequently, the marketing of food products (cereals). There is

²⁴⁸ Freedom House
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/togo>

²⁴⁹ Al Jazeera
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/togo-law-president-stand-terms-190509180859448.html>

the combined action of climate change and non-accompanying political action.”

“There is no longer any need to verify whether climate change exists. It is in front of our eyes. In the month of May, there is so much dust we can’t even see.”

- *Public Security Officer, Plateaux Region*

However, fieldwork participants acknowledged the role of multilateral financial institutions in alleviating the pressures experienced by farmers. Notably, interviewees highlighted the Mécanisme Indicatif de Financement Agricole (MIFA) program of the AFDB, which aims to improve farmers’ access to finance.²⁵⁰ Furthermore, although interviewees were dissatisfied by the perceived lack of governmental action on climate change, they welcomed state-led efforts on general processes relating to agriculture. Particularly, respondents mentioned the National Agency for Development Support at the Base (ANADEB), which aims to engage communities in the national economic development plan and ensure that all communities have access to the basic level of subsistence by 2032.

Other challenges relating to the undiversified economy include environmental degradation, caused by human activities like deforestation, and high trade taxes, which have reportedly disincentivized trade. In 2017, the estimated average tariff across all goods was 13.4 percent.²⁵¹ Fieldwork respondents also spoke of how the uncertainty of the recent political crisis has worsened the situation. In particular, interviewees mentioned the depreciation of the currency, which has further impacted the flow of trade.

Youth unemployment, resulting in the increased reliance on illicit economic activities; perceived

²⁵⁰ Al Jazeera
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/togo-law-president-stand-terms-190509180859448.html>

bias towards the wealthy in the distribution of the nation’s resources; rural-urban disparities in resource distribution; resource competition, specifically land; and the lack of investment in the economy were listed as further issues of concern. For one respondent, the lack of investment in the economy has limited the demand for consumption beyond that which is necessary to avoid food insecurity, further limiting economic growth.

Interviewees relayed that women play important roles in the local economy. According to participants, many women are active in the trade and agricultural sectors. However, interviewees reported that the large interest rates associated with microfinance loans have proved discouraging to Plateaux women and hampered female economic empowerment. Due to the challenges associated with formal credit measures, women have resorted to community-based financing programs like tontines, in which members contribute money every month and benefit from the fund on a rotating or as-needed basis. NGOs were also reported as promoting female economic stability within the region. Specifically, an interviewee from Kpalimé mentioned the Association des Femme Battantes du Mont Kloto and its provision of sewing machines for girls in apprenticeships.

Population and Demographics

Fieldwork respondents cited youth unemployment, which functions as a driver of insecurity, as a driver of issues of criminality such as those related to drug abuse. For interviewees, the lack of opportunities in the public sector and the inability of the private sector to accommodate the growing population of graduates has resulted in additional demographic trends, specifically the migration of youth to surrounding nations for economic opportunities.

²⁵¹ World Bank
<https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/TGO>

On issues pertaining to women and girls, Plateaux respondents demonstrated a general level of confidence in the trajectory of female socio-cultural advancement. Participants reported a decline in early marriage, FGM, and domestic violence (which was attributed to government action); increased access to family planning; and acceptance of pregnant girls in schools. CSO-led awareness raising campaigns about women's rights to land and the instrumental role of women in the resolution of social conflict were cited as further proof of female social empowerment. However, interviewees acknowledged that the persistence of teen pregnancy and enduring socio-cultural norms that deter women from land ownership could serve as detriments.

Feelings about the social services sector, specifically healthcare and education, were defined by a general lack of confidence, understaffing and a lack of resources. A Kpalimé interviewee said, "There are health centers, hospitals, but they are only buildings. The administrative formalities in the health centers are long. There is a lack of human and material resources. You have to go elsewhere (in other big cities) to get satisfaction. Financial resources are seriously lacking for proper treatment. People use street drugs. Poverty explains this situation. Patients return home for lack of money to pay for health care." The stigmatization of persons living with AIDS and HIV was also noted as an issue.

The schooling system faces similar challenges, which according to one respondent, have led to low completion rates. Fieldwork participants also highlighted how the difference in quality between public and private education is evidence of the weak education sector. As one respondent expressed, "School is seen as an important asset but there is a divide between students taught in public schools versus those taught in private schools." Although primary education is free in Togo, the poor quality of service and underpaid

instructors has led the wealthy to prefer private education and the flight of skilled public teachers to private schools.

Participants also noted how the effects of climate change have ruined already sub-standard infrastructure. Other infrastructural issues identified during the fieldwork included poor roads, which were reported as causing accidents; poor housing conditions; and a lack of access to electricity, internet, and potable water. According to respondents, challenges around access to clean water are exceedingly critical from January to May due to transhumance.

Finally, threats to social cohesion were identified as a pressing concern. Land conflicts, which are characterized by ethnic and regional dynamics, were highlighted as one such threat. Specifically, fieldwork interviewees explained how the movement of Northerners²⁵² (who are viewed as being favored by the government) southwards for land often already in use by Southern farmers, has resulted in confrontation. Respondents also noted that the acquisition of voter identification cards by non-Plateaux locals worsened group grievance.

"There is a certain North-South divide. In the competition, there are many Northerners who are favored, and this provokes outrage from the people."

- *Thought Leader, Plateaux Region*

Despite the aforementioned risks and vulnerabilities, respondents cited the impact of various resilience mechanisms. In particular, interviewees spoke of the development efforts spearheaded by the African Development Bank (AfDB), the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID), and the water and sanitation programs of the European Union (EU). However,

²⁵² The Northerners in search of fertile land were reported as belonging to one ethnic group, the Halogens.

respondents held that expensive subscription costs associated with the EU efforts serve as barriers to widespread engagement. Fieldwork participants also noted the role of youth associations and CSOs in addressing the gaps in the region's social services structure. Association Nouvelle Afrique, which engages in literacy and sex education courses, and the Association Togolaise de Volontaires du Travail (ASTOVOT) cited as constructing schools, were specifically identified. Another source of resilience in the area of population and demographics are the religious initiatives targeting vulnerable groups.

Security

The primary security vulnerability noted by nearly all respondents was the fear of terrorism spreading due to rising youth unemployment; poverty; porous borders; and a lack of communication between the government and citizens regarding terrorism, leading some villages to keep registries of visitors. Although respondents were not aware of any permanent terrorist presence in Plateaux, one respondent noted recruitment in the region, stating that "As far as the terrorist threat is concerned, four or five years ago, youth recruitment was organized at a distance from the Zongo district (Kpalimé) to be trained in Saudi Arabia. Humanitarian works from Saudi Arabia have also multiplied to show charity to the people, in order to attract them." Respondents also feared how terrorism could undermine social cohesion between Christians and Muslims in the region.

Informants in Plateaux cited a number of security vulnerabilities, including land conflicts primarily resulting from poorly defined borders; swaths of land sold to rich foreigners, causing villages in their hands to disappear; and land ownership disputes, due to discrepancies between modern laws and traditional inheritance texts. Although transhumance is not a major issue in Plateaux, pressures resulting from climate change have led pastoralists away from the state-designated

corridors, leading to potential farmer-herder conflict.

Other security threats included robbery, arms and drug trafficking, and vandalism. Respondents correlated an increase in these threats to Togo's porous western border and youth delinquency, tied to increased access to drugs in schools and unemployment. Despite the presence of security forces and greater trust in the gendarmerie and police, respondents felt that the current status of security in the region made it unsafe to walk or ride home alone at night. In addition, one respondent stated, "Five months before, while the corner was busy (sunrise), a woman was rolled on the ground and her bag removed by force." These vulnerabilities have become difficult to address due to a lack of trust in security forces, resulting from perceived government-mandated attacks on citizens following the 2005 presidential election.

Resilience measures noted as countering the vulnerabilities and risks listed above include transhumance committees, resolving any farmer-herder conflicts that arise; peace committees, churches, and WANEP, conducting peace-sensitization efforts and solving conflict; and the increasing presence of the anti-crime brigade, gendarmerie, and youth groups fighting crime in the region. When discussing the effectiveness of said security resiliencies, one respondent stated, "The local communities, including the traditional hunters, the *Abrafos*, wanted to react, but I called for a meeting of all actors to preserve peace and social cohesion, to which all community leaders were invited. People who planned to burn buildings and attack communities during the night were calmed on both sides."

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

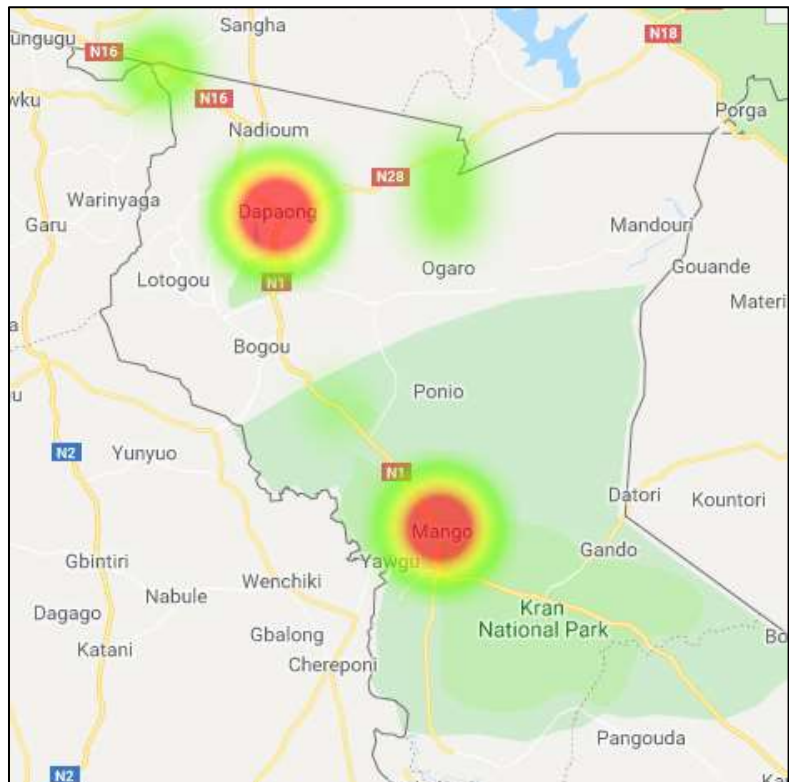
Despite the risks and vulnerabilities highlighted by informants, Plateaux has various resilience factors that continue to mitigate these challenges. Informants repeatedly highlighted government and IO-led efforts to decrease poverty, by increasing

credit access and investing in human capital, as key resilience factors in the region. Alternative dispute settlement mechanisms, peace committees and the HCRRUN were also cited as resiliencies through increasing peace and

preventing further conflict. Informants also discussed strides to better engage the youth and female populations through outreach programs and spurring job opportunities in the region.

Savanes Region

Togo's northernmost region, the Savanes region, shares international borders with Benin, Burkina Faso, and Ghana. It also shares a domestic border, to the South, with Kara region. As of the 2010 Population and Housing Census, Savanes region had a population of 828,224, of whom 430,228 (51.9 percent) were female.²⁵³ The population of the region is multiethnic, with significant populations of the Moba, Tchokossi, Gourma, Mossi, and Gamgam ethnic groups.²⁵⁴ The primary economic activity is agriculture, employing 68 percent of the working population.²⁵⁵ The poorest region of the country, Savanes is particularly affected by climate change and associated migration issues, which affect the livelihoods and wellbeing of the population.



Heat Map of ECOWARN and ACLED incidents reported from 2015-2019 in Savanes region were mainly clustered around the towns of Dapaong and Mango.

Structural Vulnerabilities

- Perceived corruption in the judicial system; lack of confidence in the judicial system; impunity
- Perceived organization of politics along the North-South divide
- Perceived bias in the distribution of social services and infrastructural resources, particularly along the North-South divide
- Politicization of traditional leaders and the instrumentalization of youth
- Inadequate provision of quality healthcare services
- Demographic changes, particularly population growth
- Youth unemployment
- Rising cost of living; poverty
- Climate change and environmental pressures
- Perceptions of corruption and bias among security forces
- Land-based disputes

²⁵³ Open Data for Africa

<http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/yspekhe/distribution-of-the-census-population?location=Savanes>

²⁵⁴ UNFCCC

<https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/tgo01f.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ World Bank Group

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/179631474899157168/pdf/Togo-SCD-Final-2016-09222016.pdf>

Event-Driven Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2020 elections and violent management of protests and demonstrations by security forces • Land disputes • Farmer-herder clashes • Criminality, particularly drug trafficking and banditry • Gender-based violence (GBV)
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious and traditional institutions • Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms such as the conflict management and conflict prevention committee of the Dapaong Catholic Church • Income-generating and poverty alleviation initiatives led by CSOs, NGOs, IGOs and the government • Sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns on GBV • Non-state security services like vigilantes

Rule of Law

Fieldwork participants in the Savanes region described a general lack of confidence in and mistrust of the judicial system, primarily stemming from a pervasive climate of corruption, limited access to justice due to a bias towards the wealthy in formal adjudication processes, and impunity. Although the presence of the Community Court of Justice of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) - which exercises both human rights and non-human rights jurisdictions²⁵⁶ - has helped to address some of the structural and procedural gaps in the country, the perception of judicial malpractice remains an issue of concern.

“Judicial cooperation can be an effective means of control. In 2005, ECOWAS had brought in judges of different nationalities, and when they arrived, they heard several cases, and we saw that many defendants were cleared and then released that day.”

- *Thought Leader, Savanes Region*

Interviewees also highlighted the lack of judicial independence, which was attributed to non-compliance with judicial independence protocols, as a further concern. As one key informant interviewee stated, “There are two levels. Judicial independence exists in legal texts but in practice, judges are often corrupt.”

To the degree that there is a lack of confidence in the judicial system, alternative dispute resolution systems fill an important role, such as mediation by traditional and religious leaders/institutions. In particular, one respondent mentioned the highly regarded conflict management and conflict prevention committee of the Dapaong Catholic Church, which is open to and utilized by non-Catholic inhabitants. However, according to participants, while the Church’s peace advocacy project has been notable, the lack of resources serves as a barrier to the strengthening and expansion of the initiative.

²⁵⁶ The Community Court of Justice, ECOWAS
<http://prod.courtecowas.org/>

Politics and Governance

Reflecting on the events and experiences of the 2017-2018 protests and the 2018 parliamentary elections, fieldwork interviewees identified the upcoming 2020 presidential elections as a key risk in the Savanes region. Drawing on the history of disputed election results in the country, participants expressed concern around the reception of electoral results by the ruling party and opposition groups in 2020. One key informant interviewee described how the inherently divergent goals of the ruling party (consolidation of power) and the opposition (political alternation) could result in a political crisis, should these maximalist hardline positions be maintained until 2020. He also noted how the perceived organization of politics along the North-South divide serves as a contributing factor to the threats presented by the 2020 elections, a dynamic reported as being misunderstood by the opposition. He explained, “The main problem is the North-South divide. Southerners will want to see that power back to the South.” Concerns about the possibility of fraudulent pre-election processes and responses to said acts, especially in Mango where confrontations between supporters of the government and opposition groups have been known to occur, were also cited.

Weak governance systems - partly driven by the misallocation of resources - uncoordinated decision-making processes, and the politicization of traditional leaders were highlighted as challenges to governmental progress in Savanes. For fieldwork participants, the appointment of traditional leaders by the government and their perceived role in championing and advancing the will of the government has rendered them illegitimate within Savanes.

The belief that female and youth political participation is present in the region and the desire

for continued engagement of these groups was shared by all respondents. However, issues relating to the government’s response to the vibrant engagement of said groups in politics, particularly youth, was reported as a vulnerability. As one participant described, “Youth engagement in civil society activities is a palpable thing. But when their actions somewhat thwart the interests of the government, they are called opponents.” Additionally, participants held that while women and youth have been active in the political space through their engagement in demonstrations, advocacy, and decision-making roles, their susceptibility to political machinations undermines their political empowerment. The sentiment was expressed that politicians make many campaign promises to motivate youth voters, which may ultimately go unfulfilled, resulting in tension.

Finally, respondents also expressed concern with the censorship of media spaces in the region, which according to interviewees, was heightened during the 2018 legislative elections. A respondent stated, “Freedom of expression is not effective. It is seriously affected. There was one radio station [...], and during the period of the legislative elections, it received representatives of the opposition for a program. Even before the program ended, it was suspended. The radio is no longer transmitting.” He also relayed that upon receiving threats six months ago, he was forced to cancel his radio show. The use of soldiers as journalists and cameramen was also cited as a means of media control.

Economics and Resources

According to the General Directorate of Statistics and National Accounting, Savanes has the most pervasive levels of poverty out of all Togo’s five regions.²⁵⁷ Respondents interviewed in the field contextualized that finding, highlighting key economic concerns such as inadequate employment opportunities for youth, resulting in

²⁵⁷Open Data for Africa
<http://togo.opendataforafrica.org/apps/atlas/Savanes/Incidence-of-Poverty-PO>

their engagement in illicit economic activities like the trade in adulterated fuel; acute poverty, leading to a pronounced engagement in child trafficking; insufficient resources to accommodate the rapid population growth; the rising cost of living; and low salaries. As one key informant interviewee reported, “The populations have a relatively low income that does not allow them to support themselves. The population is growing day by day and resources, especially land, are becoming insufficient.”

Another primary issue of concern that was identified during the fieldwork centered on the nexus between climate change and the region’s staple economic activity: agriculture. The belief that the Savanes region is increasingly vulnerable to the effects of climate change was emphasized, with respondents identifying variations in rainfall patterns as the key driver for low agricultural productivity. For fieldwork participants, irregular rainfall has also lengthened periods of dry climate and exacerbated pre-existing challenges and pressures around access to water.

“If dams had been installed, the situation would have been easier. Water is not controlled [...]. It is the frustrations that drive people to demonstrate. There are 35 water reservoirs in the Savanes region but only 4 contain water.”

- *NGO Representative, Savanes Region*

Given the impact of climate change on Savanes’ agriculture-dominant and undiversified economy, economic pressures were reported as being acute during the dry season, resulting in the flight of youth to neighboring countries for greener pastures. One interviewee noted that this practice is especially encouraged in the Oti Prefecture.

Although Savanes interviewees reported that food security during the prolonged dry season was not an issue, they highlighted the food assistance program of the Organisation de la Charité pour un

Développement Intégral (OCDI) and the Agence Nationale de la Sécurité Alimentaire (ANSAT) initiative of buying cereal in bulk from farmers as notable food security measures. However, respondents hoped that the ANSAT initiative, also cited as a measure of price control, could account for all cereal yields.

Another agriculture-specific issue identified during the fieldwork was controversy over trade policy, particularly the ability of farmers to access inexpensive agricultural inputs from neighboring countries. Notably, an interviewee relayed that in the region (Barkouassi) and other areas of the country (specifically Mò, Djarkpanga Prefecture), the refusal of police to approve the entry of Ghana-purchased fertilizers to Togo has led to altercations between farmers and security personnel.

Participants also described the adverse impact of tax enforcement on female economic empowerment, as women play an important role in trade and commerce. One interviewee recounted how the taxation of tomatoes at security checkpoints has resulted in the decline of wholesale tomato buyers from Lomé in Dapaong, as well as the sale of large quantities of tomatoes at marked down prices. He explained, “In the past, women traders came from Lomé to buy tomatoes. But by the time they arrive in Lomé, a large part of the merchandise is rotten. This is due to the fact that the goods are blocked for days on the way. The police at the checkpoints tax the products and ask the women traders to pay. When they refuse, the tomatoes stay there for days. As a result, they prefer not to come to Dapaong to buy tomatoes anymore. Women who grow tomatoes in Dapaong are forced to sell a large basket of tomatoes for 800 FCFA.”

Population and Demographics

Perceptions of progress on issues relating to women and girls were prevalent during the fieldwork. Notably, fieldwork participants, highlighting the success of sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns, reported an increased acceptance of family planning measures and a decline in the occurrence of gender-based violence (GBV) - specifically rape - female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriage. Teen pregnancy, however, is an ongoing issue of concern.

The primary demographic issue of concern that was identified during the field exercise centered on land tenure, with respondents citing cases of land speculation and bias towards the wealthy. One interviewee expressed, “There is an extreme land speculation. The richest monopolize the best land and the poor are even dispossessed of their land. Some prefects have even banned the sale of land to avoid land speculation.” Perceptions about women’s access to land were mixed, with some participants maintaining that women have access to land and others the opposite. Fieldwork participants also highlighted the adverse impact of demographic pressures on the already competitive space of land ownership. For Savanes respondents, rapid urban population growth has exacerbated pre-existing challenges to land access, which the state is ill-equipped to address.

Notions about the state of the region’s social services were mixed. While some respondents looked to strides in maternal health policy, such as free Cesarean sections, as markers of improvement in the health system, others cited ill-equipped hospitals, stigmatization of disabled groups, and the inability of the population to afford general care as evidence to the contrary. In particular, one such interviewee spoke of Bonbouaka, Tandjouaré prefecture, where the hospital, frequented by a reported 250 patients a month, is only equipped with a little more than a dozen beds, all of which lack mattresses. Fieldwork

respondents also cited infrastructural disparities along the North-South divide, which has led to the migration of youth to the South for better opportunities, as an additional challenge.

Finally, perceptions regarding the state of the region’s social cohesion were mixed. While some respondents held that social cohesion was strong in the region, other participants, citing the events of the 2017–2018 demonstrations, spoke of a disintegration in social cohesion. As one interviewee explained, “There has been a breakdown in social cohesion since 2017 with the demonstrations. To date, there have been internal disputes arising from the fact that people had to report others to the FDS for participating in demonstrations. The people denounced were arrested and tortured. This has led to mutual attacks and reprisals. The arrests have stopped but to this day, people no longer get along.”

Security

Discussions about the state of the country’s security sector led to a divergence of opinions, with some respondents citing improvements in the security infrastructure and others noting otherwise. Fieldwork participants with positive notions about the security apparatus identified a decrease in highway robberies - attributed to the establishment of security checkpoints - police-led review meetings on the quality of service, and the openness of the military, as engendering trust between civilians and security personnel. The establishment of security bases to fill the security vacuum in certain areas and the role of non-state actors, such as youth vigilante groups, in ensuring the safety of inhabitants were cited as additional markers of progress.

Negative perceptions about the security apparatus were largely defined by historic experiences relating to the suppression of demonstrations. As one KII respondent expressed, “The violent repression of demonstrations is a major problem in the Savanes region, especially in the city of Mango.

In November 2015, in Mango, demonstrations against the setting aside of land for the establishment of wildlife conservation area were recorded. People were killed and thrown into the river. To bury the five people killed during the protest, the population created a special cemetery called ‘Wildlife Cemetery’.²⁵⁸ For such respondents, the persistence of banditry; farmer-herder conflicts driven by transhumance and the scarcity of arable land; and the pronounced engagement of groups, like women, in illicit economic activities such as drug trafficking, are additional elements of the weak security sector.

women, were cited as additional resilience structures.

“Even women are involved in trafficking. Some women pretend to sell peanuts and walk around but in reality, it is actually the drug. “

- *NGO Representative, Savanes Region*

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite the vulnerabilities and risks listed above, the Savanes region has a number of social and institutional resilience factors that help mitigate these risks. Fieldwork participants particularly identified the important role of traditional and religious institutions and alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, specifically the Dapaong Catholic Church conflict management committee, in peace advocacy and increasing access to justice. Civil society groups and NGOs, along with traditional and religious leaders, were viewed as positive resilience factors in addressing GBV. IGO-led and state-led income generating activities and poverty alleviation initiatives, particularly for

²⁵⁸ ENCA <https://www.enca.com/africa/amnesty-condemns-togo-deadly-crackdown-demonstrators>

Conclusion and Recommendations

Due to institutional weaknesses and political polarization, Togo's major vulnerabilities are in the areas of Rule of Law and Politics and Governance. Over the years, pressures have been managed by punctuated and incremental reforms, sometimes with the support of external bodies such as ECOWAS. But ethnic, regional, and political divisions have persisted, sometimes with the onset of mass protests such as that which occurred in 2017 and 2018, particularly around periods of presidential and legislative elections. However, there is cautious optimism across the political spectrum that a new effort at decentralization, starting with the June 2019 local elections, may help to increase the perceived legitimacy, accountability, and effectiveness of governance in the country.

These challenges are further complexified by sectarianism in neighboring countries and fears of the potential susceptibility and spread of violent extremism within Togo itself. Beyond the Rule of Law and Politics and Governance pillars, other pressures in Togo include coastal erosion and environmental degradation in the South, as well as water management challenges in the North, which affect livelihoods. Although not as acute as in some of the other countries in the region, farmer-herder issues were also cited, particularly in the northern part of the country, due to the challenges of enforcing laws in regard to transhumance, including corridors and seasonal migration, officially permitted during the dry season of January to May. Also in the North, linked to livelihood pressures and environmental factors, is the issue of migration: seasonal migration of youth seeking employment in neighboring countries during the dry season, rural-urban migration, and child trafficking.

Key systems and platforms for resilience in Togo that were highlighted in the field research include

the role played by traditional leaders, civil society, women leaders, and religious leaders, all of which help to moderate pressures and encourage dialogue. Looking to the future, Togo continues to face key challenges in reducing poverty, and improving social services and infrastructure. As the government embarks on further reforms, engaging local communities will be critical to sustainable development in Togo.

Rule of Law

Quantitative and qualitative research found significant vulnerabilities in the Rule of Law pillar, in regard to independence, accountability, access, and capacity. Religious figures and community leaders have been effective in several regions in carrying out forms of alternative dispute resolution. These initiatives should be encouraged and expanded wherever feasible.

Civil society should continue raising awareness about how to seek remediation for gender-based violence using both the formal and informal (traditional) justice systems. More initiatives targeting women who may have been the victims of sexual or domestic violence are needed, and local and international NGOs could play a key role in filling that gap.

- Strengthen mechanisms of alternative dispute resolution as incentives for social cohesion
- Support CSOs, NGOs and INGOs on initiatives focusing on remediation for gender-based violence (GBV)
- Invest in civic education initiatives on women's and youth rights
- Advance transparency and anti-corruption initiatives and reforms within the judiciary

- Strengthen and expand programs to improve access to justice, particularly for vulnerable populations

Politics and Governance

As a key priority, public officials and civil society should work to address political polarization in the country, which has undermined confidence in elections and constitutional reforms among significant elements of the Togolese population. Platforms for sustained and ongoing dialogue must be supported so that there is ample space for political parties and community leaders, especially women, to discuss any grievances, concerns, or policies without fear of retribution or disregard. Local representatives elected under the new decentralization agenda could be champions and stakeholders in this effort.

Especially in areas where there may be a lack of trust between security forces and community members emanating from a history of political unrest, constructive engagement should be enhanced. Town halls, working groups, and committees which allow community leaders and security agents to regularly exchange views will help to promote civilian protection, situational awareness, ownership, and buy-in by all parties.

- Engage stakeholders and officials to ensure free and fair elections and an inclusive electoral process
- Support local and national transparency and anti-corruption initiatives
- Empower women and youth to run for political office
- Encourage inclusive policies to strengthen women's participation in political processes

Economics and Resources

As an agricultural economy, Togo is vulnerable to environmental factors such as erratic rainfall, especially in the North. Infrastructure for water management, including catchments, irrigation, and transmission and distribution systems, should be maintained and upgraded. NGOs, IFIs, and donor organizations should support the regulation of environmentally detrimental practices. Capacity building for farmers and best practices in water conservation should be promoted. Value chains in critical sectors should be optimized through cooperatives and associations so that farmers can access finance, economical agricultural inputs, and a good price for their product in the national and regional markets.

Heavy reliance on the informal economy for livelihoods presents vulnerabilities in terms of state revenue for infrastructure and essential services, as well as the potential for corruption. Civil society and traditional leaders can play a role in helping to explain and discuss pertinent regulations and policies.

Youth unemployment continues to be an economic vulnerability. CSOs and financial institutions should support and expand micro-financing programs and training, especially to support youth-led initiatives. Public-private partnerships in establishing vocational training schools would not only allow local communities to gain valuable skills sets, but also help engage disengaged youth.

- Civil society, NGOs and financial institutions should expand micro-financing schemes that support women's businesses.
- Develop and enforce existing regulations on environmental degradation
- Improve and expand access to credit and financing for women and youth
- Create and support alternative livelihood programs

Population and Demographics

While not rising to a critical level of vulnerability in comparison to other countries in the region, factors within this dimension, including population growth, youth bulge, environmental factors, and migration all contribute to human security challenges across the five pillars. Particularly as an agricultural society, economic and climatological factors are gradually eroding systems of human, social, and economic capital in the rural areas, which, in turn, puts pressure on urban centers. Recommendations, therefore, focus on rural renewal and urban resilience. A focus on water management and infrastructure in the North and family planning, flood preparedness, and coastal erosion in the South will help to address these challenges.

- Invest in infrastructure development and service provision in rural and underserved areas
- Support government, civil society organizations, NGOs and INGOs in sensitization campaigns on teen pregnancy
- Support vocational training, job creation, and income-generating initiatives for growing youth population
- Reform the government's administration on land tenure to provide clarity

Security

Violence is not especially severe in Togo compared to other countries in the region. While there are cases of farmer-herder clashes in the North, and land tenure issues nation-wide that need to be managed well, levels of violent crime are essentially low to moderate. Concerns highlighted in the field research, however, pertained mainly to periodic outbreaks of political violence and the role of security forces in controlling protests and political opposition. While violent extremism has not been an issue in Togo to date, most respondents expressed concern that unless social cohesion is positively enhanced, and dialogue is encouraged, the conditions may well be there for such extremism to occur in the future.

- Build the capacity of traditional and religious institutions to arbitrate and mediate disputes at the grassroots level
- Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity and trafficking networks, including strengthening border controls
- Create partnerships between state and non-state security actors to enhance cooperation and trust building on security matters
- Support women-led and community-based initiatives on peace promotion, and advocacy

Appendix A: Data Sample

Phase	Dimension	Source	Metric	Sample
Phase 1: Desktop	Resilience	SNA	Survey	94 Peace/Security Actors
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	ECOWARN	SitReps	1617 reports
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections is/are protected from political interference	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections make/s timely, publicly available reports before and after a national election.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Electoral process and pluralism	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Political Participation	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Functioning of Government	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	IDEA	Average Voter Turnout Parliamentary	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Transparency International	Corruption Perception	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	BTI	Political and Social Integration	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Freedom House	Political Rights	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Mo Ibrahim Index	Personal Safety	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN, ECOWAS, AU	Peace Operations	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	ACLED	Conflict Fatalities per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UPPSALA	Presence/Conflict with Non-State Armed Groups	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale - Amnesty	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale - State	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale - HRW	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	Refugees by country of origin per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	Refugees by country of origin (difference 2015-2014) per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	IDPs by Country of Asylum per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	IDPs by country of asylum (difference 2015-2014) per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the independence of the judiciary is guaranteed.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, national-level judges give reasons for their decisions/judgments.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, allegations of corruption against senior level politicians and/or civil servants of any	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

			level are investigated by an independent body.	
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the body/bodies that investigate/s allegations of public sector corruption is/are effective.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the mechanism for citizens to report police misconduct or abuse of force is effective.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB Human Rights and Law Report	% of Women on Constitutional Court	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB - Women, Business, and Law	Does the law mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB - Women, Business, and Law	Does the law mandate nondiscrimination based on gender in hiring?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB - Women, Business, and Law	Is dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Gini coefficient	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Gini WYD	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Income Share Held by Highest 10%	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population with Improved Sanitation (Urban-Rural Difference)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population with Improved Water Source (Urban-Rural Difference)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Children under 5 moderately or severely underweight, percentage	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Depth of the food deficit (kilocalories per person per day)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Prevalence of Underweight, weight for age (% of children under 5)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Literacy, 15-24, Women	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	School enrollment, primary and secondary (gross), gender parity index (GPI)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Employment to population ratio, ages 15-24, female (%) (modeled ILO estimate)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Median Age	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population Growth	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Prevalence of underweight, weight for age, female (% of children under 5)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Maternal mortality ratio (modeled estimate, per 100,000 live births)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Contraceptive prevalence, any methods (% of women ages 15-49)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Life expectancy at birth, female (years)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB - Women, Business, and Law	Percentage of women aged 20-24 years old who were married or in a union before age 18	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Risk	ECOWARN	IncReps	906 (after reducing for

				duplicates and relevance)
Phase 1: Desktop	Risk	ACLED	Incidents	252
Phase 2: Field Research	Risk, Vulnerability, and Resilience	Focus Group Discussions	Broken out by Men, Women, and Youth	6
Phase 2: Field Research	Risk, Vulnerability, and Resilience	Key Informant Interviews	Prominent individuals and local experts, including government officials	32

Appendix B: Vulnerability Index

Index Data Sources

Based on the five human security pillars, a series of indicators were identified based on relevance and measurability. Data sources were then identified from recognized institutions such as the World Bank, United Nations, as well as universities, research institutions, and think tanks. A full list of data sources is attached in **Appendix A**. During selection and testing of the index, the availability of data was assessed to ensure an even distribution of scores.

Process: Calculating the Scores

The index is scored on a scale of 1-10, with 1 representing the highest level of vulnerability, and 10 the lowest level of vulnerability. Each raw data set is normalized and scaled, before being integrated into the indicator and pillar scores.

1. Normalization

An index, by definition, integrates and compares data sets with very different curves and distribution. As a first step, therefore, it is necessary to normalize the data so that it can be properly compared. Without framing the data within the context of the wider group of numbers, its meaning can become skewed. Therefore, the process of finding the mean and calculating the Standard Deviation (SD) of the data set, then using those elements to approximate a normal distribution, can be used to provide this meaning. The Gaussian normalization formula is outlined below.

Where μ is the mean

σ^2 is the variance

$$f(x, \mu, \sigma) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi} \sigma} e^{-\frac{(x-\mu)^2}{2\sigma^2}}$$

SD is the quantity calculated to indicate the extent of deviation for a group of numbers as a whole. Normal distribution is then used to find how the variables are approximately normally distributed. In the context of this tool, it will help to understand where countries sit in relation to each other within the group distribution of a particular data set.

For raw data sets that have gaps (e.g. data is unavailable for some countries but not others), country data points are left blank. This ensures countries are not provided with an artificial score, where data does not exist.

2. Scaling

To create an index where countries are scored within a defined range, the data sets must be scaled so the scores can be integrated. This process of scaling transforms the normalized data into a number between 1 and 10, with 10 representing the lowest level of vulnerability. The below formula was applied to standardize the distribution values from [min, max] to [MIN, MAX], matching the new scale of values both for the highest and lowest edges of the distribution.

$$X = MIN + \frac{(MAX - MIN)}{(max - min)} \times (x - min)$$

3. Aggregation

Each indicator may be made up of either one or multiple data sources. In cases where multiple data sets were used to make up the one indicator, the data sets were each scaled to preliminary index scores (1-10), as outlined in the above steps. The average was then taken of these scores to reach a final index score for that indicator. This process was repeated at the pillar level, first averaging, then scaling the indicator scores.

Appendix C: Additional References

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Appendix D: Matrix of Vulnerabilities, Risks, Resiliencies, and Recommendations by Human Security Pillar

TOGO	Vulnerabilities	Risks	Resiliencies	Recommendations
Rule of Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Slow-moving adjudication processes ➤ Perceptions of corruption, impunity and bias in the judicial system ➤ Poor access to justice for poor and vulnerable populations ➤ Low capacity of the judicial system, including backlog of cases ➤ Understaffed, ill-equipped and inhumane conditions in the prison system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of political corruption, including judicial bribery ➤ Incidents of excessive force, particularly during periods of political unrest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Alternative dispute resolution mechanisms ➤ Religious institutions ➤ Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) ➤ ECOWAS Community Court of Justice ➤ WANEP-Togo ➤ Police and gendarmerie (in some regions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Strengthen mechanisms of alternative dispute resolution as incentives for social cohesion ➤ Support CSOs, NGOs and INGOs on initiatives focusing on remediation for gender-based violence (GBV) ➤ Invest in civic education initiatives on women's and youth rights ➤ Advance transparency and anti-corruption initiatives and reforms within the judiciary ➤ Strengthen and expand programs to improve access to justice, particularly for vulnerable populations
Politics & Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Perception of highly polarized political process ➤ Perception of nepotism, bias and favoritism in government and public sector, particularly along ethnic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of corruption ➤ Polarizing elections ➤ Use of hate speech during political campaigns ➤ 2020 elections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Female representation in National Assembly ➤ Women's political parties ➤ Civic education NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage stakeholders and officials to ensure free and fair elections and an inclusive electoral process • Support local and national transparency and anti-corruption initiatives • Empower women and youth to run for political office • Encourage inclusive policies to strengthen women's

	<p>and political lines</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ History of irregular/postponed elections ➤ Underrepresentation of women at the ministerial level ➤ Disengagement of youth from political processes 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) 	<p>participation in political processes</p>
Economics & Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Perceptions of inequitable distribution of resources ➤ Political unrest impacting investment ➤ Perceptions of corruption ➤ Climate change and environmental degradation ➤ Pollution of waterways and fisheries ➤ Illicit economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Environmental pressures and the effects of climate change ➤ Price volatility ➤ Land and boundary disputes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women/youth entrepreneurs ➤ Women/youth microcredit and microfinance schemes ➤ NGOs, CSOs, and INGOs ➤ Multilateral financial institutions ➤ National Inclusive Financial Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil society, NGOs and financial institutions should expand micro-financing schemes that support women's businesses. • Develop and enforce existing regulations on environmental degradation • Improve and expand access to credit and financing for women and youth • Create and support alternative livelihood programs
Population & Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Youth unemployment ➤ Perceived disparities in healthcare and education spending and services in urban versus rural areas ➤ Environmental pressures, such as irregular 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Tensions between communities over land competition ➤ Child trafficking ➤ Teenage pregnancy ➤ Effects of climate change, such as soil erosion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ NGOs and INGOs (i.e. Compassion International, Peace Corps, GIZ) ➤ Religious institutions ➤ Multilateral institutions (AfDB, ECOWAS, EU) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Invest in infrastructure development and service provision in rural and underserved areas ➤ Support government, civil society organizations, NGOs and INGOs in sensitization campaigns on teenage pregnancy ➤ Support vocational training, job creation, and income-generating initiatives for growing youth population

	<p>rains and drought</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Youth Bulge ➤ Poor infrastructure in rural areas, including roads, clinics, schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Environmental effects of extractives practices, such as pollution of waterways and fisheries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ National Agency for Food Security of Togo (ANSAT) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Reform the government's administration on land tenure to provide clarity
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Perception of security sector bias in some regions ➤ Criminality, including drug and human trafficking ➤ Political violence around elections/campaigns ➤ Transhumance-related conflict issues ➤ Land based disputes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of criminality, including theft and road banditry. ➤ Cases of gender-based violence (GBV), including domestic violence ➤ Increase in cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, sale of adulterated fuel, and human trafficking ➤ Tensions arising from transhumance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Peace and transhumance committees ➤ Religious institutions ➤ INGOs and NGOs ➤ Office of the High Commissioner for Reconciliation and Strengthening National Unity (HCRRUN) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Build the capacity of traditional and religious institutions to arbitrate and mediate disputes at the grassroots level ➤ Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity and trafficking networks, including strengthening border controls ➤ Create partnerships between state and non-state security actors to enhance cooperation and trust building on security matters ➤ Support women-led and community-based initiatives on peace promotion, and advocacy