

Original Article

Resilience and Labour Market Integration of IDPs in Burkina Faso.

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Tebkieta Alexandra Tapsoba ¹

¹ Higher Institute for Population Sciences, University Joseph Ki-Zerbo; atapsoba@issp.bf teb_kieta@hotmail.com

* Correspondence: teb_kieta@hotmail.com

Abstract: Using a High-Frequency Phone Survey conducted by the World Bank and the National Institute of Statistics and Demography, this paper assesses the labour market integration of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Burkina Faso. Logistic regression results show that female household heads, IDPs who were forced to move several times before arriving in the current host community, those who were less able to “prepare” for their displacement, and those living in camps are less likely to be employed. Social cohesion and the ability of IDPs to project themselves in the host community have a positive and significant effect on their probability of being employed. These results highlight the importance of policymakers considering the specific challenges that affect the labour integration of IDPs, including demographic features of IDPs, factors of displacement, and local conditions in origin and host communities.

Keywords: Forced migration; Internally Displaced Persons; Resilience; Labour Market; Gender.

1. Introduction

Forced migration is consistently high amid the development of international and national conflicts. For some time, the public attention was drawn towards the refugee crisis fueled by the war in Syria. However, it was argued in the literature that refugees were the tip of the iceberg, given that the majority of forcibly displaced people fleeing violence and conflicts stay in their own country and constitute Internally Displaced People (IDPs) (1). Hence, in 2015, more than 6 out of 10 forcibly displaced people were IDPs, according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2). Over the past five years, the total number of IDPs rose by 51%, reaching a record high of 75.9 million in 2023. Recent conflicts such as the ones in Sudan and Gaza contributed to the rise of these numbers. For example, 83% of the population in Gaza has been internally displaced in less than three months (3).

Though the conflict in Gaza and Sudan attracts much attention in the media, millions of people are forced to leave their homes due to a multifaceted crisis in another region of the World, namely the Sahel. More specifically for the central Sahel states of Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, the population has been living in a decade-long jihadist insurgency associated with persistent issues of poverty, food insecurity, and poor climate conditions exacerbated by climate change. In the case of Burkina Faso, a landlocked country of 20 million people, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates that as of April 2024, 6.3 million people needed humanitarian assistance (4). This number includes refugees and IDPs fleeing terrorist attacks, the latter's number skyrocketing to 2 million in March 2023. Hence, according to the Norwegian Refugee Council, Burkina Faso is the World's most neglected crisis in 2024 for the second year in a row (5). The measurement of neglect is based on three criteria: the lack of humanitarian funding, media attention, and international political and diplomatic initiatives, relative to the number of people in need (5).

Although researchers can help shed light on the ongoing crisis in the Sahel region, one of the main challenges is obtaining credible, reliable data. In the case of Burkina Faso, this challenge is primarily due to the near impossibility of accessing disaggregated data on IDPs collected by national authorities. Additionally, the IDP population is highly volatile

and predominantly resides in dispersed, non-camp settings, which hampers the ability to garner the same attention given to a semi-comparable refugee population (6).

However, like any other group of forcibly displaced people, IDPs face considerable socio-economic challenges in integrating into their host community.

In this study, our main objective is to assess the integration of IDPs into Burkina Faso's labour market. Specifically, in explaining the probability of IDPs participating in the labour market, we will assess the effect of: 1. IDPs' sociodemographic and economic characteristics, 2. Living conditions before and after the displacement.

Rather than comparing forcibly displaced people to regular migrants or host communities, this work aims to reveal the intrinsic characteristics of the IDP population that explain their participation or non-participation in the labour market. By doing so, we contribute to the literature by filling the knowledge gap in this particularly challenging part of the world, the Sahel region. Hence, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first quantitative study to examine the labour market integration of IDPs in Burkina Faso.

We use a 2020 phone survey conducted by the National Institute of Demography and the World Bank, which included a sample of IDPs. The rest of the paper is structured as follows: After reviewing the literature, we propose a theoretical framework within which our work can fit. We first present the context of Burkina Faso, then the data, methodology, descriptive statistics, and results.

2. Theoretical perspectives

Following the work of Ivlevs and Veliziotis (201) (1) in post-socialist countries, we view our work through the lens of the cumulative advantage theory. This concept, which often appears in the social scientific literature, dates back to Merton, who described advancement in scientific careers through the accumulation of advantages (7).

The idea of this theory is that the advantage of one individual or group over another accumulates over time and deepens inequalities between them (8). The process of cumulative advantage can magnify minor differences over time and make it more difficult for an individual "behind" regarding certain aspects to catch up with others. Initially developed to address advantages, the theory has evolved and been applied to studies of unfavourable initial conditions, focusing on outcomes such as employment, career choices, and education across a variety of groups by race, ethnicity, or gender (1).

In this study, we focus on cumulative disadvantages, proposing that a relatively unfavourable position at a given time for an individual can lead to future losses, thereby widening the gap between those who experienced the initial shock and those who did not. In our context, the initial shock is forced displacement. This sudden event causes an abrupt interruption of the individual's activities at their original location, resulting in a lower likelihood of the IDP being involved in the labour market in destination areas immediately after displacement. The loss of assets and human capital, linked to the psychological trauma experienced by some forcibly displaced people, can explain their reduced participation in the labour market in destination areas. As a highly vulnerable group, IDPs rely on private savings (if they have any), support from host communities, and aid from the State and humanitarian organisations to meet their basic needs following displacement (1). However, once a minimum standard of living is achieved, savings and various forms of support may be exhausted, prompting IDPs to seek entry into the labour market.

The length of unemployment may, however, leave a "scar" on IDPs, hindering their entry into the labour market. The concept of unemployment scarring is explained by the human capital theory developed by (9). The loss of human capital, experience, and the depreciation of more general skills during periods of inactivity can make it difficult for individuals to find jobs or may lead them to accept less qualified positions compared to their previous roles (10). Additionally, unemployed individuals might accept inferior job offers because, according to (11) and the job search theory, they may have limited access to information about job opportunities or less negotiating power over their salaries (12). A substantial body of literature supports the idea that past unemployment reduces future employment prospects and negatively impacts wages once employment is secured. In Europe, (13) found evidence that employment interruptions leave a "scar" on individuals by increasing their likelihood of future unemployment. In Africa, employing a pseudo-panel approach, (14) found that unemployment adversely affects under-skilled youth. Regarding IDPs specifically, (15) found that IDPs are 11.6 percentage points more likely to be unemployed than residents. Furthermore, they found that IDPs residing in a locality for more than five years receive lower wages than residents (15). Similar findings have been

observed in nine post-socialist countries in the study by (1), which identified a persistent, long-term employment vulnerability among forcibly displaced people.

The cumulative disadvantages theory and the human capital theory fit well into our case study. Regarding the former, IDPs face disadvantages such as the initial shock of displacement, multiple displacements during their flight, asset losses in origin areas, and cultural, social, and economic differences in destination areas, which can hinder their integration into the labour market. Concerning the latter, the labour market integration of IDPs can be challenged by prolonged displacement. Besides reducing their chances of employment due to the loss of knowledge during extended unemployment caused by prolonged displacement, IDPs' skills may also differ from the labour supply in destination areas. In fact, because most displacements occur in rural settings with less educated populations, their lack of formal education can limit their opportunities to find jobs in urban areas.

In our case study, IDPs' unemployment related to their sudden and unpredictable displacement can explain their employment status in destination areas. However, several other factors contribute to the accumulation of disadvantages that hinder their integration into the labour market in their host community. These disadvantages are firstly linked to their demographic, socioeconomic conditions, and the cultural environment they move into.

2.1 Disadvantages linked to their mobility

The loss of assets during the displacement.

One of the central aspects of forced displacement is its "force" element. Compared to regular and planned mobility, people who are forced to flee their homes are unprepared. Also, violence being the critical element in their decision to flee their origin location, they are less economically selected than economic migrants (16). In the case of Colombia, (17), using propensity score matching, found a significant wage difference between IDPs and economic migrants. Refugees face the same challenge as in the case of Ethiopia and Lebanon, (18) and (19) found that a small number of working-age refugees were employed.

The economic impact of forced displacement is significant, with the loss of assets such as housing, land, and livestock being a major concern. This loss, as noted by (1) Ivlevs & Veliziotis (2018), not only exacerbates the initial loss of subsistence activity but also contributes to the cumulative disadvantage of IDPs in various ways.

Firstly, they will spend significant time trying to ensure their household's basic needs. On the one hand, this includes finding shelter and food via State, non-governmental bodies, or through begging (20). In the State of Borno, (21) argues that thousands of women and girls displaced by the insurgency of Boko Haram became beggars. This time used to make ends meet comes at the expense of working or even searching for work, reducing their chances of entering the labour market. On the other hand, the pressure of finding basic needs for their households may be motivational for some IDPs, though they will take on more precarious, low-skilled and informal activities.

Secondly, labour market differences in the origin areas can hinder the integration of the labour market in destination areas. In the case of Colombia, (22) found that IDPs from rural areas were mainly unable to find work in urban areas, where the job landscape is far from their usual agricultural activities.

Finally, it is essential to note that there may be a difference in preparedness even within IDPs fleeing their homes. The trigger event sometimes varies amongst them. Some may flee because of direct violence, such as assassinations, while others may flee because they have been given ultimatums. In the latter case, some people may have more time to prepare for their displacement than others, giving them some "advantage" to lose fewer assets than those with less time to prepare. In the case of Columbia (23) argue that households who migrated preventively in anticipation that the conflict will worsen tend to lose fewer assets and better cope with the displacement. These households were able to sell their assets, which allowed them to mitigate the displacement shock during the first months in destination areas. However, these sales in distress conditions were far below the market price, allowing households to sustain their needs for only a short period.

The psychological trauma and uncertainty in the future

Another critical aspect of the displacement that can prevent IDPs from entering the labour market is the trauma associated with their displacement. In parts of the world where terrorism is the cause of displacement, IDPs may have been witnesses or victims of abduction, sexual violence or even death of their household members. These events can lead to

depression, post-traumatic stress disorders, anxiety and other psychological issues. These psychological disorders subsequently lead to a loss of self-confidence and identity, a sense of detachment and defeat, all of which can have adverse effects on their labour market integration (24, 1).

The case study in Columbia offers a good view of the effect of trauma on labour participation. (22) found that the fragile mental health of IDPs prevented them from participating in the labour market. These IDPs with such disorders were often scared to venture out of their homes to search for work. Not being able to find a job can contribute to depression, which will, in turn, lower the chances of finding a job, leaving the IDP in a vicious circle and leaving him in a poverty trap. IDPs' psychological traumas can be exacerbated by the way host communities treat them. Discrimination towards them can further deepen their depression and prevent them from integrating into the labour market or even being socially active.

Another point that can contribute to the trauma of IDPs is the loss of social status. In some very hierarchical societies where people hold positions because of their wealth (cattle in the pastoralist society in Africa) or their casts, the displacement completely reorganizes the social dynamics and takes a toll on these IDPs.

Understanding the role of trauma on IDPs implies understanding the role of uncertainty in their psychological state of mind. They often move multiple times because of the deterioration of the security in their destination areas, with the idea of being able to go back to their original home. Hence, the number of displacements and the trauma associated with the loss of assets and the loss of household members will negatively affect the probability of IDPs integrating into the labour market (16). Uncertainty in the future inevitably plays a role in their willingness to participate in the labour market as they are still determining if they will even stay in the area for a long time. In the case of Uganda, forced migrants planning to move back to their origin region were less interested in finding jobs (25).

2.2 Disadvantages linked to their demographics

Regarding demographics, gender plays a key role. In fact, with the forced displacement, a considerable number of households become female-headed (22). In Africa, where males are often breadwinners, women might have to switch places and become breadwinners. Another challenge linked to gender is the narrative that females cannot own land or a farm in a context where most of the population lives from subsistence agriculture. Some displacement situations are protracted and lead to a shift in household responsibilities, where women have to assume new roles as household heads, for example. They must evolve in new geographical, cultural and socioeconomic places while bearing vulnerabilities linked to their gender. Another hurdle IDPs may face in making their way into the labour market is their level of education. As they mainly originate from rural areas, they are less educated, creating an entry barrier for jobs in the urban sector.

2.3 Disadvantages linked to social, economic and cultural differences with host communities

Depending on where IDPs can settle, differences between them and the host community can lead to tensions and lower their chances of participating in the labour market.

The first difference is relative to human capital. IDPs usually move from rural to urban settings, where economic opportunities are very different. For (22), the "agricultural human capital" IDPs hold decreases in urban areas.

The second difference resides in the difference in customs and habits. IDPs can sometimes find refuge in host communities with which they do not share similar social and cultural characteristics and behaviours. Depending on their integration into the host community, they may or may not be well integrated into the labour market. In the case of Afghanistan, where there was a lack of interactions between "Helmandis" IDPs and Kabuli, (26) found that it negatively affected the economic integration of the former. In specific settings, social cohesion can be threatened by habits brought by IDPs who were previously living in villages and their host in towns. Habits such as open-air waste or the use of firewood (amplifying deforestation) can create tensions as there certainly will be competition for natural resources with the surge of population due to the arrival of IDPs in host communities.

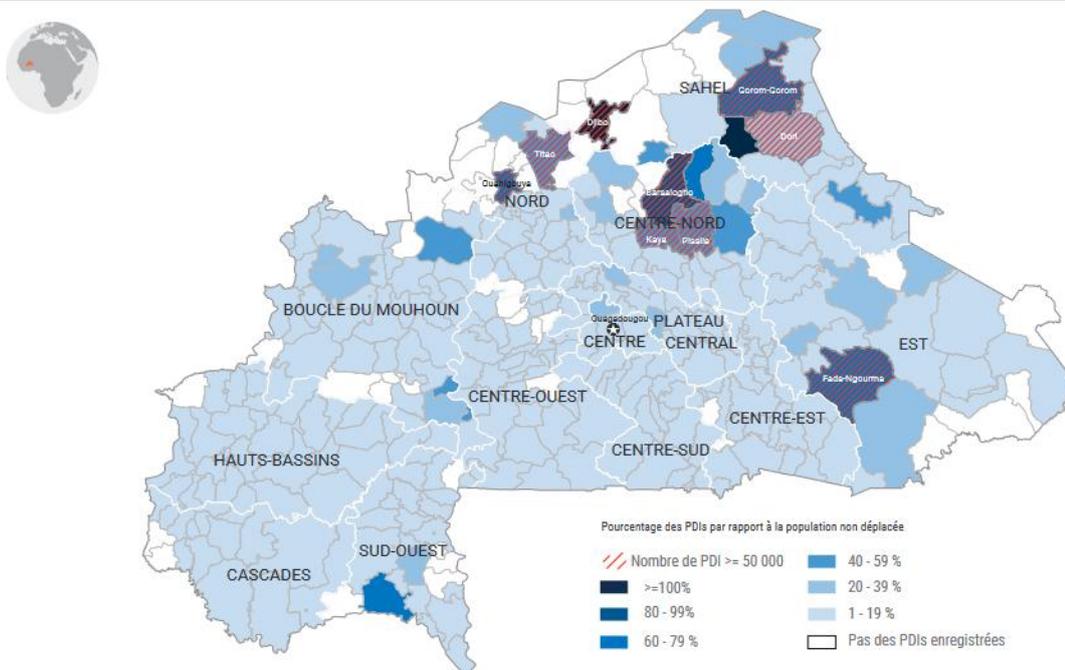
3. Materials and Methods

Burkina Faso was renowned for its long-time stability within the West African region. However, since 2014 and the insurrection that led to the departure of former president Compaoré, the country has been facing an unprecedented rise of violence due to terrorism. One of the first large-scale attacks was in the city capital, Ouagadougou, in 2016, targeting a restaurant and a hotel on the busiest boulevard. This attack happened just weeks after the installation of the newest elected president and was the first of many other attacks all around the country.

The year 2019 marked a spike in attacks, with violence against civilians becoming more recurrent. In fact, according to the UN, 80 people were killed by terrorist attacks in 2016, and this number spiralled to 1800 people in 2019 (27) (28). Far from improving, the current situation in Burkina Faso is deteriorating as ACLED argues that 2023 recorded the highest number of attacks since the beginning of the crisis (29).

This poor security situation led to a new phenomenon in the country: internal displacement from conflict causes. The number of IDPs rose as the number of security incidents rose. The number of IDPs rose from 288,994 in 2019, the year that violence spiked in the country, to more than 2 million in March 2023, according to the National Council of Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation. All 13 regions of the country receive IDPs, with the less secure regions hosting the most IDPs. As shown on the map below, the regions with the most recipients are the Sahel region, the Central-North, the North, the East, and the Boucle du Mouhoun region.

Map 1: IDPs situation as of March 2023



Source: OCHA, 2024

We use a High-Frequency Phone Survey by the World Bank and the National Institute of Statistics and Demography on IDPs. The sampling frame is one of the CONASUR (Conseil National de Secours d'Urgence et de Réhabilitation), the government entity in charge of recording all IDPs in the country. The survey draws a random sample in the list of IDPs recorded by the CONASUR. Of the 1581 drawn, only 1156 were reached, yielding a response rate of 73.1%.

Three rounds have been observed between May and July 2021 (30). Although this survey provides the possibility of obtaining detailed information about a highly vulnerable population, there may be concerns about its representativeness since not all IDPs might have a phone. However, this concern can be addressed, as many IDPs, for assistance purposes, are likely to be very familiar with phones.

Given the binary nature of our dependent variable, which is the fact that the IDP is working or not, we resort to a logistic model and estimate the following:

$$Y_i = \alpha^i + \beta \text{Demographics}_i + \gamma \text{Factors_displacement}_i + \Delta \text{Destination_characteristics}_i \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Where Y_i is our variable of interest and takes 1 if the IDP is employed and 0 otherwise. The IDP's status of employment, defined by the National Institute of Statistics and Demography as: "any person of working age¹ who, during a reference week or over the last seven days, has carried out an activity lasting at least one hour, to produce goods or provide services in exchange for remuneration or profit" (ERI-ESI, INSD, 2018). Our explanatory variables are categorized by those related to IDPs demographics, factors of displacement and destination area characteristics. More specifically, we have:

- The gender of the IDPs: our hypothesis is that female household heads are less likely to be employed;
- Age: our hypothesis that older IDPs are less likely to be employed
- Household size: this variable can positively or negatively affect the employment status of households. On the one hand, living in a big household can be a motivation for the household head to find a job. On the other hand, given that bigger households are more likely to receive aid from the government and NGOs, this variable can discourage IDPs in finding a job
- Living in a camp: our hypothesis is that living in a camp will negatively affect the probability of being employed
- Reason of displacement: our hypothesis is that the more displacement the IDPs had to do before reaching the present destination, the less they will be employed;
- Reason of displacement: our hypothesis is that if the displacement was preventive, IDPs will be more likely to be employed
- Displacement in the same region: our hypothesis is that if the IDPs is displaced in a nearby locality as its origin locality, he will be more likely to be employed;
- Security level in the destination area: our hypothesis is that if the IDP considers the destination area as secure, he will be more likely to be employed

Social cohesion in the destination area: our hypothesis is that if the IDP considers that there is social cohesion in his destination area, he will be more likely to be employed.

4. Descriptive statistics

4.1. Variables descriptive statistics

Table 1: Descriptive statistics.

Variable	Frequency /mean	Std. Dev.
Working Status (equals 1 if IDP is working)	61.06%	
Type of work	Agriculture: 25.60% Mining: 7.83% Trade: 19.03% Personal services: 11.21% Other: 36.33%	

¹ This is the potentially active fringe of the population. Each country's legislation does not necessarily impose the definition adopted but focuses on what is happening in economic life and its active people. For reasons of data comparability, the classic labour market indicators will be calculated for the 15+ age group (ERI-ESI, INSD, 2018).

Female headed households	21.73%	
Female respondents	33.63%	
Education	No education: 89.79% Primary level: 5.78% Secondary and superior: 4.43%	
Age	46.47	13.94
Household size	13.70	7.43
Household living in a camp	22.36%	
HH ² living in a rural area	46.62%	
Number of displacements	1.85	0.63
Reason of displacement	Armed conflict: 26.15% Generalized conflict: 73.85%	
Place of displacement	Same locality=21.82% Other locality=58.43% Other region= 19.75%	
HH consideration of social cohesion	Low (29.54%) Neutral (6.41%) High (64.05%)	
HH willingness to leave the host community	39.56%	
HH consideration of the level of security in the community	Low (29.39%) Neutral (7.59%) High (63.02)	

Source: INSD/WBG and authors calculations.

Table 1 provides a comprehensive view of the living conditions and challenges faced by IDPs. The majority of them are employed in the agriculture or trade sector, and they live in large households with an average of 13 people. They have experienced multiple displacements before arriving in the host community, with 22.36% living in camps and 46.62% in rural areas. Interestingly, the majority of IDPs, 64.05%, perceive high levels of social cohesion and security in their host community. This positive perception may explain why only a third of them are considering leaving in the near future. In our sample, 33.63% were female respondents, and 21.73% of the total sample were female household heads. A more important figure is that amongst all female respondents, 64.61% were household heads, showing a particular feature of IDP's population. In fact, in surveys implemented in an African setting, it is very uncommon for females to be respondents, as they usually refer interviewers to a male household member. As a comparison, in the same survey implemented

² Household

under the same conditions to non-IDPs, 52 % of respondents were female. However, only 4% of them were household heads. These figures show the switch in responsibility for women, who become responsible and breadwinners for their households because of the displacement.

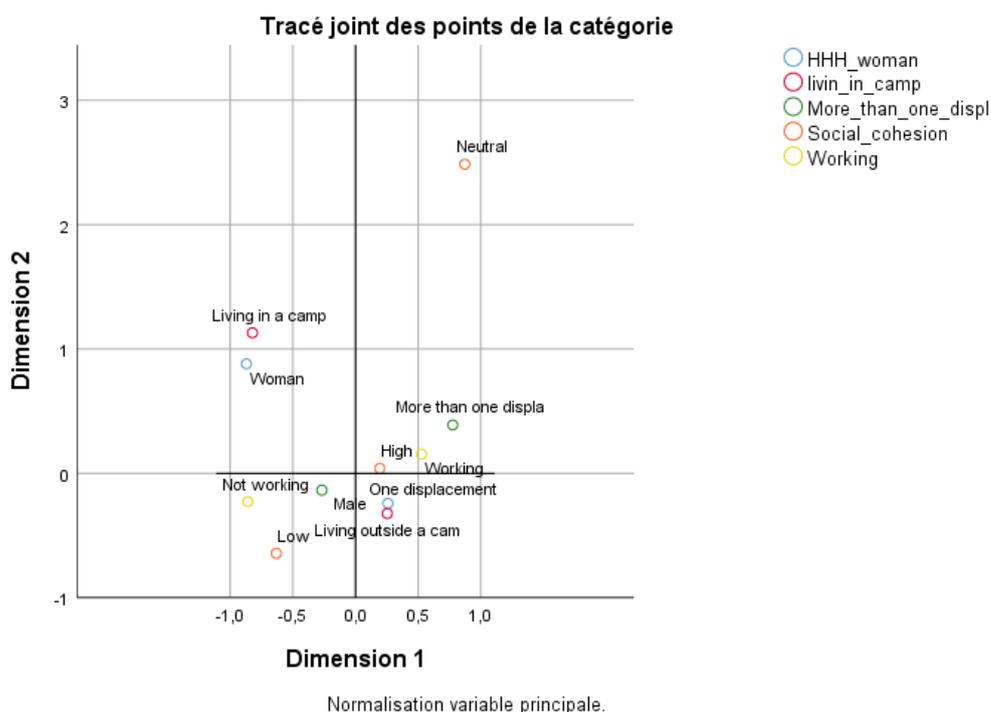
Given that most IDPs are located in urban areas with totally different work requirements being literate might be an asset for employment. More than 89% of IDPs in our sample have never been to school. In the subcategory of women, 91.96% had never been to school. Compared to national statistics, IDPs are far beyond. The National Institute of Statistics and Demography estimated that in 2019, 63.1% of the Burkinabè population had never been to school, with a percentage of 66.5% for women (31). This is even more striking in urban areas, where only 39.6% of people have never been to school, with a percentage of 43.4% for women. These figures show the difficulty that IDPs may face in urban contexts, where they have to compete against people with higher education than them. The education factor of IDP integration into the labour market was also observed in Afghanistan, where the majority of IDPs, especially women, were wholly illiterate and struggled to find jobs in their urban destination areas (25).

4.2. Multiple Correspondence Factor Analysis

We continue the descriptive analysis using the Multiple Correspondence Factor Analysis in Figure 1. The advantage of the MCA is that it allows variables describing a given population to be represented graphically. It allows the most useful information to be brought together in such a way as to represent the association that exists between several variables. The graphical representation shows the relationships between the modalities of the different variables, possibly the relationships between the statistical units, and the relationships between the variables as they arise from the relationships between their different modalities. The graph is represented in an orthonormal frame with the different modalities of the variables to show oppositions and associations. We obtain a graph with four regions, and interpretations are made by observing the modalities that group and/or oppose each other in the four regions of the frame. Interpretation is done by observing each region of the orthonormal frame and the modalities of the variables that group together or oppose each other.

The modalities associations show, on the one hand, that female household heads, those living in camps and considering that social cohesion is low, are associated with non-working IDPs. On the other hand, IDPs who work are associated with male IDPs, those living outside a camp with only one displacement and those who consider the social cohesion high.

Figure 1: Multiple correspondence analysis.



Source: INSD/WBG and authors calculations.

5. Econometric results

5.1 Baseline results.

Results of the logistic regression are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Logistic regression results.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
VARIABLES	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Dependent Variable: IDP is Working			
Explanatory variables			
HHH ³ is a Woman	0.693** (0.109)		
HHH Age	0.990** (0.00497)		
HH size	0.993		

³ Household Head

	(0.00923)		
Living in a camp	1.200		
	(0.186)		
Reason of displacement: generalized violence		1.890***	
		(0.291)	
Nb of displacement		0.815*	
		(0.0878)	
Displacement in the same locality		2.431***	
		(0.404)	
Displacement in another region		2.251***	
		(0.461)	
Neutral security level			0.698
			(0.209)
High security level			0.798
			(0.142)
Neutral social cohesion			2.542***
			(0.893)
High social cohesion			1.764***
			(0.314)
Not leaving			0.863
			(0.125)
Don't know if leaving			0.644
			(0.204)
Observations	998	998	1,033

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: INSD/WBG and authors calculations.

Regarding demographics, one striking and predictable result is that female household heads are less likely (30.7%) to be employed. Moreover, older IDPs are also less likely to be employed.

Our findings on the conditions of displacement are particularly insightful. Those who left due to generalized violence are more likely (89%) to be employed, a trend that aligns with the literature suggesting that IDPs who left in anticipation of future security deterioration are more prepared. Additionally, the distance from the origin area significantly affects employment opportunities, further highlighting the complex relationship between displacement and employment.

Lastly, regarding the host community, IDPs who believe social cohesion is high are more likely (76.4%) to be employed, suggesting that greater integration leads to positive outcomes. The same results are found for the willingness of IDPs to stay and the perception of security in the region.

5.2 Heterogeneity by sector of employment.

We continue our analysis by exploring the factors that explain IDPs employment in the agricultural and trade sector.

→ Agriculture

Table 3: Logistic regression results for Agricultural employment

VARIABLES	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Working			
HHH Woman	0.500**		
	(0.164)		
Age	1.008		
	(0.0110)		
HH Size	0.998		
	(0.0223)		
Living in a camp	0.842		
	(0.253)		
Reason of displacement: generalized violence		7.644***	
		(2.420)	
Nb of displacement		0.919	
		(0.202)	
Displacement in the same locality		1.713	
		(0.872)	
Displacement in another region		1.272	
		(0.713)	
Neutral security level			0.761
			(0.648)
High security level			0.333**
			(0.160)
Neutral social cohesion			35.93***
			(42.98)
High social cohesion			6.381***
			(2.735)
Not leaving			1.570
			(0.517)
Don't know if leaving			0.348
			(0.297)

Observations	257	257	265
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seEform in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Source: INSD/WBG and authors calculations.

When it comes to working in the agricultural sector, women are even less likely (50%) to be employed in that sector. This result is consistent with our hypothesis that in an African context, women are not allowed to own land, which is paradoxical in an emergency, where most of IDPs' human capital lies in agriculture and women become breadwinners because of the conflict and the subsequent displacement.

The condition of displacement also gives similar results: Those who moved for preventive reasons are more likely to be employed. Social cohesion, security levels in the destination area, and the willingness of IDPs to stay also have a positive effect on their probability of being employed.

→ Trade

Table 4: Logistic regression results for Trade employment

VARIABLES	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Working			
HHH Woman	1.637 (1.112)		
Age	1.026 (0.0248)		
HH Size	1.053 (0.0555)		
Living in a camp	0.368 (0.392)		
Reason of displacement: generalized violence		4.170** (2.918)	
Nb of displacement		0.502* (0.187)	
Displacement in the same lo- cality		5.717** (4.102)	
Displacement in another re- gion		6.811* (7.613)	
Neutral security level			0.295

			(0.393)
High security level			0.543
			(0.397)
Neutral social cohesion			0.636
			(0.800)
High social cohesion			2.396
			(1.583)
Not leaving			1.775
			(1.132)
Don't know if leaving			0.511
			(0.611)
Observations	192	192	197
seEform in parentheses			
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

Source: INSD/WBG and authors calculations.

Regarding IDPs employed in the trade sector, results show that only variables are significant. First, IDPs who moved as a preventive act are more likely to be employed in that sector. This result is understandable, given that they lost fewer assets and might be able to engage in trade activities. The second result is also linked to the loss of assets. IDPs displaced several times are less likely to be employed in the trade sector with financial entry barriers. For those who lost their assets in multiple displacements, engaging in such activities is impossible.

4. Discussion

This paper assesses labour integration of IDPs in Burkina Faso using a High-Frequency Phone Survey conducted by the World Bank and the National Institute of Statistics and Demography. Our results are consistent with the literature, which states that in most parts of the world where conflicts and large numbers of IDPs are present, households are becoming increasingly female-headed (22). Unfortunately, the intersectional inequality faced by women prevents them from entering the labour market and providing for their families.

Regarding displacement history, one interesting result lies in the trigger factor for displacement. Our results show that IDPs who were displaced pre-emptively are more likely to be employed. As argued in the literature, they were more prepared than IDPs who left because of direct violence and were less prepared (23). The former might have been able to sell their assets, lifting the pressure of meeting basic needs in destination areas. Moreover, IDPs who moved several times are less likely to be employed. Given that every displacement implies loss of assets, this result is also understandable.

Finally, social cohesion and the trust IDPs have in their destination area play a key role in their integration into the labour market. In this very uncertain environment, which the country has lived in for almost a decade now, trusting in the future is essential for this vulnerable population.

Regarding our theoretical framework of cumulative disadvantages, our results highlight the role of diverse factors, ranging from gender, household characteristics, displacement and living conditions in the destination areas in understanding the portability of an IDP to be employed. A key policy implication of this study is to advocate for gender-sensitive and trauma-sensitive recovery policies, as the IDP population is very heterogeneous and has its own story, which may prevent them from being receptive to policies in their favour.

5. Conclusions

In a context where conflicts are far from decreasing, this study aims to shed light on the factors that explain the resilience of conflict-affected populations as they enter the labour market. The findings from the logit regressions show the important role of gender and the history of displacement in explaining the employment status of IDPs. In fact, being a woman and a household head, and being displaced multiple times decreases the probability of being employed. The results are found for older people, emphasising the role of vulnerability in this context. It is therefore important for international organisations and governments to pay close attention to the demographics of IDPs, but also to their displacement history, when designing and implementing policies. Future research using longitudinal data on IDPs' labour market integration will highly contribute to understanding the dynamics in this vulnerable and constantly changing population.

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