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„ What are the drivers and barriers of human development?

A Comparative Analysis of Benin and Burkina Faso "

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

"The purpose of this thesis is to identify the drivers and barriers of human development. It seeks to identify the extent to which the regulatory environment, Official Development Assistance and synergies across the Sustainable Development Goals impact human development. Benin and Burkina Faso were selected as the case study for analysis based on Most Similar Systems Design. The Sustainable Development Goal Index is used as a proxy to measure human development. Thus, the paper bridges the analytical links between the sustainable development and human development approach. Several of the Sustainable Development Goals are selected for further analysis based on the significant difference in progress between the selected countries. The paper then analyzes the relationship between the regulatory frameworks and the progress on human development. To measure the regulatory framework of each country, an aggregated regulatory framework scoring system was implemented which was analyzed by means of a traffic light system. Thereafter, the relationship between Official Development Assistance and human development was investigated. The Official Development Assistance per capita that is directed to each Sustainable Development Goal is thoroughly examined. Lastly, the connection between synergies of across the Sustainable Development Goals and human development are inspected. The paper finds that policy can in certain cases be a driver for human development and that policy bottlenecks in certain instances can be a barrier to human development. Official Development Assistance is found to be a great driver for human development and a lack thereof may be a barrier to human development. Lastly, the paper finds that the synergies between the Sustainable Development Goals can be a driver or barrier of human development based on whether it is a positive or negative synergy."

GERMAN ABSTRACT

Das Ziel dieser Forschungsarbeit ist es, die Barrieren sowie die fördernden Rahmenbedingungen für Human Development zu identifizieren. Zu diesem Zweck wird der Einfluss von Regulierungsumfeldern, von öffentlicher Entwicklungshilfe und von Synergien innerhalb der Sustainable Development Goals auf Human Development untersucht. Als Fallbeispiele zur Analyse wurden Benin und Burkina Faso auf Basis des Most-Similar-Systems Designs ausgewählt. Zur Messung von Human Development wird aufgrund des beschränkten Umfangs des Human Development Index im Vergleich zum Human Development Approach der Sustainable Development Goal Index verwendet. Zu diesem Zweck werden analytische Verbindungen zwischen dem Human Development Approach und dem Sustainable Development Approach erstellt. Einige der Sustainable Development Goals werden auf Basis signifikanter Unterschiede beim Fortschritt in den beiden Ländern für vertiefte Analyse ausgewählt. Darauf aufbauend analysiert diese Arbeit die Beziehungen zwischen den Regierungsumfeldern dieser Sustainable Development Goals und dem Fortschritt des Human Development. Um die Regulierungsumfelder der beiden Länder zu messen, wird ein aggregiertes Bewertungssystem angewandt, welches mittels eines Ampelsystems analysiert wird. Danach wird die Beziehung zwischen öffentlicher Entwicklungshilfe und Human Development untersucht. Dafür wird die offizielle Entwicklungshilfe pro Kopf für jedes Sustainable Development Goal und die Verteilung der Finanzen auf jedes Ziel verwendet. Schließlich wird die Verbindung zwischen positiven und negativen Synergien verschiedener Sustainable Development Goals und höherem oder geringerem Human Development analysiert. Die Arbeit stellt fest, dass gewisse Policy in bestimmten Fällen Human Development vorantreibt und dass ein Mangel an Policy in bestimmten Fällen ein Hindernis für Human Development sein kann. Offizielle Entwicklungshilfe hat einen äußerst positiven Einfluss auf Human Development und ein Mangel davon kann deshalb ein Hindernis für Human Development darstellen. Zuletzt wird festgestellt, dass die Synergien zwischen Sustainable Development Goals einen fördernden aber auch bremsenden Effekt auf Human Development haben können, je nachdem, ob es sich um eine positive oder negative Synergie handelt.

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CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES:

ACRONYMS:

BNS	Basic Needs Approach
CA	Capabilities Approach
CO2	Carbon Dioxide
EGA	Economic Growth Approach
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDA	Human Development Approach
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RISE	Regulatory Indicators for Sustainable Energy
RBA	Resource Based Approach
SDA	Sustainable Development Approach
SDGI	Sustainable Development Goal Index
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UA	Utilitarian Approach

INTRODUCTION

Economic development approaches have been linked to increasing individuals' capabilities by means of increasing the quality of life that individuals enjoy. However, purely economic development approaches have been highly criticized in contemporary development thinking due to the lack of a strong correlation between economic growth and human development. Thus, new approaches in development thinking have emerged that are centered on individuals' basic needs, human rights, sustainability and human capability. Consequently, there has been a shift in development thinking in which economic growth has come to be viewed as a means rather than an end to development. These new approaches have incorporated a broader variety of indicators than in the economic orientated development approaches and are focused on the development outcomes that better individuals live. The human development and capability approach is the result of the shifting development and security paradigm toward individuals. It has gained significant traction in development policy, both domestically and internationally. It incorporates many development indicators that have been informed by all other development approaches.

Due to the growing focus on human development in the contemporary global development context and its robust view on development, this thesis adopts the human capability approach in defining development and the indicators that best reflect development. The purpose of this thesis is to answer the question "What are the main drivers and barriers of human development?". Policy, Official Development Assistance and synergies across the Sustainable Development Goals are the significant factors which either drive or hinder human development. Thus, these have been selected as the independent variables of this paper. The aim of analyzing policy is to determine whether enabling policy or policy bottlenecks has caused a difference in human development progress. Since both selected countries are low income countries which are aid dependent, the focus on ODA aims to analyze the link between increased funds and greater human development progress. The focus on synergies accross the SDGs is to analyze whether human development progress gaps in the selected countries may be linked to lower progress in other SDGs. Benin and Burkina Faso have been selected as the case study based on Mill's Method of Difference to evaluate to which

extent the former mentioned factors impact human development[1]. The selected case study has the necessary dissimilarity on the theoretical dimensions of interest but has enough similarities to build and test the causal relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable (human development). Due to the limited scope of the Human Development Index in comparison to the human development approach, the Sustainable Development Goal Index is used as a proxy to measure human development. This was done by creating the analytical links between the sustainable development and human development approach. Subsequently, the time frame covered is 2013 to 2015 in which the most reliable data can be sourced.

In adopting this research design, the paper attempts to bridge the academic literature gap in highlighting indicators of human development that span across all the dimensions of development mentioned in the human development theory, which is severely lacking in the available literature. Thus, the overall aim of this research is to create a basis for further research and policy advancement in measuring and driving human development.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The first chapter is dedicated to the theoretical framework and methodology that this paper adopts. It outlines the existing literature and the criticisms around other development approaches. Thereafter, the paper outlines the human development approach which is adopted for this paper. Lastly, it covers the methodology, namely the tools of measurement and the analytical framework of the paper. The second chapter is a descriptive chapter that is dedicated to explaining the results of each country in its progress on each SDG. This is done to highlight the SDGs in which the two countries differ in progress significantly (above 10 percent difference in progress). The selected SDGs are then used throughout the thesis for analysis. Moreover, it breaks each aggregated SDG result given by the SDG Index into the indicators that were used to derive its scoring. This is done to emphasize which indicators have been most influential in the differing results of each country. Chapter three then analyzes the regulatory frameworks of both countries. It aims to answer the question "To which extent has policy differences in Benin and Burkina Faso contributed to the

[1] Anckar Carsten, "On the Applicability of the Most Similar Systems Design and the Most Different Systems Design in Comparative Research." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 11, no. 5 (2008): 340.

difference in human development progress?". The chapter seeks to identify any differences in the regulatory environment between the two countries which may attribute to a difference in human development progress. Chapter four analyzes the impact of ODA on human development. It seeks to answer the questions "To which extent does ODA correlate to human development progress?" and "Can any found correlations be justified by data?". The chapter aims to underscore the extent to which a difference in financial support can be linked to a difference in human development progress. Thereafter, chapter five evaluates the relevant nexus which are chosen based on the SDG results and poses the questions " What nexus issues can be drawn from the SDG results?" and "How do these nexus correlate to human development progress?". The chapter aims to identify if the SDG results reflect any nexus, these nexus are then explained and evaluated in terms of its relationship to human development. The last chapter concludes the results found in the thesis and provides recommendations for policy makers and researchers based on the results.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORY

Throughout history, economic and social development has been influenced by prevailing theories, philosophies, and ideologies. Modernization, structuralist and dependency theories were the most prevalent theories used in the 1950s and 1960s. The 1970s were dominated by the basic needs approach to development. Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has become embedded in not only development thinking but also in the overarching international system[2]. However, since the 1990s, human development and sustainable development approaches to development have steadily gained traction and importance globally. In these short but explosive few decades, development (by whatever means it is defined) has created a more technologically, socially, and economically advanced world than ever before—with people on average living longer, healthier, and wealthier lives than at any other point in history.

However, it cannot be denied that inequality in all its dimensions, both globally and locally, is still one of the world's biggest challenges. Access to health, education, water, sanitation, and other public goods are denied to enormous swathes of the population in villages, towns, townships, and cities. Poverty lives side by side with affluence, and abuse, violence, and oppression exists among religious, economic, social, and cultural freedom. Development approaches define how this inequality is tackled or if it is tackled. Although many development paradigms have become obsolete, some have metamorphosed or been subsumed into new approaches. Additionally, while several approaches may exist concurrently, some are diametrically conflicting. This is important to note with regards to neoliberalism, which has expanded its influence at the cost of human rights, human development, and sustainable development.

This section provides an overview of the existing literature on the main development approaches that are still relevant today. Neoliberalism, basic needs, and sustainable development approaches to development are outlined, criticized, and examined in terms of their perspectives on policies and use of development aid. Thereafter, the chapter will outline the theoretical framework and methodology used in this paper.

[2] Katie Willis, *Theories and practices of development* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 224-226.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. NEOLIBERAL APPROACHES

During the 1970s, Keynesian policy tools were rendered ineffective, which is why the 1980s had a shift toward neoliberal economics. Neoliberalism posits that the free market, with minimal government regulation and ODA, leads to both economic and social development[3]. It was strongly advocated for by the policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan[4] . Similarly, the institutions of the Washington Consensus advocated for the "downscaling of government, deregulation, and rapid liberalization and privatization", which was noted to be the "set of policies that would best promote development"[5]. During the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberal policies were pushed onto developing countries by means of structural adjustment and conditionality. The only means to access the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, or donor country funds were if these terms were met[6]. Smaller, economically weaker, and debt-ridden developing states had no choice but to accept the conditions set out by the Washington Consensus due to the limited finances available to them[7]. The form of liberalization pushed by the Washington Consensus has been highly criticized, particularly in the African context. Joseph Stiglitz stated that African countries had little to sell abroad but had opened up their markets to foreign goods, which was aimed at resource extraction rather than increasing the capital in Africa[8]. Furthermore, due to Africa's colonial history, which disadvantaged Africans from gaining education and skills, Africans are unable to compete in the current globalized economy. In order to increase the competiveness of Africans in the global labor market, education and training is of absolute importance. However, the Washington Consensus institutions and the conditionalities attached to finance hinder a state's ability to invest in education and training. In addition, neoliberalism has pursued the privatization of public services, such as energy, water, transportation, health, education, and security, which forces the poor to pay for basic human rights and needs.

[3] Sylvia Maxfield, *Handbook of International Relations* (New York: SAGE Publications,2002), 615.
[4] Joseph Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company,2007),47.
[5] Ibid., 16-71.
[6] Olav Stokke, *The UN and Development: From Aid to Cooperation*(Bloomington: Indiana University Press,2009),319.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Stiglitz,41.

The focus on economics in development, which is underpinned by neoliberal thinking and the Washington Consensus, has been central to the work of many international organizations and the approach to development for many decades. Some neoliberal-orientated development approaches also include the utilitarian approach, the resource-based approach, and the economic-growth approach. However, most prominent and relevant to date is the EGA. The UA focuses on peoples' satisfaction or desire fulfilment, and it assumes that the best action is the one that increases peoples' satisfaction the most[9] . The UA is appealing in the sense that it focuses on quality of life of individuals based on their reported feeling of satisfaction about their lives. In addition, the founder of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham, stated that the reported satisfaction of all persons is equal regardless of their social or class standing in society, which gives the UA the additional appeal of being non-discriminatory[10]. However, there are several issues with the approach. Namely, focusing on satisfaction can conceal deprivations, and self-reported satisfaction may be influenced by social circumstances, among other things[11]. Amartya Sen further elaborated on this point by posing the example of a post-famine health survey in India, which highlighted the variance in the observed health of widows and their subjective feelings about their health[12]. John Rawls also criticized the UA for not distinguishing between various sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction or between various types of desires[13]. The UA has, for the most part, lost traction in economic-orientated development thinking.

The RBA on the other hand focuses on commodities and material goods and their importance for the individual's well-being. However, this approach is also problematic in that by focusing on resources and income, certain things are also overlooked such as personal heterogeneities, environmental diversities, institutional variations, and distribution within families[14] . As Sen notes, most importantly different people and societies have varying capacities to convert these commodities and material goods into useful outcomes. For example, a homeless child may need extra resources to achieve the same things (university education, well earning career etc.) as a child

[9] Séverine Deneulin and Lila Shahani, *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach* (London: Earthscan, 2009),39.
[10] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (London: Harvard University Press,2011),51.
[11] Deneulin and Shahani,40.
[12] Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Oxford: Elsevier Science,1985),82-83.
[13] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Clarendon,1971),30-31.
[14] Deneulin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency*, 40.

born to an upper middle class family [15] . Although this approach is still somewhat relevant, it has been overshadowed by the EGA. The EGA has been the most dominant view of development which focuses on the aggregate growth of economies and average income per person. The focus on Gross Domestic Product per capita was, and in some regards still is, a popular measurement for development. The reason for the popularity of viewing development in terms of economics is due to the fact that it is easy to measure economic indicators and it is harder for countries to give fraudulent data [16] .

One of the assumptions that proponents of growth orientated development make is that using wealth to measure levels of development is useful since other social benefits would follow as a result[17]. This is reflected by the trickle-down theory of the 1980s-90s which claimed that economic growth would improve people's quality of life as long as governments did not take direct action. However, the EGA has received a wide range of criticism for its automatic connection between GDP and human development [18]. There is empirical evidence that there is no such automatic connection between GDP per capita and human development. In fact, there are many cases in which countries with higher GDP per capita do not measure well in terms of health and education among other social and political dimensions. Saudi Arabia and Russia are examples of countries which have performed well in the economic dimensions of development but rank worse in terms of social, environmental, and political dimensions than countries that do not have as much wealth, such as Uruguay and Costa Rica [19]. Ruggieri, Saith, and Stewart also found that those people who were poor in income were not always the same people who were poor in terms of education and so on. Moreover, they found that growth cannot be sustained in the long term if the population's quality of life is not addressed [20].

In summary, the approaches rooted in neoliberalism advocate for free market orientated policies with little focus on the impact of these on the individual level of development. The policies that

[15] David Clark, "Capability Approach," in *The Elgar Companion to Development*, ed. David Clark (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006), 33.
[16] Nussbaum, 47.
[17] Willis, 4.
[18] Deneulin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency*, 15.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 18.

are pushed forward by the various neoliberal approaches are economically orientated rather than inclusive policies that encompass all the dimensions of development that enable greater individual capabilities. In fact, in many instances neoliberal policies have been to the detriment of individuals' development potential. The approach has advocated the privatization of public services and it deters government interference in promoting individuals' development capacity. In addition, due to the emphasis on non-intervention, the approach does not support the notion of development assistance as a genuine means for development. Moreover, the neoliberal approach assumes a natural synergy between economic factors and other development factors which are aimed at increasing human capabilities. However, the natural correlation and synergy between economic factors and human capabilities is highly criticized. Tools such as the HDI have shown that the connection between these factors is not automatic and in many instances the focus on economic factors has neglected all other development dimensions.

B. BASIC NEEDS APPROACH:

In the 1950s and 1960s, many developing countries had become newly independent, as such many were focused on catching up to the developed world by attempting to encourage growth and industrialization. Although there were positive aspects of the approach, such as industrialization acceleration and improved social indicators, there were nonetheless inequalities prevalent in it which favored a relatively small modern sector but left the rest with low incomes [21]. As such, unemployment and underemployment as well as increased poverty became severely problematic. This gave rise to new discussions as to what is the appropriate approach to development. The basic needs approach is one of the approaches that gained traction; it gives importance to meeting people's basic needs to sustain the lives of all human beings at a minimally decent level.

The BNA development approach was first put forward by the International Labor Organization and the President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara. Like many other approaches the BNA stressed the need to broaden the understanding of development to more than merely economic terms. Proponents of BNA argued that income is not sufficient in itself to ensure that all people

[21] Frances Stewart, "Basic Needs Approach," in *The Elgar Companion to Development*, ed. David Clark (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006), 14.

are given the opportunity to lead fulfilled lives, since the supply of basic needs, goods, and services depend on public distribution and production rather than private incomes [22]. At the 1976 World Employment Conference, the ILO suggested that there should be an objective to meet the minimum needs of everyone by 2000. BN was defined by the ILO as the minimum living standards for the poorest people, which included food, shelter, clothing, water and sanitation, health, education, participation in decision making, and transport [23]. The concept of basic needs inspired policies such as integrated rural development, social protection and safety nets, and universal basic income. This approach received huge amounts of support and the World Bank soon adopted the approach as well. It was agreed that the main aim of development is to eradicate poverty, which would be best achieved using the BNA [24]. However, it stopped short of pursuing policies that would make systemic changes.

In summary, the policies of the BNA focused on basic needs and introduced policies such as social protection, safety nets, minimum wages, and rural development. It also considered that development assistance should primarily be directed toward ensuring basic needs are met. Moreover, the approach assumes that basic needs must be met in order for individuals to develop. The approach was dominant in development policy toward the end of the 1970s but it was not as popular with the developing world. The approach quickly lost ground in the 1980s due to governments' focus on the debt crisis and the political changes in many major donor states. Many of the underpinnings of the approach are still relevant today with regards to its perception on policy, development assistance, and the connection between basic need factors and individual capability. However, the method of choosing what needs are the most important was done in an arbitrary manner and it was not robust enough to deal with economic issues and the current environmental situation that affects individuals. In addition, it was criticized in the academic sphere for commodity fetishism. Nevertheless, its influence continues to be seen in current debates about human development and parts of it have been reflected by both the Millennium Development Goals and the SDGs.

[22] Stewart, 15.
[23] International Labor Organization, "Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem." (Geneva: ILO, 1976), 7.
[2424] Stewart, 15.

C. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT APPROACH:

The environment has increasingly become a central topic in development. The literature suggests that there is indeed a need to conserve the environment in order to ensure long term economic and social development. The debates around the centrality of the environment arose from Robert Malthus's famous theory that the increase in population will have detrimental effects such as severe food shortages [25] . Malthus did not specifically refer to development but his theory plays an important role in the environment and development debate. He suggests that with every generation, the food supply increases identically in quantity (arithmetical increase) whereas the population is greater each time since there will be more people to populate (geometrical growth) [26]. However, many of the predictions made by popular authors such as Robert Malthus and Lester Brown never came to fruition[27]. As a result, a group termed 'cornucopians' emerged which dismissed the Malthusian notions. Authors such as Ester Boserup argued that with the increase in population pressure there would be more incentive to develop new technologies and that these technologies would solve the predicted negative consequences of population growth [28]. In a similar line of thought, authors such as Julian Simon and Wilfred Beckerman pointed to the only hindrance to the future of development coming from the limited innovation of human beings [29]. Thus, there has been a divide between those who argue for more conservation, a change in lifestyle, and limiting consumption and those who argue that inventions will be introduced that avoid any drastic measures needing to be taken [30].

However, although the debate is still ongoing, development has largely come to incorporate environmental concerns along Malthusian lines and planetary boundaries. The United Nations established a group of 22 people in 1984 who were tasked with finding long-term environmental strategies. This led to the 1987 World Conference on Environment and Development report titled

[25] Peter Rogers, Kazi Jalal and John Boyd, *An introduction to sustainable development* (London: Earthscan,2008),20.
[26] Willis, 146-147.
[27] Rogers, Jalal and Boyd, 20.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., 21
[30] Peter Brandon and Patrizia Lombardi, *Evaluating Sustainable Development* (Oxford: Blackwell Science Ltd, 2005)

"*Our Common Future"* which is commonly known as the "*Brundtland Report*", which introduced the notion of sustainable development. The report defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[31] The report put the environment on the international development agenda for the first time. This led to the *"Earth Summit",* the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development which brought together more than 170 governments, 2500 Non-Governmental Organization, and 8000 accredited journalists to consider principles of an agenda toward sustainable development [32] .

The term "sustainable development" gained momentum beyond only global environmental organizations at the time [33]. However, as with the Malthusian debate, sustainable development was also met with debate and criticism with regards to its definition and implementation. This was also due to the variance in environmental concerns between developed and developing countries; the former wished to exploit resources to industrialize and meet the current generation's development demands and the latter wished to conserve the environment for future generations, having already industrialized[34]. However, over time it has become largely accepted that sustainable development includes the linkages between the environment, social and economic dimensions of development and is underpinned by the political dimensions. Due to this interlinking, governments have accepted that economic development cannot be sustained with long term environmental degradation and social dimensions of development may also be undermined. As such, sustainable development has come to be defined as development which meets the current generation's demand in a manner which does not compromise the demand of future generations. The SDGs are a product of the sustainable development school of thought; it highlights seventeen goals with 169 targets between them which are to be achieved by 2030 [35]. In addition, the signing of the recent Paris agreement, which of the 197 Parties to the convention 127 Parties have ratified, as well as many

[31] World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 43
[32] Jennifer Elliott, *The Companion to Development Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 5.
[33] Bill Adams, *Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in a Developing World* (London: Routledge, 1990), 2.
[34] Elliot, *The Companion to Development Studies*, 8.
[35] United Nations Development Programme, "From the MDGs to Sustainable Development for All: Lessons from 15 Years of Practice," 2016, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/sustainable-development-goals/transitioning-from-the-mdgs-to-the-sdgs.html.

other bilateral and unilateral arrangements, also points to the increasing importance of sustainable development in mitigating climate change [36].

The SDA focuses on diverse developmental policies across the political, social, environmental, and economic dimensions of development. The SDGs are the most significant sustainable development policy in action today. This approach promotes macro-level action, and national and international cooperation such as the Kyoto Protocol and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. It also promotes regional, sub-regional, and local government climate change mitigation planning with an emphasis on human rights development. It is by far one of the most robust approaches to development. It further aims to direct development assistance funding to a large variety of sectors. Moreover, it considers that all factors of development in the political, social, environmental, and economic dimensions of development have synergies which should be approached in an integrated manner to ensure these dimensions enable, rather than disenable, each other. The approach is highly compatible with increasing individuals' developmental capacity. In fact, the human development approach and sustainable development approach are highly compatible, mutually reinforcing, and share multiple analytical links.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As we have noted in the literature review, the economic approaches to development are severely flawed and the BNA's lack of theoretical elegance, arbitrary needs selection, and commodity fetishism has led to the theory losing traction. However, there are still remnants of the BNA and aspects of economic approaches in current development frameworks. On the other hand, sustainable development has gained more traction over the last few years in an attempt to mitigate climate change and due to the realization that economic growth cannot be sustained in the long run without consideration of the environment. Therefore, this paper views development according to the Capabilities Approach / Human Development Approach which is a result of the aforementioned approaches and the changing direction of development toward people centered

[36] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, "Forest Leaders to Climate Conference - The Forest Transformation is Happening Now: Global Climate Action at COP22," 8 November 2016, http://newsroom.unfccc.int/climate-action/forest-leaders-to-cop22-climate-conference-the-forest-transformation-is-happening-now/

development. It captures the strengths of a broad variety of development approaches such as basic needs, human rights, and economic and sustainable development and it avoids many of the issues the other approaches have encountered. Thus, it creates an extremely robust view of development which is theoretically sophisticated. This chapter will further explain the human capabilities approach and how it incorporates the important factors of all other development approaches whilst still placing importance on the individual. In addition, the chapter will highlight the link between the SDGs and human capabilities in order to justify the use of the SDG Index as a means for measuring human development.

HUMAN CAPABILITY APPROACH

The definition of development used in the human capabilities approach is rooted in Aristotle's notion that "wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else."[37] It thus moves away from only using GDP as a measure of the quality of life of individuals, as it views wealth as merely a means to a better quality of life, not an end[38] . The theory thus avoids over correlating wealth and quality of life as was the case in the economic approaches. It focuses on expanding peoples "freedoms". However, it does not exclude economic factors but views a healthy economy as one of the many means to enable people to enjoy a long and healthy life [39]. In addition, in focusing on the quality of life, the theory does not limit itself by focusing particularly on poverty and deprivation as with the BNA, instead the theory is applicable to the developing and developed, the rich and the poor. In fact, it has become widely recognized that the CA addresses the concerns of a BNA theorist but within a more elegant and coherent philosophical framework [40].

There are certain key terms needed for understanding the human development approach. The first is functioning, which Sen and Nussbaum view as the "beings and doings that are the outgrowths or realization of capabilities."[41] In other words, an achievement of one's functioning is what one

[37] Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 14.
[38] Nussbaum, 1.
[39] Denuelin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency,* 23.
[40] Clark, *Capability Approach,* 33.
[41] Nussbaum, 25.

manages to do or be, it reflects the "state" of the person[42] . Each person's "living" is consequently made up of interrelated functioning that is far too complex and unnecessary to further elaborate on in this paper. In order to achieve a functioning with a given amount of commodities, it depends on a variety of personal, social, political, economic, and environmental factors. For example, to achieve the functioning of being well nourished with the given commodity would depend on the person's personal metabolic rates, their income to afford the right foods, their access to medical services to advise them on their state of nourishment or to address a health problem that may hinder their nourishment (such as absorption problems), and the environmental conditions where they reside, such as drought or flooding, which can hinder the food supply and consequently the ability to purchase the necessary commodities. On the other hand, capabilities is the ability of individuals to attain a given function, which means the individual's ability to choose what he/she wants to be or do [43]. For example, an individual may have the ability to be nourished, he/she may have adequate income, access to medical care and a flourishing environment, but instead chooses to fast. Subsequently, capabilities may be viewed as the opportunity to choose a set of functions for oneself [44].

[42] Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities, 10.*
[43] Ruhi Saith, *Capabilities: the concept and its operationalization: QEH Working Paper Series 66* (Queen Elizabeth House: University of Oxford, 2001), 8.
[44] Sabina Alkire, *An introduction to the human development and capability approach* (Sterling: Earthscan, 2009), 22.

Sen formalizes the components of the CA as follows [45]:

$x \epsilon X$	X is the set of all possible commodity vectors and the equation is a vector of commodities
$c = c(x)$	c is a function that maps commodities into the characteristics space and the equation is a vector of characteristics of commodities
$(b = f\ (c(x\|z_{ec}z_e z_s z_p)$	A vector of states of being and activities (functioning)
$f \epsilon F$	A conversion function that maps characteristics of commodities into the space of functioning; F is the set of all possible conversion functions
$z_{ec}z_e z_s z_p$	Conversion factors that at the (ec) economic, (e) environmental, (s) social, and (p) political level determines the rate of conversion from characteristics to functionings
Q	The capability set comprising all potential functioning that one can attain

In summary, an individual's quality of life involves evaluating the capability set Q_i which is demarcated over various possible functionings b of individual I. Thus, the entire CA may be formalized as:

$$Q_i\ (X_i) = \{b_i | b_i = f_i(c(x_i)|z_{ec}z_e z_s z_p) \forall\ f_i \epsilon \mathrm{F}_i\ and\ \forall\ x_i \epsilon\ X_i\}$$

As may be noted, the CA is primary concerned with the amount of capabilities given to individuals and measures success in terms of opportunities given to individuals to achieve their functionings [46]. This notion is reflected by Sen, who views development as the removal of unfreedoms (things

[45] Wiebke Kuklys , *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach Theoretical Insights and Empirical Applications* (Berlin: Springer, 2005), 11.
[46] Nussbaum, 14.

that hinder capabilities) and the extension of freedoms (things that promote capabilities) [47]. It may be viewed as a comparative quality of life assessment which uses diverse factors that affect individuals' quality of life as measurements[48] . For the purpose of this paper, we are chiefly concerned with the conversion factors (z_{ec} z_e z_s z_p) that determine the rate of conversion from characteristics to functioning and what effect ODA has on increasing the rate of conversion from characteristics to functioning and subsequently how ODA effects Q_i of individual *i*.

The CA acknowledges that material well-being is also an aspect of a better quality of life. Household income may be used on items that promote a better quality of life such as education, water, electricity, health care etc. [49]. Economic growth can increase the government spending allocation ratio in the social dimension and add to infrastructure that supports other dimensions. Moreover, political factors are considered since they reduce unfreedoms or hindrances to capabilities and promote greater capabilities by active participation in policy decision making[50] . Corruption and conflict can negatively affect economic benefits through the diversion of funds from infrastructure, services, and environmental conservation [51]. Moreover, government effectiveness is extremely important in terms of targeting and delivery. Governments should identify priority sectors which have the greatest potential for impact and should have the capacity to allocate expenditures accordingly[52]. Participation in politics by individuals allows people to communicate their needs and what should be a priority; when government has not adequately addressed their concerns they should have the ability to hold government accountable. For functionings to be achieved, the presence of multiple institutions is necessary, for example, the rule of law and legal frameworks gives individuals security from tyranny and arbitrariness and protects their right to social, legal, economic, and political freedoms[53] .

[47] Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 3-4.
[48] Nussbaum, 14-18.
[49] Deneulin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency*, 92.
[50] Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 38-40.
[51] Deneulin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency,* 93.
[52] Gustav Ranis "Human Development and Economic Growth," in *The Elgar Companion to Development*, ed. David Clark (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006), 252.
[53] Deneulin and Shahani, *Freedom and Agency*, 178.

The social dimensions can have a strong impact on individuals' capability to participate in the economic dimension, for example education and health allows individuals to pursue the career in which they are their happiest and productive which may in turn increase the individuals' income opportunities. Additionally, there has been a strong correlation between education and agricultural output which was shown to increase 2-5% in Malaysia, Ghana and Peru; this illustrates that increasing capabilities in education may in turn yield economic gain as well as food security which then increases health capabilities, which further increases economic capabilities [54]. The CA also includes environment in its conversion factors: sustainable development is seen as a part of CA since it aims to enhance the capabilities of the present and future generations[55]. Environment is considered since resources are vital for individuals to expand their quality of life and the depletion of the resource base would fundamentally limit individuals' capabilities [56]. Like the other conversion factors, the environment is inextricably linked to all the other conversion factors. People's actual lives are at risk from environmental degradation - it has been shown that climate change can increase the incidence of natural disasters and those that end up being stranded in these disasters are often those who do not have the economic or social capabilities [57]. Environmental degradation can diminish livelihood opportunities, threaten food security, and internally displace people who are then confronted with health and safety risks [58]. Climate change also threatens the health of millions of people in terms of malnourishment, increased mortality rates, and increased cardio respiratory diseases[59] . Moreover, the greatest impact of climate change is on the poorest, thus it will also deepen inequities.

Although the approach incorporates most development approaches and it does well in highlighting the importance of political, social, environmental, and economic factors in increasing human capabilities, it has been criticized for the ad hoc manner in which indicators are chosen. This is

[54] Ranis, *Human Development and Economic Growth*, 253.
[55] Meera Tiwari and Solava Ibrahim, *The Capability Approach: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 2014), 126.
[56] Ingrid Robeyns, "The Capability Approach: A Theoretical Survey," *Journal of Human Development* 6, no.1 (2005): 95-96.
[57] Hans-Uwe Otto and Holger Ziegler, "Capabilities and Education," *Social Work and Society* 4, no.2 (2006): 278.
[58] Cecilia Conde et al., "Assessment of Adaptation Practices, Options, Constraints and Capacity," in *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability*, ed. Abdelkader Allali, Neil Leary and Antonio Magalhães (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 734.
[59] Ibid.

mainly in reference to Sen who does not employ a specific list of capabilities. He does, however, suggest that the chosen list is something that should be decided on by each society to suit their specific development needs and should be done in a process that allows individuals to participate in prioritizing the indicators [60]. However, several problems with Sen's approach have been identified, namely that in certain instances, social and cultural circumstances may influence individuals to prioritize certain indicators and overlook other important ones. Nussbaum on the other hand advocates for drawing up the list of indicators which is considered to be vital in measuring the political, economic, social, and environmental capabilities[61]. However, her list has been criticized for lacking measurement and for being chosen in a seemingly arbitrary manner. This highlights the issue of measurement and aggregating in the CA [62]. Another problem that may arise is that by choosing to focus on some capabilities and not others, there may be a high opportunity cost. This paper addresses these criticisms in a number of ways. Unlike Sen, the paper does indeed select indicators that stimulate human capabilities. Moreover, in order to avoid an arbitrary or immeasurable selection of indicators, the SDGs goals, targets, and indicators are used as a proxy for human development.

METHODOLOGY

Case Study Selection:

Benin and Burkina Faso have been selected as case studies based on Most Similar Systems Design. Both countries are similar in terms of their geographic position, which is in close proximity to the Sahel Region, thus resulting in more or less the same climate change vulnerability. In addition, both have been categorized as low income countries meaning that both had a Gross National Income per capita of $1.025 or less in 2015, which highlights their similar capacity to finance human development progress [63]. Moreover, in the 2015 Global Peace Index, Burkina Faso had a score of 1.994 whereas Benin scored 1.958, highlighting that both have a medium state of peace[64].

[60] Clark, *Capability Approach*, 35.
[61] Nussbaum, 11.
[62] Kuklys, 22.
[63] World Bank, "World Development Indicators," 20 January 2017, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=world-development-indicators&preview=on
[64] Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Peace Index* (New York: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015), 8-9.

Furthermore, the total ODA per capita between 2013-2015 is not significantly different between the two countries [65]. However, the two countries' progress on human development is significantly different. Thus, the case study countries are similar and only differ on the dependent variable (human development). This allows for a strong test to be applied to my theoretical framework and allows the independent variables to be used to explain the presence or absence of the dependent variable across the measured goals and indicators.

Sources:

The paper makes use of primary, secondary, and tertiary sources. Datasets, websites, and the SDGI are used to measure development aid flows and progress. Journal articles are used for historical and political context as well as for information to supplement data and in certain cases to underscore any significant environmental (economic, political etc.) changes that have impacted on human development. Moreover, handbooks and encyclopedias are used for theoretical reference as well as for the linking of certain indicators to human development.

[65] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics," 22 February 2017, http://stats.oecd.org/qwids/

Tool of Measurement:

The SDGI will be used as the measurement tool of human development in Benin and Burkina Faso[66]. It ranks countries on the 17 SDGs based on data between 2013-2015[67]. The tool orders the data for each indicator that is encompassed in each SDG from worst to best. In certain instances, the highest numerical value is "best" and in others "worst" depending on the framing of the indicator. For example, infant mortality rate should ideally be low thus a higher numerical value indicates "worst", whereas life expectancy should ideally be high so the highest numerical value would indicate "best". The worst 2.5% of observations are removed so that the score is not heavily influenced by outliers, thereafter the next worst value on each indicator is identified and the value is applied to the bottom 2.5 percentile of the distribution [68]. The index also creates a best score which is often the "perfect" and feasible targets that are in line with "leaving nobody behind" such as zero hunger, 100% school completion etc. In cases where there is no "perfect" target, all those that exceed the average of the best values measured in the sample countries are assigned the "best

[66] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2016: Human Development for Everyone*, 3-9. The Sustainable Development Agenda is inextricably linked to human development. The SDGs reflect the growing global consensus around international challenges and the need to ensure that development is sustainable for future generations. The Agenda acknowledges the existing human development gaps need to be bridged but it should be done without jeopardizing future generations' capabilities. The two approaches also share three analytical links. Firstly, the principle of universalism in that the SDGs are centered on 'leaving no one behind' and the human development approach is focused on the enhancement of capabilities for all. Secondly, they both share the same areas of focus, to remove barriers of freedom and enhance freedom of all. Thirdly, both are concerned with ensuring the same freedoms and opportunities to future generations. These links reinforce each other. Both can draw from each other to enrich each other's conceptual framework. The SDGs also use human development indicators as a measure for progress and the capability approach can draw from the additional indicators that the SDGs provide to become more robust. This highlights how the SDGs can be used to measure human capability.

[67] United Nations Development Programme, *From the MDGs to Sustainable Development for All: Lessons from 15 Years of Practice.* The MDGs were an attempt at creating a global framework for development that is rooted in human development rather than only economic development. Thus, like the SDGs it incorporated human development dimensions although to a lesser extent. Due to the lack of progress on the MDGs, the SDGs were adopted, which build on the MDGs to incorporate many more goals and targets. These additional goals and targets are still connected to the MDG goal on environment but detail more specific goals and targets. The additionally adopted goals and targets were for the most part centered around the new consensus around climate change. However, although these goals and targets have been only added to the SDGs and MDGs they have been measured long before the adoption of the MDGs. The paper uses the SDGI as a proxy for human development due to the high compatibility of the two approaches to development but it does not draw from data beyond the 2013 to 2015 time-frame even though the SDGs were only adopted in 2015. However, it is still able to measure the goals encompassed by the SDGs prior to its adoption due to the fact that the SDGs build on the MDGs which were in place until 2015 and its additional indicators have equally been measured by other indices in the given 2013-2015 period.

[68] Jeffrey Sachs et al., *SDG Index and Dashboards - Global Report* (New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2016), 13.

value" [69]. Each country then gets an adjusted indicator score between 0 (worst)-100 (best), the scores for all indicators that apply to each indicator are then averaged to give the score for each SDG[70]. The SDGI has been chosen as the human development measurement tool for this paper since it has several quality control measures. Firstly, it checks that all the indicators are relevant in monitoring the SDGs (usually defined in the SDG targets) and that it can allow for a direct comparison of performance between countries. Secondly, it ensures that the data is statistically reliable, and thirdly it checks the quality of the data and ensures that it derives from official national and international sources[71] . Additionally, in using the index the paper avoids issues with missing values or data since the index infers missing values from patterns of known data to give as close as possible a view of progress on each indicator and SDG[72] .

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., 14.
[71] Ibid., 26.
[72] Ibid., 27.

CHAPTER TWO: MEASURING PROGRESS

This chapter will give a snapshot of progress in human development in Burkina Faso and Benin by using the SDGI. Since the paper seeks to explain what causes or hinders human development, it will only analyze the SDGs which present a 10% or higher difference in progress between Benin and Burkina Faso.

Table 1: Progress on the SDGs

SDG	BENIN	BURKINA FASO	GAP	
1	22.74	19.57	3.17	
2	45.76	31.99	13,77	
3	29.12	34.40	5.28	
4	40.31	2.22	38.09	
5	31.42	21.49	9.93	
6	54.54	57.02	2.48	
7	17.92	3.45	14.47	
8	48.33	30.70	17.63	
9	5.47	9.65	4.18	
10	64.91	61.81	3.1	
11	37.37	30.70	6.67	
13	72.46	82.61	10.15	
15	60.94	53.01	7.93	
16	47.86	62.51	14.65	

Color Key:

Less than 5%

Less than 10%

More than 10%

More than 15%

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 1 illustrates the progress on each SDG between Burkina Faso and Benin on the SDGI. Based on these results, the paper will only focus on SDG 2 (Zero Hunger), SDG 4 (Quality Education), SDG 7 (Clean and Affordable Energy), SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), SDG 13 (Climate Action), and SDG 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions)[73]. This is because these SDGs present a significant difference (above 10%) in performance between Benin and Burkina Faso and this paper seeks to explain the cause of such significant differences in human development progress. In order to understand the scoring, the paper will highlight all the indicators used to derive the scoring which will also shed light on the areas which have negatively affected progress on the aforementioned SDGs.

[73] Sustainable Development Solutions Network, "SDG Index," 22 February 2017, http://www.sdgindex.org/

SDG 2 (Hunger):

The goal and targets of SDG 2 have been linked by the United Nations Development Programme to human development and capabilities since the early 1990s when hunger and food insecurity were noted as great threats to human security [74] . The threat of hunger and food insecurity undermines positive progress in increasing human capabilities, since it not only threatens individuals' health by means of nutrition and living a long life, but also hinders individuals' choices to do well in their education and/or jobs as well as within other aspects of their social lives. In other words, hunger can prevent individuals from doing and being the things that they want to do or be, thus taking away the capability to choose a particular type of functioning. It is based on these facts that the eradication of hunger is still considered a core principle of human development by all human capability approach academics as well as the UNDP[75] .

Table 2:SDG 2 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
Prevalence of undernourishment (%)	7.5	20.7
Cereal Yield (t/ha)	1.5	1.2
Prevalence of stunting, under-5s (%)	34	32.9
Prevalence of wasting, under-5s (%)	4.5	10.9
Sust. Nitrogen Management Index (0-1)	0.8	0.8

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 2 highlights that in the instance of expanding human capability through food security and nourishment, Burkina Faso has not progressed as much as Benin according to the SDGI since it has not been equally able to tackle the prevalence of undernourishment and wasting.

SDG 4 (Quality Education):

[74] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security* (New York: United Nations Development Programme,1994), 24.
[75] United Nations Development Programme, *Governance for Sustainable Development* (New York: United Nations Publishing, 2014), 18.

Education is vital to human capability, as noted in the HDI. It empowers individuals to have greater choices in almost all aspects of their lives. Educated individuals have greater career and income opportunities than those who are not; education allows individuals to understand and participate in their political environment, it creates awareness around sustainability and the environment, and allows individuals to expand their horizons and social sphere. It is precisely because education is so central to individuals' ability to determine their own destiny that education is a crucial part of increasing human capabilities[76].

Table 3:SDG 4 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
Expected years of schooling (years)	11.1	7.8
Literacy rate of 15-24 years old (%)	42.4	39.3
Net primary school enrolment rate (%)	94.9	85

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 3 indicates that according to the SDGI, human capabilities in terms of education have not progressed at the same pace in Benin and Burkina Faso[77]. This is primarily due to the low net primary school enrolment rate and the expected years of schooling in Burkina Faso.

SDG 7 (Clean and Affordable Energy):

The human development discourse on energy has been limited, however it has become widely recognized as a central factor in increasing human development [78]. A lack of energy may limit individuals in terms of their education by limiting the hours in which study may take place as well as access to information online; it hinders hospitals' ability to operate efficiently and/or through the night, it limits the ability to store much needed vaccines and can limit agricultural and

[76] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Education 2030: Incheon Declaration: Towards inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all," 19-22 May 2015, http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Documents/incheon-framework-for-action-en.pdf
[77] Sustainable Development Solutions Network.
[78] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2011: Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2011), 8.

economic productivity[79]. In addition, the emissions emitted by fossil fuels affect the environment and environmental damage tends to affect the vulnerable the most [80]. Moreover, the traditional use of biomass poses a direct threat to health and wellbeing due to indoor air pollution which is responsible for about four million premature deaths each year [81]. Thus, energy is an enabler of many other aspects of human development such as health, education, and economic prospects which allow people to live long, healthy, and happy lives. It is for this reason that energy is vital to human development; without it, progress on other aspects of human development is mostly unattainable.

Table 4:SDG 7 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
Access to electricity (%)	38.4	13.1
Access to non-solid fuels (%)	8.9	8.1

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 4 highlights that the biggest barrier to human development in terms of energy and the difference in progress on SDG 7 is access to electricity, for which Burkina Faso has a significantly lower electrification rate than Benin[82]. Access to electricity goes hand in hand with the targets of SDG 7 which include scaling up renewable energy and increasing the rate of improvement in energy efficiency.

SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth):

Economic growth and employment opportunities can expand human capabilities as they allow for satisfying work opportunities and enhance workers' skills and living standards. Decent work allows people to earn an income to sustain themselves and to afford the fruits of modernity that allow them to develop even further. In addition, economic growth can greatly benefit governments

[79] Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, "SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL 7 Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all," 1 April 2017, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg7.
[80] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2015), 16.
[81] Sustainable Energy For All "SEforALL Global Tracking Framework," 1 April 2017, //www.se4all.org/2013_10_29_se4all-global-tracking-framework.
[82] Sustainable Development Solutions Network.

in providing essential services that are invaluable to human development such as clean water and sanitation, health care, and education[83] .

Table 5:SDG 8 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
Adjusted growth rate (%)	-3.8	-4.1
Unemployment rate (%)	1.1	2.9
Child labor (%)	15.3	39.2

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 5 highlights that the biggest differences in progress on SDG 8 is the significantly higher percentage of child labor in Burkina Faso as well as the higher unemployment and lower growth rate in comparison with Benin[84].

SDG 13 (Climate Action):

Climate change tends to particularly affect the most vulnerable. It is essential to mitigate climate change in order to ensure sustainability. The human capability approach is not only concerned with increasing capabilities in the short run but also demands that these capabilities are secured in the long run and are accessible to future generations as well. Moreover, climate change is associated with greater floods and droughts which directly affects access to water and can threaten food security, which is essential for living a long and happy life[85]. Furthermore, environmental factors such as drought, flooding, and desertification can hinder individuals' career prospects, particularly those that are extremely reliant on the agri-chain.

[83] Ibid.
[84] Sustainable Development Solutions Network.
[85] United Nations Development Programme*, Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2013), 6.

Table 6:SDG 13 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
CO2 emissions from energy (tCO2/capita)	0.5	0.1
Climate change vulnerability (0-1)	0.2	0.1

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 6 illustrates that the carbon dioxide emissions from energy are higher in Benin than Burkina Faso which, is why the progress of Burkina Faso is ranked higher in this regard[86].

SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions):

Table 7:SDG 16 Indicators

Indicators	**Benin Score**	**Burkina Faso Score**
Control of Corruption (%)	30.8	47.1
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (%)	48.1	23.3
Regulatory Quality (%)	30.8	41.8
Rule of law (%)	32.2	34.1
Government efficiency (%)	30.3	31.7

Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network 2017.

Table 7 illustrates that the main reason for Benin's lower aggregated performance on SDG 16 is due to the lack of control of corruption, the regulatory quality, and rule of law, although it has scored higher in terms of stability, lack of violence, and accountability[87]. Thus, the paper seeks to analyze the impact the independent variables have on corruption, regulatory quality, and rule of law.

[86] Sustainable Development Solutions Network
[87] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE: POLICY

All UN members committed themselves to "pursu[ing] policy coherence and an enabling environment for sustainable development at all levels and by all actors" with the adoption of the 2030 Agenda in Addis Ababa[88] . Based on SDG 17, all states are required to create enabling conditions for all development across the social, economic, environmental and political dimensions. Moreover, policy should support the attainment of all SDGs[89]. The policy framework that enables human development and the achievement of the SDGs needs to have strong accountability and transparency measures, adequate financing, and should be aimed at increasing the capabilities that individuals enjoy [90].

Thus, national legislation and commitments by states governments are important in ensuring effective implementation of the SDGs by clearly defining guidelines, rights, duties, and rules. Furthermore, an enabling policy or regulatory framework helps states mobilize investment, which in turn increases the financing for attaining the SDGs[91] . Moreover, a strong policy framework promotes good governance which further ensures that resources are not diverted from sectors which increase human development but instead are efficiently distributed and translated into action on the various SDGs. Adversely, policy bottlenecks can severely hinder progress in human development by deterring investment, inefficient management of national resources, and by means of corruption, which affects not only service delivery but also directly affects the freedoms that individuals enjoy.

This chapter analyzes the policy framework of Benin and Burkina Faso to determine whether or not greater enabling policy or policy bottlenecks in either of the countries has caused a difference in human development progress. It aims to answer the question: "To what extent have policy differences in Benin and Burkina Faso contributed to the difference in human development

[88] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Better Policies for Sustainable Development 2016: A New Framework for Policy Coherence* (Paris OECD Publishing, 2016), 15.
[89] Ibid., 18.
[90] United Nations Development Programme*, Human Development Report 2013,* 1.
[91] Regulatory Indicators for Sustainable Energy, "RISE scoring methodology", 20 April 2017, http://rise.esmap.org/rise-scoring-methodology

progress?". In order to effectively answer the question within the limited scope of this thesis, an aggregated method based on the *Regulatory Indicators for Sustainable Energy* methodology has been adopted to measure the policy framework [92]. Each SDG has a select (albeit limited) amount of vital policy indicators which are based on the literature surrounding each SDG on enabling policy action. Each indicator subsequently has sub-indicators which allows for the complete picture of a country's progress on a given indicator [93]. Indicators are scored between 0 and 100 which is the aggregated value of the sub-indicators of the given indicator. All the indicators and sub-indicators are weighted equally although it may be argued that certain indicators are more vital than others. This is due to the fact that the RISE had attempted several other weightings which proved inconclusive in gaining a well-rounded view of a country's policy situation. A simple traffic light system as shown in figure 1 is used to highlight how much work needs to be done to have an enabling policy framework.

Figure 1:Traffic Light System

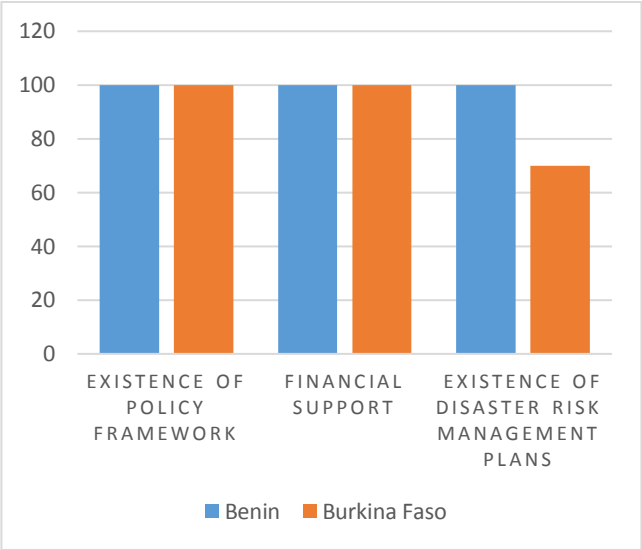
	Green Zone	Scores between 67-100. Most elements of a strong policy framework to support the Sustainable Development Goal are in place.
	Yellow Zone	Score between 34-66. Significant opportunities exist to strengthen the policy framework.
	Red Zone	Scores between 0-33. Few or no elements of a supportive policy framework have been enacted

Source: World Bank, *Regulatory Indicators for Sustainable Energy*

[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

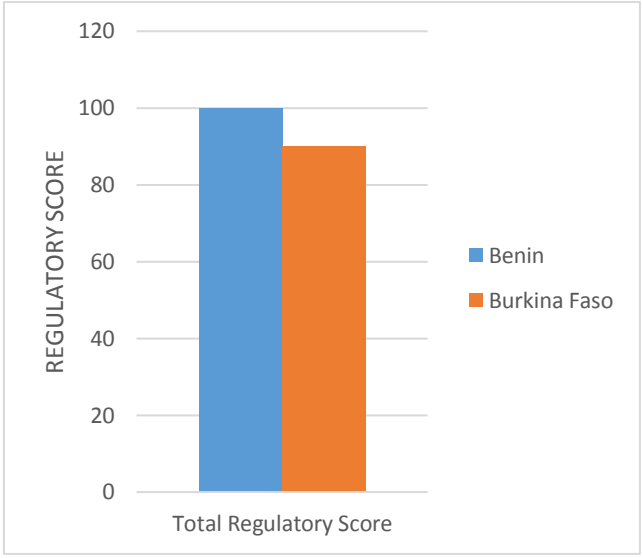
SDG 2 (Hunger):

Figure 2:Regulatory indicators on SDG 2



Source: Annex 1

Figure 3:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 2



Source: Annex 1

As was noted in the previous chapter, Benin has progressed further than Burkina Faso on SDG 2[94]. In terms of the overall policy framework for SDG 2, both countries are within the green light which means that both have elements of a strong policy framework in place to support achieving SDG 2[95]. This means that under the existence of a policy framework indicator, both countries have a national food security strategy, agricultural and livestock development plan which enables the achievement of zero hunger. The existence of food security strategy, agricultural and livestock development plans highlight that there are mechanisms in place aimed at ensuring access to "sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life."[96] Thus, in terms of the existence of policy frameworks to enable progress on SDG 2, both countries are on an equal footing which makes it unlikely that a bottleneck in the policy framework has caused Burkina Faso to have a lower score on SDG 2. Similarly, with regards to financial support mechanisms to enable progress on SDG 2, both countries score in the green

[94]Sustainable Development Network Solutions
[95] Aamina Teladia, *Annex 1*
[96] Committee on World Food Security. "Global Strategic Framework for Food Security & Nutrition(GSF), " *Food and Agriculture Organization,* 2015, http://www.fao.org/3/AV031e.pdf

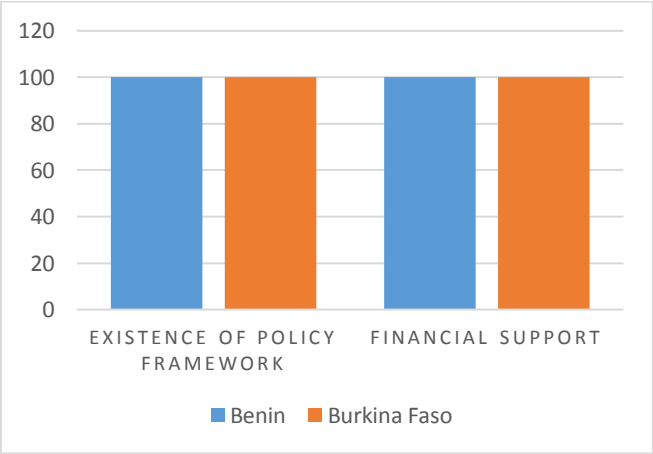
light, as exemplified in figure 2 [97]. This highlights that both countries have strong financial mechanisms (not to be confused with finances) to enable progress on SDG 2, namely an agricultural investment plan and the incorporation of income-generating activities that are aimed at improving the population's access to food[98]. Thus, in terms of financial mechanisms for progress on SDG 2, there does not seem to be any significant policy difference in the two countries which may have caused a difference in progress on SDG 2. The greatest difference in policy between the two countries which may have caused the difference in progress is in its disaster and risk management plans, as illustrated in figure 2[99]. Climate change has led to a rise in temperatures and a decrease in rainfall in Burkina Faso[100]. The impact of climate change vulnerability in Burkina Faso is linked to poor food security due to excessive droughts and flooding [101]. Disaster risk reduction is vital to both countries for food security since it builds resilience to disaster which affects the most vulnerable in societies and it is of particular importance to Burkina Faso given its climate change vulnerability [102]. There are two areas in which Burkina Faso's disaster risk management lacks whereas Benin's strategy does not. Firstly, the country severely lacks the capacity to fully implement its disaster risk management strategy whereas Benin has a greater capacity[103]. Secondly, Benin's disaster management strategy has specific provisions which relate to food security [104]. Benin's strategy encompasses an evaluation to reduce agricultural vulnerability and measures that aim to decrease household vulnerability in terms of food security[105].

[97] Aamina Teladia, Annex 1
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery, "Country Note on Disaster Risk Management and Adaption to Climate Change in Burkina Faso," 15 April 2017, https://www.gfdrr.org/sites/gfdrr.org/files/documents/Country_Program_Burkina_Faso.pdf
[101] World Food Programme, *Burkina Faso.*
[102] Helen Clark, "Building resilience: The importance of disaster risk reduction*," United Nations Development Programme*, 15 August 2012, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2012/08/15/building-resilience-the-importance-of-disaster-risk-reduction.html.
[103] United Nations Development Programme, "Renforcement des capacités nationales de gestion de catastrophes et relèvement de crises," 21 May 2017, http://www.bf.undp.org/content/burkina_faso/fr/home/operations/projects/crisis_prevention_and_recovery/prc gestioncrises/
[104] World Bank, "Rapport d'évaluation des Besoins Post Catastrophe", 21 May 2017, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/750141468208769683/text/694130ESW0P1240lood0Recovery0Report.txt
[105] Ibid.

In summary, both countries have a strong policy framework in place to support achieving SDG 2 and subsequently human development in terms of nutrition and wellbeing. Both countries have the necessary policies in place, such as a food security strategy, and agricultural and livestock development strategy which create an enabling environment for progress on SDG 2. Similarly, both countries have an investment strategy and income-generating activities which stimulate key sectors for food security and allow households to purchase agricultural goods to remain food secure. Thus, neither a bottleneck in the policy framework or financial mechanisms seem likely to be the causal factor in the difference in progress on SDG 2 between the two countries. However, the difference in the regulatory scores for disaster risk management may have attributed to Benin's higher performance and Burkina Faso's lower performance on SDG 2. Since both countries are in the Sahel region, they are both vulnerable to climate change which results in droughts and floods which in turn affects key sectors for food security. Thus, disaster risk management may build agricultural and household resilience to climate shocks, which in turn would have a positive effect on SDG 2 and subsequently human development. In this regard, Benin has a greater capacity to implement its disaster risk management strategy and the strategy has specific provisions for food security - areas which Burkina Faso has lacked.

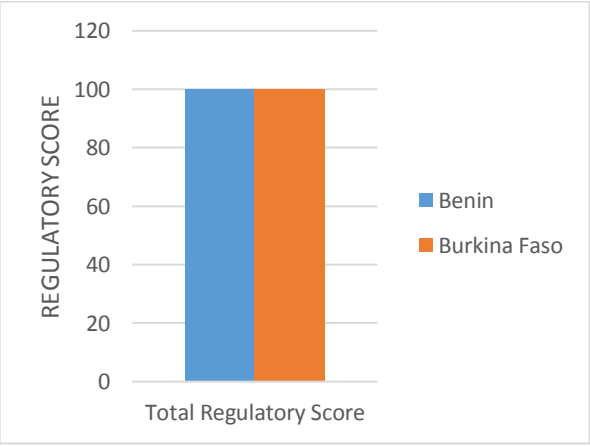
SDG 4 (Quality Education):

Figure 4:Regulatory indicators on SDG 4



Source: Annex 1

Figure 5:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 4



Source: Annex 1

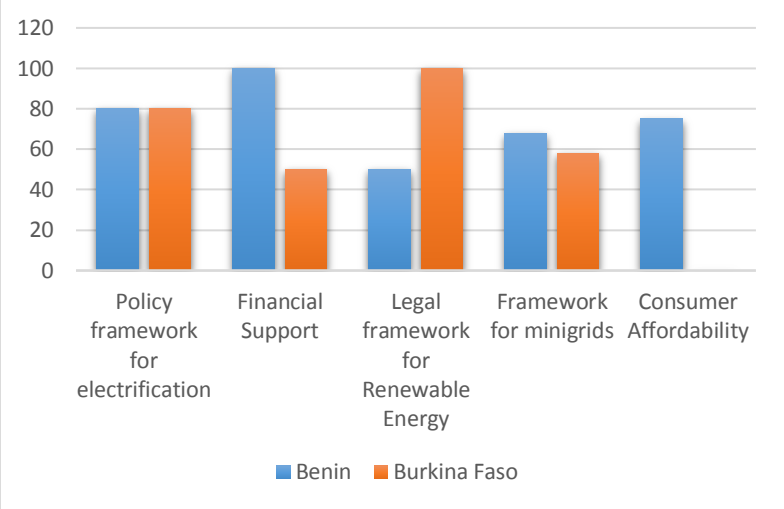
As previously noted, Benin has progressed further than Burkina Faso on SDG 4[106]. In terms of the overall policy framework for SDG 4, both countries are within the green light which means that both have elements of a strong policy framework in place to support achieving SDG 2[107]. This means that both countries have sufficient policy and financial mechanisms to create an enabling environment for SDG 4 progress, as demonstrated in figure 4 [108]. Thus, it is unlikely that a bottleneck in educational policy is the cause of Burkina Faso's lower progress on SDG 4 although bottlenecks in other policy areas such as child labor protection may also have an adverse impact on education. This does not, however, mean that educational policy has not been a determinant of progress on SDG in either country, since it may well be that progress could have been much lower without the enabling framework in place. This is highlighted by the fact that Burkina Faso's policy reforms and education strategy have been noted to have increased access and completion rates [109].

In summary, both countries have an equally enabling policy environment for SDG 4. Both countries have adequate policy frameworks in place and financial support for education. Thus, it is unlikely that a bottleneck in educational policy has caused Burkina Faso's scoring. However, it is probable, although not entirely clear, that without an enabling policy Burkina Faso's SDG 4 scoring may have been even lower. Therefore, enabling policy may be a driver of human development in terms of education but it is not a barrier of progress in Burkina Faso.

[106]Sustainable Development Network Solutions
[107] Aamina Teladia, *Annex 1*
[108] Sustainable Development Network Solutions
[109] Global Partnership for Education, "Burkina Faso," 2015, http://www.globalpartnership.org/country/burkina-faso

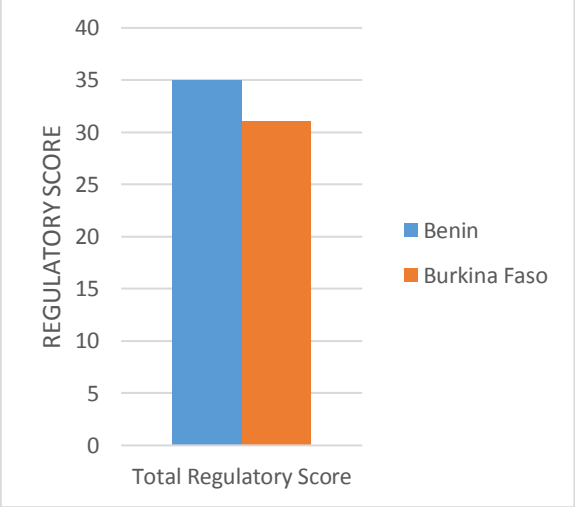
SDG 7 (Clean and Affordable Energy):

Figure 6:Regulatory indicators on SDG 7



Source:. World Bank, *RISE.*

Figure 7:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 7



Source: World Bank, *RISE.*

As previously noted, Benin scored higher on SDG 7 than Burkina Faso with the main barrier to human development in terms of energy being access to electricity, for which Burkina Faso has a significantly lower electrification rate than Benin[110]. As shown in figure 7, overall the regulatory score of the two countries is not much different; both countries are within the yellow light meaning that there are significant opportunities to strengthen the policy framework in terms of energy in both countries[111]. This is in line with the progress on SDG 7 in both countries: Benin has scored much higher than Burkina Faso in progress but its score is not high in general at only 17.92 percent [112]. Although a lack of electricity access has been highlighted as a reason for Burkina Faso's lower score, figure 6 shows that this is unlikely due to a lack of an electrification framework[113]. However, in terms of a framework for mini-grids, Benin has scored in the green light whereas Burkina Faso has scored in the yellow light. This means that Benin has a strong policy framework for mini-grids which is an enabling factor of SDG 7 whereas Burkina Faso has significant opportunities to

[110] Sustainable Development Solutions Network
[111] World Bank, *RISE*.
[112] Sustainable Development Solutions Network
[113] World Bank, *RISE.*

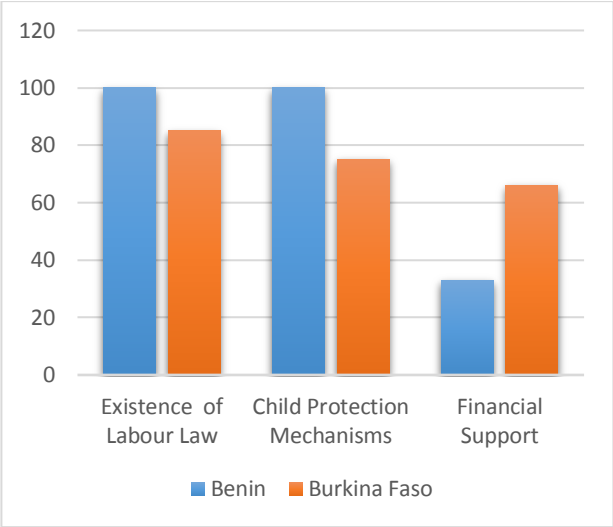
strengthen its framework[114] . Mini-grids provide small-scale power to a limited amount of people without having to connect to a central grid. They have gained increasing attention particularly in Africa, which is home to the largest energy access deficit in the world. This is due to the fact that mini-grids provide a short to medium term solution to the lack of electricity access in rural areas which are too far from the central grid and so it is not technically or financially feasible to expand the grid[115] . Currently, Burkina Faso is one of the least electrified countries in the world, with only 13% overall electrification of which only 1% is of the rural population[116] This highlights the dire need for solutions to rural electrification, which, as highlighted, is what mini-grids can offer. However, in order to scale up mini-grids and consequently access in countries with limited finances such as Benin and Burkina Faso there is significant policy support required[117]. Thus, Burkina Faso's lower performance on SDG 7 access may be attributed to a lack of a mini-grid framework for rural electrification. Additionally, Benin's financial support mechanisms are within the green light whereas Burkina Faso's is in the yellow light, as illustrated in figure 6. This is due to the fact that Benin has duty exemptions on distribution systems whereas Burkina Faso does not. Duty exemptions and other financial incentives attract investment which in turn promotes further electrification. Moreover, Benin has publicly funded mechanisms to secure the viability gap whereas Burkina Faso does not, which makes stand-alone systems more attractive in the former compared to the latter. This means rural electrification supply is more attractive in Benin than in Burkina Faso, which has a positive impact on Benin's electrification and subsequently on its progress on SDG 7 and human development in terms of energy. One of the biggest regulatory bottlenecks which hinders access rates and progress on SDG 7 in Burkina Faso is consumer affordability, which is in the red light zone, highlighting that few or no elements of a supportive policy have been enacted to ensure greater affordability and consequently access. However, interestingly Burkina Faso scores much higher on its renewable energy framework than Benin which may not affect progress on SDG 7 as much as energy access, but may contribute to SDG 13.

[114] Ibid.
[115] Stockholm Environment Institute, "Renewable energy mini-grids: An alternative approach to energy access in southern Africa," 2016, https://www.sei-international.org/mediamanager/documents/Publications/SEI-DB-2016-SADC-mini-grids.pdf
[116] Sustainable Energy For All, "Burkina Faso," 2016, https://www.se4all-africa.org/se4all-in-africa/country-data/burkina-faso/
[117] Stockholm Environment Institute.

In summary, the overall regulatory framework of the two countries is not significantly different. Both countries require strengthening of their overall regulatory framework for SDG 7 which may explain why both countries have not done significantly well regarding it. Both countries have an enabling electrification policy, thus highlighting that it is unlikely that the electrification framework of either country has caused the big difference in the SDG 7 progress. However, the framework for mini-grids is stronger in Benin than in Burkina Faso. Mini-grids are extremely useful in increasing energy access since it is easier and cheaper for rural areas which are far from the grid. Benin's stronger mini-grid framework may be a determinant in its higher electrification rate and in turn for its higher progress on SDG 7. Furthermore, Benin has greater financial mechanisms and consumer affordability which makes investment in off-grid systems more attractive and allows greater energy access to consumers. Thus, it is likely that Benin's higher regulatory score on these two indicators has aided its higher progress on SDG 7 and conversely, Burkina Faso's lower regulatory score on these two factors has been a barrier to its progress on SDG 7. However, Burkina Faso has a higher score on its renewable energy framework which was not highlighted as the cause of its lower progress on SDG 7 but may be linked to SDG 13. Thus, with regards to energy and SDG 7, policy has played a causal role in increasing human development in Benin and a lack thereof has been a barrier to human development in Burkina Faso in terms of the mentioned indicators.

SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth):

Figure 8:Regulatory indicators on SDG 8



Source: Annex 1

Figure 9:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 8

Source: Annex 1

Benin has progressed further than Burkina Faso on SDG 8[118]. In terms of the overall policy framework for SDG 8, both countries are within the green light which means that both have elements of a strong policy framework in place to support its achievement[119]. Similarly, both countries have strong labor law policy to ensure decent work, which allows people to earn an income to sustain themselves and to afford the fruits of modernity that allow them to develop even further. Although both countries score in the green light zone for child protection mechanisms, Burkina Faso scores much lower than Benin. This may indicate a policy gap that has contributed to its lower progress on SDG 8, which is underscored by higher child labour practices. However, both countries have more or less the same child protection mechanisms aside from the fact that Benin has more bilateral and multilateral agreements to combat child labour and trafficking than Burkina Faso[120]. It is thus unclear to what extent the policy framework of SDG 8 in both countries is correlated to their SDG 8 score and subsequent human development in terms of economic

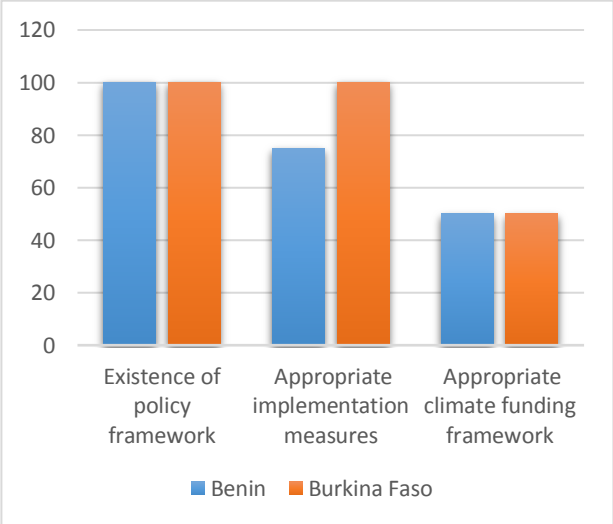
[118]Sustainable Development Network Solutions
[119] Aamina Teladia, *Annex 1*
[120] International Labor Organization, "Benin: International agreements," 25 May 2017, http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.listResults?p_lang=en&p_country=BEN&p_count=232&p_classification=23&p_classcount=14

security. In terms of financial support for enabling SDG 8, Burkina Faso has a higher regulatory score than Benin. Thus, it is unlikely to have contributed to Burkina Faso's lower score or Benin's higher score.

In summary, both countries have a strong overall policy framework to enable SDG 8. However, Burkina Faso has scored lower on child protection mechanisms due to a lack of international agreements on child labor and trafficking. This may be correlated to its lower SDG 8 scoring which was low due to child labor and unemployment. Moreover, Burkina Faso has a higher score than Benin for its financial support for creating an enabling environment to achieve SDG 8, yet Benin has scored higher on SDG 8, which makes it unlikely to be a causal factor in the different progress scores. Thus, overall it is unclear to what extent the policy framework has impacted the SDG 8 scores of the two countries but it is clear that it is not a significant factor in the different scores.

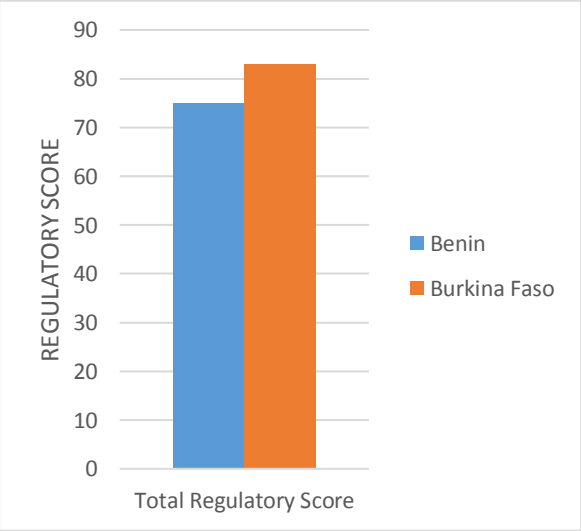
SDG 13 (Climate Action):

Figure 10:Regulatory indicators on SDG 13



Source: Annex 1

Figure 11:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 13



Source: Annex 1

Unlike the other SDGs, Burkina Faso scores much higher on SDG 13 progress than Benin. This has mainly been attributed to Benin's higher CO2 emissions. As illustrated by figures 10 and 11, overall both countries are in the green light and with regards to the existence of a policy framework

and appropriate funding, the two countries are equal [121]. Thus, it is unlikely that a climate change adaption policy framework or funding framework for climate change has had an impact on Benin's lower progress on SDG 13. Although both countries score within the green zone for appropriate implementation measures, Benin does score lower than Burkina Faso which may indicate a reason for its lower score on SDG 13. Without the appropriate implementation mechanisms, the existence of a climate change adaption policy or funding framework becomes redundant, since its provisions cannot be implemented effectively. Furthermore, the policy analysis of SDG 7 proves useful in analyzing the regulatory environment that surrounds SDG 13. Since the energy sector is highly linked to emissions, renewable energy policy is vital for SDG 13. In this regard, Benin has scored in the yellow light zone for its renewable energy framework which highlights that there is a great opportunity to strengthen the policy framework on renewable energy. On the other hand, Burkina Faso scored within the green light zone for renewable energy which highlights a strong policy framework for renewables. An enabling environment for renewables attracts investment in the renewable energy sector which in turn increases the proportion of renewable energy in the country's total final energy consumption. This therefore leads to a decrease in CO2 emissions from dirtier fuels. Thus, it is likely that the SDG 7 policy framework on renewable energy has impacted on the Benin's lower score regarding SDG 13[122].

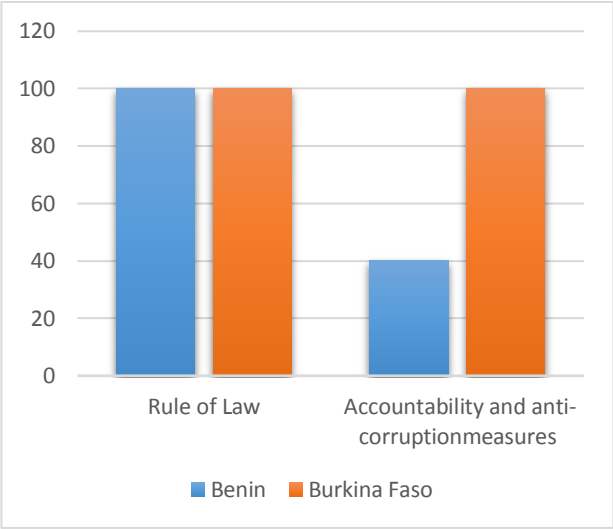
In summary, overall both countries are in the green light. In addition, with regards to the existence of a policy framework and appropriate funding the two countries are equal. Thus, it is unlikely that a climate change adaption policy framework or funding framework for climate change has had an impact on Benin's lower progress on SDG 13. Although both countries score within the green zone for appropriate implementation measures, Benin does score lower than Burkina Faso which may indicate the reason for its lower score on SDG 13. The policy score on a renewable energy framework under SDG 7 also has an impact on the SDG 13 progress of the two countries in that it creates an enabling environment in Burkina Faso for renewables which reduces CO2 emissions. However, it should also be noted that Burkina Faso has lower electrification which has a significant impact on its CO2 emissions as well.

[121] Aamina Teladia, *Annex 1*

[122] Sustainable Energy For All, "Global Tracking Framework,", 11 April 2017, http://gtf.esmap.org. It should be noted that although Benin has a lower score on the renewable energy regulatory framework, it also has higher electrification than Burkina Faso. This is also a key reason for its lower CO2 emissions, due to less energy production in Burkina Faso and its reliance on traditional biomass.

SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions):

Figure 12:Regulatory indicators on SDG 16



Source: Annex 1

Figure 13:Total Regulatory Score on SDG 16

Source: Annex 1

Similarly to SDG 13, Burkina Faso scores higher on SDG 16 than Benin[123]. This has mainly been attributed to the lack of control of corruption, the regulatory quality, and rule of law in Benin. As demonstrated in figure 13, overall both countries are in the green light which means that both have an overall enabling policy environment for progress on SDG 16[124]. However, Benin does score significantly lower than Burkina Faso which correlates to its SDG 16 progress. In terms of the rule of law, both countries have equally enabling environments which signifies that the legislation around the separation of power, democratic rule of law and constitution is likely not the cause for Benin's lower progress or Burkina Faso's higher progress. However, in terms of the regulatory framework around accountability and anti-corruption measures there is a significant difference in the scores which strongly correlates to the difference in progress on SDG 16[125]. Benin scores in the yellow light which highlights that significant opportunities to improve the regulatory framework for anti-corruption and accountability exist, whereas Burkina Faso has a strong policy

[123] Sustainable Development Network Solutions.
[124] Aamina Teladia, *Annex 1*
[125] Constanze Blum, *Cross-Border Flows Between Nigeria and Benin: What Are the Challenges for (Human) Security* (Abuja: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, 2014), 4. Benin has significant cross-border flows with Nigeria. This has led to a spillover of criminal activity from Nigeria, in particular there is the smuggling of fuel across borders which may explain Benin's higher levels of corruption, which has negatively impacted its scoring on SDG 16

framework. As noted, corruption was one of the main reasons for Benin's lower score on SDG 16 and without the appropriate regulatory framework in place, accountability and transparency is less likely to improve.

In summary, overall both countries are in the green light. The regulatory framework surrounding the rule of law in both countries is equal. Thus, it is unlikely to have had an impact on Benin's lower progress on SDG 16. However, the lower regulatory score on anti-corruption and accountability measures strongly correlates with Benin's lower score on SDG 16 and subsequently in human development regarding safety and security.

In conclusion, the chapter has highlighted that there is varying correlation between the policy environment and progress on the SDGs. On SDG 2, overall both countries have the necessary policies in place and neither a bottleneck in the policy framework nor the financial mechanisms seem likely to be the causal factor in the difference in progress on SDG 2 and human development in terms of nutrition between the two countries. However, the difference in the regulatory scores for disaster risk management may have attributed to Benin's higher performance and Burkina Faso's lower performance on SDG 2, by building resilience to climate related agricultural shocks. On SDG 4, there was no policy bottleneck which caused Burkina Faso's lower progress on SDG 4. However, it is unclear whether the existence of the educational policies have caused greater progress than would have been the case without them. Thus, it is unclear to what extent policy correlates to a difference in progress on SDG 4 and human development in terms of education. On SDG 7, the overall regulatory score of both countries is low which may be attributed to the fact that although Benin has a higher score on the SDG, it is not performing significantly well on it either. The electrification framework in both countries is likely to not have impacted the variance in progress on SDG 7. However, the framework for mini-grids is stronger in Benin than in Burkina Faso, which is extremely useful in increasing energy access since it is easier and cheaper for rural areas which are far from the grid. Thus, Benin's stronger mini-grid framework may be a determinant in its higher electrification rate, its higher progress on SDG 7, and subsequently on human development in terms of energy. Additionally, Benin has greater financial mechanisms and consumer affordability which makes investment in off-grid systems more attractive in Benin and

allows greater energy access to consumers. Thus, it is likely that Benin's higher regulatory score on these two indicators has aided its higher progress on SDG 7 and human development in terms of energy. On SDG 8, both countries have a strong overall policy framework to enable it. However, Burkina Faso has scored lower on child protection mechanisms due to a lack of international agreements on child labor and trafficking. This may be correlated to its lower SDG 8 scoring which was low due to child labor and unemployment. However, it is unclear to what extent the policy framework has impacted the SDG 8 scores of the two countries but it is clear that it is not a significant factor in the different scores. Overall, both countries were in the green light for SDG 13. In addition, with regards to the existence of a policy framework and appropriate funding, the two countries are equal. Thus, it is unlikely that a climate change adaption policy framework or funding framework for climate change has had an impact on progress on SDG 13 and human development in terms of climate change resilience. Although both countries score within the green zone for appropriate implementation measures, Benin does score lower than Burkina Faso which may indicate a reason for its lower score on SDG 13. The policy score on a renewable energy framework under SDG 7 also has an impact on the SDG 13 progress of the two countries in that it creates an enabling environment in Burkina Faso for renewables which reduces CO2 emissions. However, it should also be noted that Burkina Faso has lower electrification which has a significant impact on its CO2 emissions as well. The regulatory framework surrounding the rule of law in both countries is equal on SDG 16 . Thus, it is unlikely to have had an impact on Benin's lower progress on SDG 16. However, the lower regulatory score on anti-corruption and accountability measures strongly correlates with Benin's lower score on SDG 16 and subsequently in human development regarding safety and security. The chapter aimed to answer the question " To which extent has policy differences in Benin and Burkina Faso contributed to the difference in human development progress?". The research suggests that there is a correlating or causal relationship between the regulatory framework and human development with certain SDGs.

CHAPTER FOUR: OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Official Development Assistance is a term coined by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development . The OECD defines ODA as official finance that is "provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies" and that is "administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective." [126] Welfare is not used in the restrictive sense of "social" or "economic" welfare but rather it is used loosely. The *Black's Law Dictionary* defines welfare as "[r]esources and conditions needed for healthy and comfortable living"[127] . This highlights that the aim of ODA is to promote a decent quality of life and therefore human development.

This is further emphasized by the world's biggest sources of development aid, the European Union , the United States of America , and China's development policy. The 2006 *European Consensus on Development* highlights the EU's understanding of poverty, which is that the dimensions of poverty include political, economic, and human capabilities and thus to combat poverty it is imperative that equal importance be given to investing in individuals through social dimensions, by protecting natural resources and by wealth creation[128] . The strategy further highlights human rights, conflict prevention, and good governance as important factors in ensuring development [129]. Similarly, the *New Global Partnership for Poverty Eradication and Sustainable Development after 2015* aims to achieve sustainable development in all dimensions in its *new global partnership* for development[130]. The *Africa-EU partnership* further highlights that through the EU's development

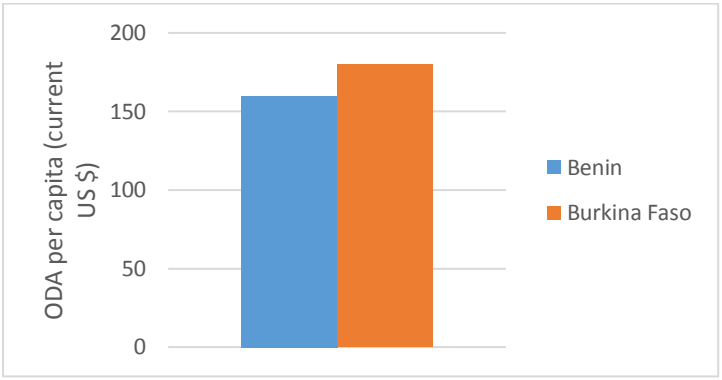
[126] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Official development assistance – definition and coverage," http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistancedefinitionandcoverage.html
[127] *Black Law Dictionary*, "What is WELFARE?" http://thelawdictionary.org/welfare/
[128] *European Parliament, Council & Commission,* "The European Consensus on Development", 24 February 2006, http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ%3AC%3A2006%3A046%3A0001%3A0019%3AEN%3APDF
[129] Ibid.
[130] Council of the European Union, "A New Global Partnership for Poverty Eradication and Sustainable Development after 2015: Council Decision,"10 February 2017, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-9241-2015-INIT/en/pdf.

cooperation it aims to promote good governance, human rights, economic performance, gender equality, climate change mitigation, environmental protection, food security, and service delivery[131]. As may be noted, the EU's development framework echoes the aim of enhancing human capabilities in all the aforementioned dimensions. China's foreign aid is also aimed at poverty reduction and improving the livelihood of the peoples of developing countries. It prioritizes economic and social dimensions of development such as health care and education[132]. China's development policy does not include any promotion of the political sphere and has only recently begun approaching the environmental dimension, this is largely due to its domestic actions. However, China's policy nevertheless reflects a human capability orientated approach which is focused on bettering the lives of people in its recipient countries. Similarly, the US states that the objectives of its aid are to improve governance and stability, access to services, environmental protection, and economic growth [133]. It also stresses that one of its main objectives is to invest in people.

It is argued that countries such as Benin and Burkina Faso with low GDP, that have been affected by shocks and that have issues with development because of structural reasons, are particularly aid dependent[134]. In fact, Burkina Faso has been in the list of the top most aid dependent countries since 2000 [135]. It should be noted that Benin also has a slightly higher GDP per capita of 779.07 USD whereas Burkina Faso's is 613.04 USD[136] . Thus, Benin has a higher amount of funds already at its disposal in comparison with Burkina Faso, albeit not much more. However, ODA, with its new emphasis on human development by aid donors, can still play a significant role in the amount of funds that both governments can afford to direct toward human development. Thus, this chapter aims to answer the questions " To which extent does ODA correlate to human development progress?" and "Can any found correlations be justified by data?".

[131] EU-Africa Summit, "Roadmap 2014-2017," 10 February 2017, http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/default/files/documents/2014_04_01_4th_eu-africa_summit_roadmap_en.pdf
[132] China's Information Office of the State Council, "China's Foreign Aid," 10 February 2017, http://ssc.undp.org/content/dam/ssc/dgspaces/China/files/China%202nd%20White%20Paper%20on%20Foreign%20Aid%202014.pdf
[133] Curt Tarnoff and Marian Lawson, *Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and* Policy (Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2016), 4.
[134] Action Aid, *Real Aid: Ending Aid Dependency* (Johannesburg: Action Aid, 2011), 18.
[135] Ibid.
[136] World Bank, *World Development Indicators*

Figure 14: Total ODA per capita 2013-2015 (current US millions)

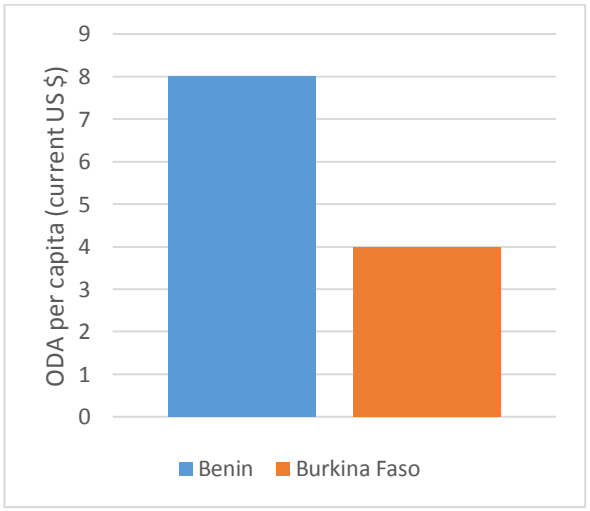


Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015

Figure 14 shows the total ODA per capita to both Benin and Burkina Faso between 2013 and 2015 [137], thus highlighting that Burkina Faso has gained a higher amount of ODA per capita in the given time frame. However, based on the progress toward the SDGs, Burkina Faso has scored significantly lower on several SDGs excluding SDG 13 and 16 in comparison to Benin. In order to answer the two former questions, the chapter outlines the ODA per capita that is directed toward each SDG and the distribution of ODA within each SDG in comparison to the SDGI scores.

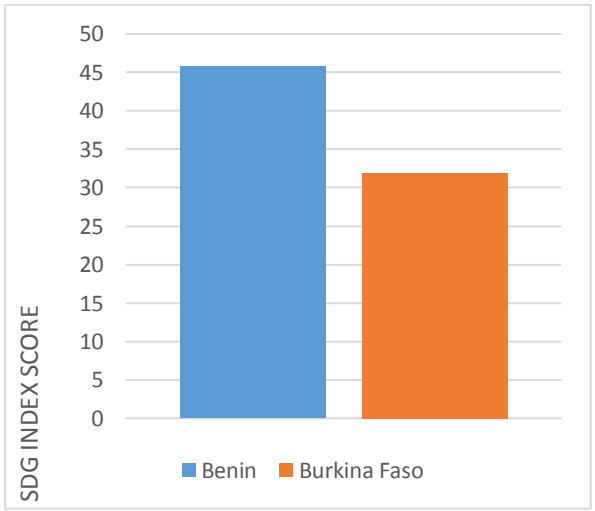
SDG 2(Hunger):

Figure 15:Total ODA to SDG 2 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 16:Progress toward SDG 2

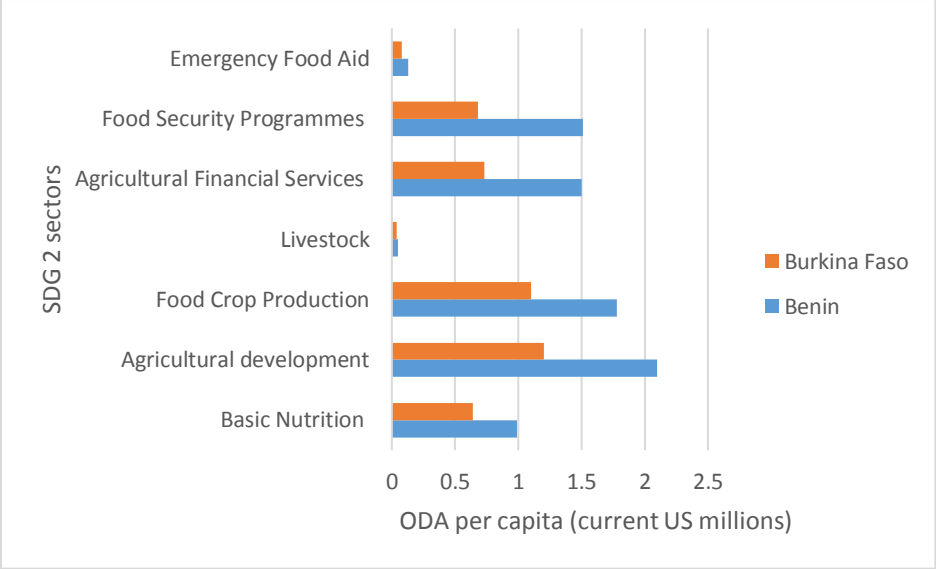


*Source:*Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

[137] *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics".

Figure 15 shows that the overall amount of ODA to the relevant SDG 2 sectors is higher in Benin than in Burkina Faso [138]. Benin also displays higher progress on SDG 2 than Burkina Faso as illustrated by figure 16[139].

Figure 17:Distribution of ODA to SDG 2 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

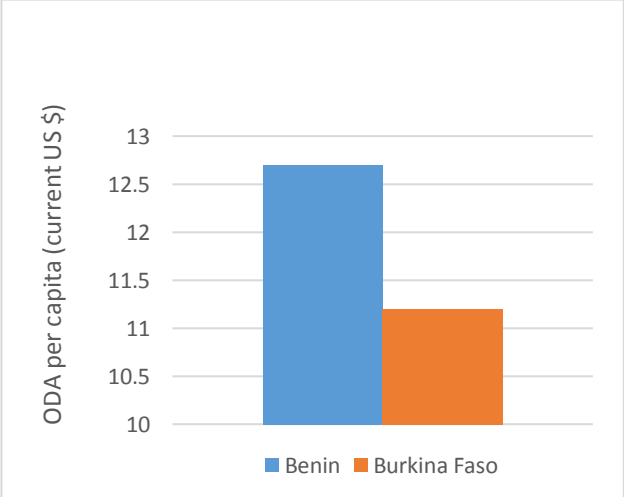
Possible linkages between Benin's higher ODA per capita directed at SDG 2 and its higher progress on SDG 2 may be further explained by the distribution of ODA to relevant sectors, as illustrated by figure 17 [140] . Burkina Faso has a higher rate of stunting than Benin, as highlighted in the measuring progress chapter. The World Food Programme reports that 10.4% of children under five suffer from malnutrition and about 30.2% are affected by stunting [141]. In general, food insecurity in terms of quality and continuity in households has been directly linked to malnutrition and stunting. This also goes hand in hand with dietary diversity, which remains poor in Burkina Faso[142] . The distribution of ODA highlights that Benin has directed more ODA per capita to food security programmes and basic nutrition, both of which combat malnutrition and stunting. This

[138] Ibid.
[139] Sustainable Development Solutions
[140] *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,* "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"
[141] World Food Programme "Burkina Faso", 14 April 2017, http://www1.wfp.org/countries/burkina-faso .
[142] *World Bank*, "Burkina Faso", 14 April 2017, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NUTRITION/Resources/281846-1271963823772/BurkinaFaso.pdf.

may indicate the relationship with higher ODA and progress on SDG 2, in that ODA increases the funds available to increase nutrition and food security. In addition, Benin has directed close to double ODA per capita to agricultural development and agricultural financial services in comparison to Benin. Agricultural financial services and development are important in reaching the SDG 2 targets as well as other SDGs by 2030. It is particularly important for countries with large rural populations. By increasing the agricultural financial services and development, the rural population can increase food production, create new agricultural employment, and contribute to food security[143] . The rural population in Burkina Faso is about 70.1% of its population and in Benin it is about 56% [144]. With such a high percentage of rural population, it is equally important in both countries to increase agricultural financial services and development to increase food security in rural areas. Thus, Benin's higher amount of ODA per capita directed toward agricultural financial services and development may explain its higher progress toward SDG 2 by stimulating rural food production and security.

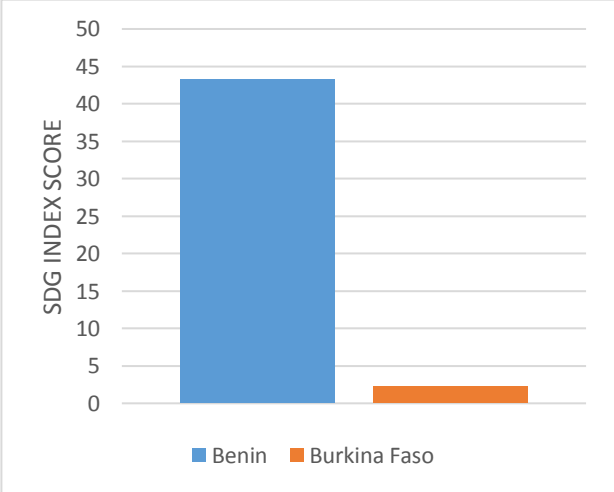
SDG 4 (Quality Education):

Figure 18:Total ODA to SDG 4 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 19:Progress toward SDG 4



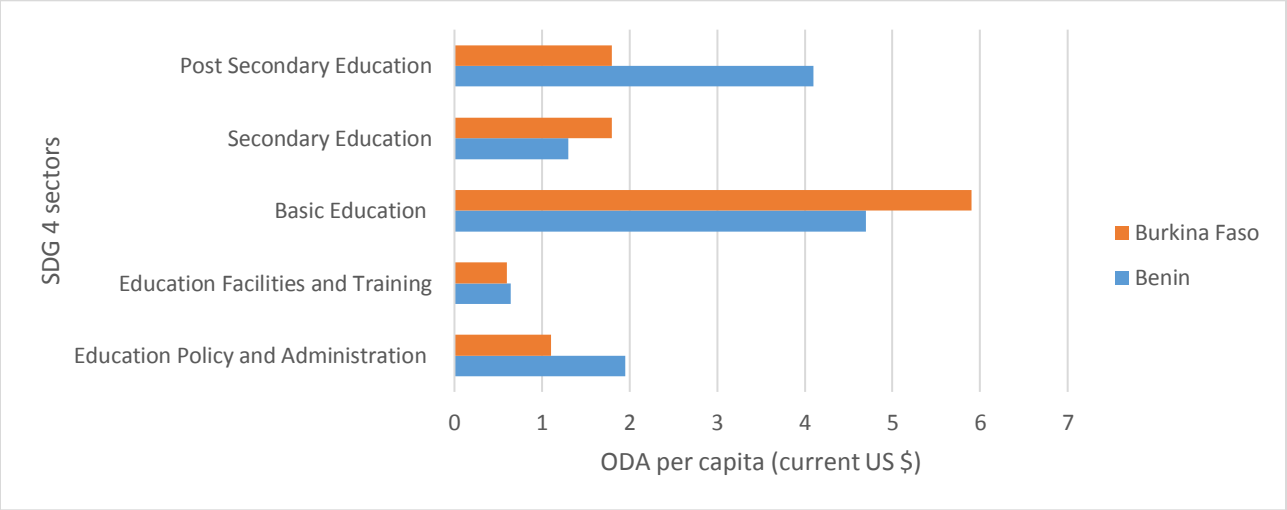
Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

[143] United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World.*

[144] *World Bank,* "Rural population (% of total population)" 10 April 2017, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZG?locations=BF-BJ

The total ODA per capita that goes toward SDG 4 is also higher in Benin than in Burkina Faso as shown in figure 18 [145]. Benin also fares much higher than Burkina Faso in the SDG 4 scoring, as demonstrated in figure 19 [146].

Figure 20: Distribution of ODA to SDG 4 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

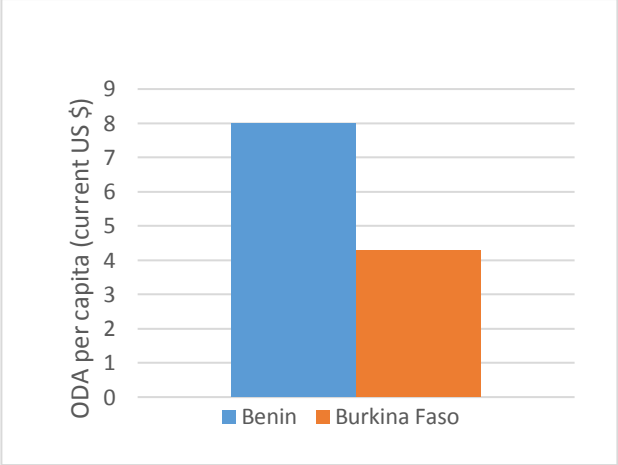
The possible correlation between Benin's higher ODA per capita directed at SDG 4 and its higher progress toward SDG 4 may be further explained by the distribution of ODA to relevant sectors as illustrated by figure 20 [147]. The allocation to educational facilities and training, education policy and administration and secondary education does not seem to be much different in either country, highlighting that if there is any correlation between ODA and higher progress in human development that it would relate to basic education and post-secondary education. Burkina Faso is estimated to dedicate 19.8% of total government expenditure toward education whereas Benin dedicates about 27% of total government expenditure to education [148]. Thus, in total Benin contributes more funding to basic and post- secondary education which is likely a factor that

[145] *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,* "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"
[146] Sustainable Development Network Solutions
[147] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"
[148] Global Partnership for Education, "Developing Country Partners," 10 April 2017, http://www.globalpartnership.org/about-us/developing-countries.

contributes to its higher scoring on SDG 4. More funding allows for the better provision of school books, financial support to financial disadvantaged students, and the capacity to retain qualified teachers or hire more teachers to reduce classroom sizes. On the other hand, Burkina Faso's lack of ODA per capita to basic education and post-secondary education as well as to SDG 4 as a whole can be attributed to the falling aid levels to education[149] . In particular, Burkina Faso lost five donors that have provided a significant share of its education aid in the last five years which explains its lower levels of aid to education as a whole and more specifically toward basic and post-secondary education [150]. As a result of the withdrawal of major donors from education in Burkina Faso, the government has seen a decrease in its available funding for education which may be one of the reasons for its lower performance on SDG 4.

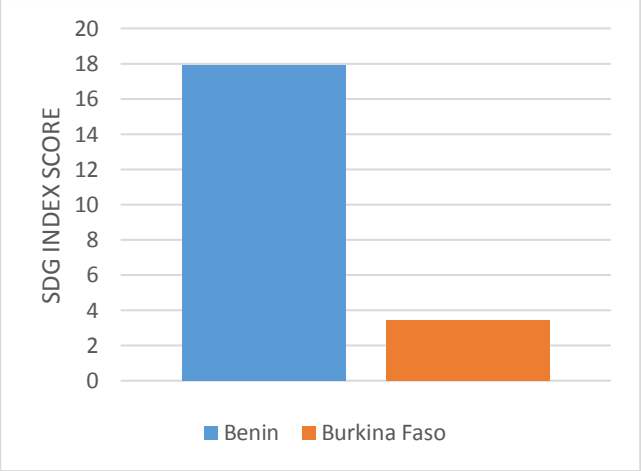
SDG 7 (Clean and Affordable Energy):

Figure 21: Total ODA to SDG 7 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 22:Progress toward SDG 7

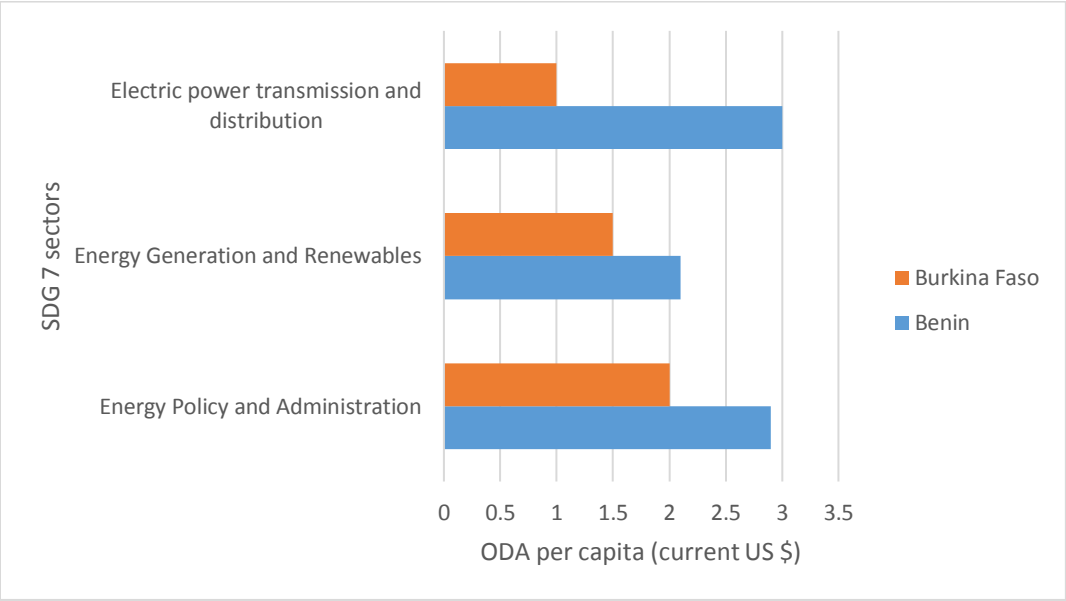


Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

Benin's ODA per capita that goes toward SDG 7 is about double that of Burkina Faso, as shown in figure 21[151] . Moreover, Benin's progress toward SDG 7 is about 5 times that of Burkina Faso's, as depicted in figure 22 [152].

[149] Global Campaign for Education, "*EDUCATION AID WATCH 2015"* (Johannesburg: Global Campaign for Education, 2015), 16.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"
[152] Sustainable Development Network Solutions.

Figure 23: Distribution of ODA to SDG 7 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

The highest difference in ODA per capita for the relevant sectors of SDG 7 is in the amount given to electric power transmission and distribution, as shown in figure 23[153]. However, the amount of ODA per capita given to this factor in Burkina Faso does not necessarily indicate a reason for its much lower SDG 7 scoring. Transmission and distribution refers to the movement of energy from the generating site to consumers, usually referred to as "the central grid". Although grid extension and funding for the grid may be cost-effective in areas with a high population density, they are less suitable in attaining quick access (by 2030) and for rural populations with lower energy demands[154] . Firstly, since low population density areas tend to be far away from the grid, the cost of focusing on centralized solutions and extending the grid are high at about $22,000 per kilometer cost for rural grid extension[155]. Moreover, the time it takes to extend the grid and supply energy through traditional transmission and distribution lines usually take about nine years to complete. On the other hand, decentralized renewable energy solutions are more cost effective, flexible enough to

[153] *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,* "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"

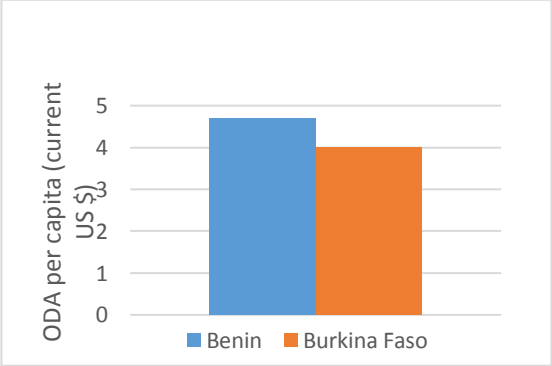
[154] Power for All, *Decentralized Renewables: The Fast Track to Universal Energy Access* (Washington, Power For All, 2016), 4.

[155] Power For All, "Making Energy Access Affordable," 30 January 2017, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/532f79fae4b07e365baf1c64/t/57e9f524440243231bbf08f8/1474950436696/FactSheet_MakingEnergyAccessAffordable_Sept_16.pdf.

grow with demand and allow for energy access in only three months [156]. As such, in a country with about 70% of its population being rural and with low financial capacities such as Burkina Faso, it would in fact not make much financial sense to invest more funds into its national grid. Instead, the lower amount of ODA per capita dedicated toward renewable generation may be a reason for its lower progress as it indicates a lack of funding being put toward renewable off-grid electrification as well, which means that there are fewer possibilities for the rural population (the majority of the country) to gain energy access as it is too far from the grid and costly for these areas to get connected to the grid. On the other hand, Benin has a much lower percentage of a rural population, making grid connectivity more cost effective and a necessary step in attaining energy access for its urban population and its ODA per capita in renewable energy generation a possible source of off-grid electrification for its rural population. Thus, Burkina Faso's lower ODA per capita in renewable energy generation may indicate one of the reasons that it has scored poorly on SDG 7. In contrast, both Benin's higher ODA per capita in transmission and distribution as well as renewable energy generation may indicate why it has scored higher than Burkina Faso on SDG 7.

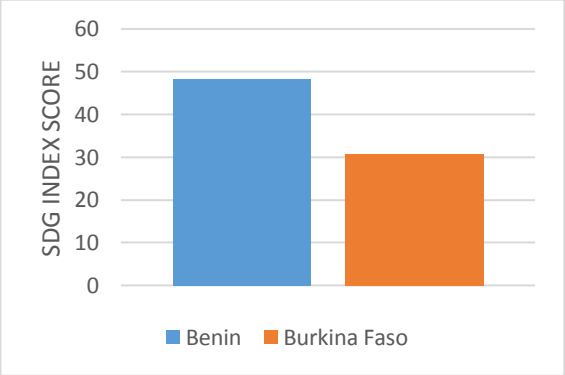
SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth):

Figure 24: Total ODA to SDG 8 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 25:Progress toward SDG 8

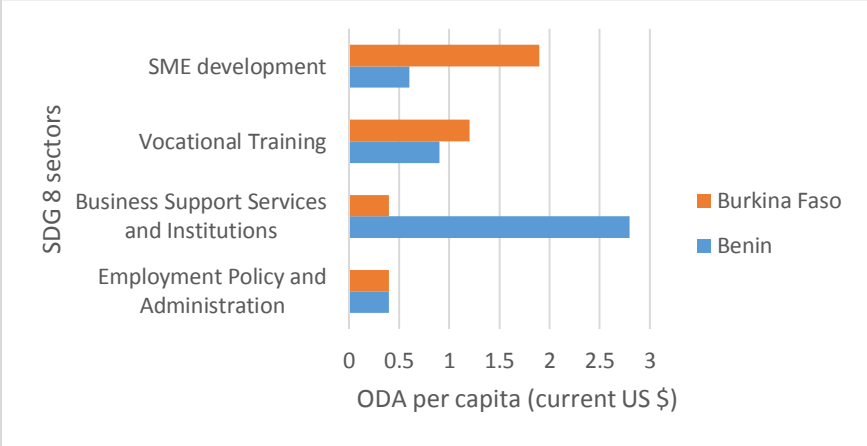


Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

[156] Power For All, "Decentralized Renewables: A Faster Road to Energy Access," 30 January 2017, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/532f79fae4b07e365baf1c64/t/57e432229f7456687f28a5b3/1474572834421/P4A_Faster_Road_To_Energy_Access.pdf.

The total ODA per capita that goes toward SDG 8 is also higher in Benin than in Burkina Faso, although there is not a significant difference in ODA per capita, as shown in figure 24[157]. However, there is a greater difference in progress between Benin and Burkina Faso toward SDG 8, as shown in figure 25 [158].

Figure 26: Distribution of ODA to SDG 8 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

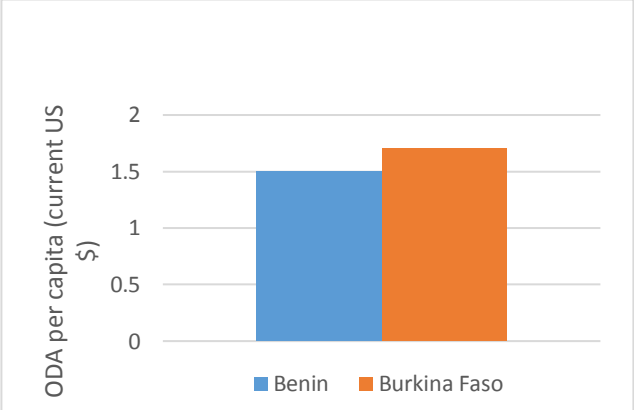
The greatest difference in the distribution of ODA per capita is the amount directed toward small and medium enterprise development and business support services and institutions, as highlighted in figure 26 [159]. SME development and business support services are considered to be important factors in developing countries' economic development. SMEs tend to create more employment opportunities, utilize local raw materials, and encourage rural development [160]. SMEs also play a vital role in poverty alleviation and they typically allow for a greater variety of employment options outside of the agricultural sector [161]. However, it is noted that market and institutional

[157] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"
[158] Sustainable Development Network Solutions.
[159] "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics", *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.*
[160] Muritala Taiwo, Awolaja Ayodeji and Bako Yusuf, "Impact of Small and Medium Enterprises on Economic Growth and Development," *American Journal of Business and Management* 1, no. 1 (2012):18.
[161] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *PROMOTING ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INNOVATIVE SMEs IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY: TOWARDS A MORE RESPONSIBLE AND INCLUSIVE GLOBALISATION* (Istanbul: OECD, 2004), 5.

failures can hinder SME development[162]. In addition, the administrative procedures around setting up a SME can be cumbersome, access to finance is generally limited and the absence of effective institutional structures can constrain SMEs and thus economic development and employment[163] . Thus, directing more funds toward SME development and business services and institutions can enhance SME development and positively contribute to both growth and decent work. Hence, Benin's greater ODA per capita toward these factors can increase funding options for SME development as well as remove some of the main barriers to SME development, which in turn could explain its higher SDG 8 progress.

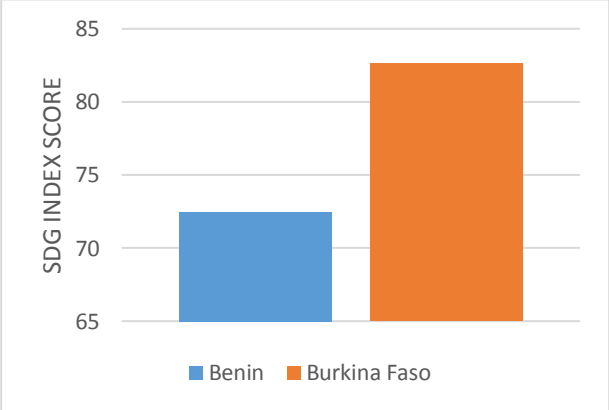
SDG 13 (Climate Action):

Figure 27: Total ODA to SDG 13 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 28:Progress toward SDG 13



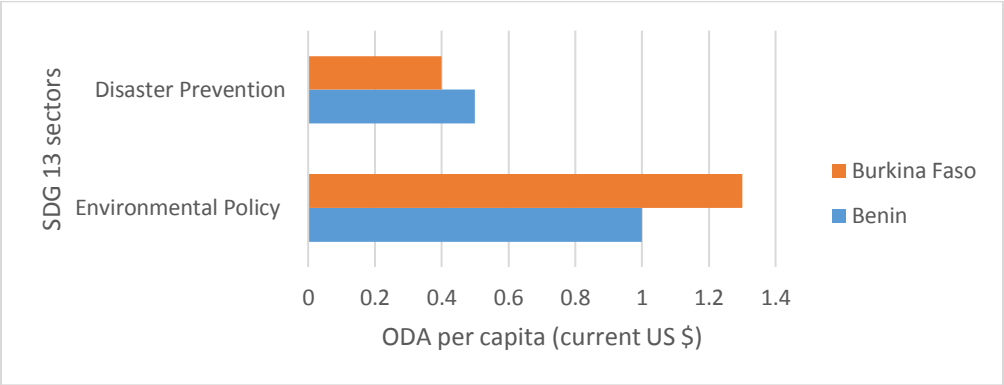
Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

The total ODA per capita that goes toward SDG 13 is different to all the other ODA per capita flows to the SDGs, in that Burkina Faso demonstrates higher ODA per capita directed toward it than Benin, as illustrated in figure 27[164]. However, the difference is extremely small in the ODA

[162] Thorsten Beck and Asli Demirguc-Kunt, "Small and medium-size enterprises: Access to finance as a growth constraint," *Journal of Banking & Finance* 30, no.1 (2006): 2932.
[163] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *PROMOTING ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INNOVATIVE SMEs IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY*
[164] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics"

per capita. Correspondingly, in contrast with the other SDGs, Burkina Faso scores much higher on SDG 13 progress than Benin, as shown in figure 28[165].

Figure 29: Distribution of ODA to SDG 13 (2013-2015)



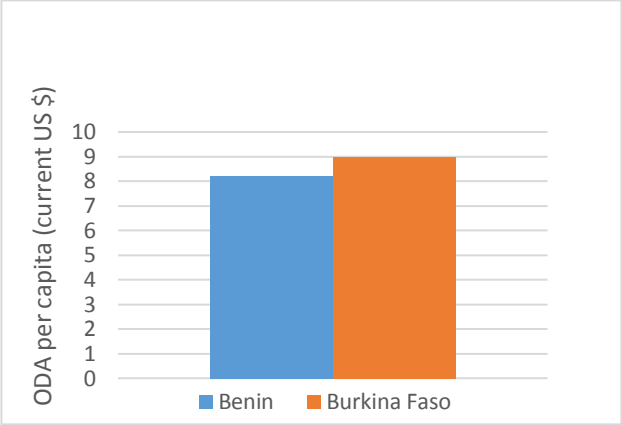
Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

When analyzing the data on the ODA per capita distribution toward SDG 13, it becomes apparent that the largest difference is in the higher amount of ODA per capita given to environmental policy in Burkina Faso as demonstrated in figure 29[166]. Environmental policy provides the regulatory framework that is needed for climate action, enabling policy in renewable energy, emission reduction policies and sustainable consumption and production, all of which contributes to holding the global average temperature well below 2°C and increasing the ability to adapt to climate change impacts [167]. Thus, Burkina Faso's increased funds toward environmental policy due to the amount of ODA per capita directed toward it can greatly increase its progress toward SDG 13. However, as noted in the measuring progress chapter, a big reason for the difference in progress is due to Benin's higher energy emissions, which means that Benin's higher electrification rate may explain its higher emissions. Thus, although increased funds toward enabling environmental policy in Burkina Faso may indeed stimulate progress on SDG 13, it is also likely that the lack of electrification is a big determinant of its lower emissions, which also affects the SDG 13 scoring positively.

[165] Sustainable Development Network Solutions.
[166] Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics.
[167] United Nations, "Paris Agreement," 5 March 2017, http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/l09r01.pdf

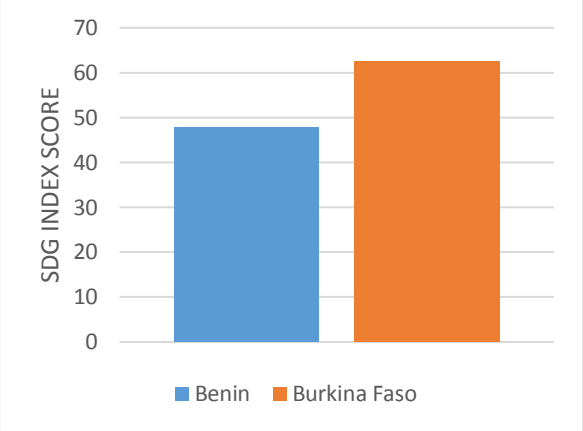
SDG 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions):

Figure 30: Total ODA to SDG 16 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 31:Progress toward SDG 16



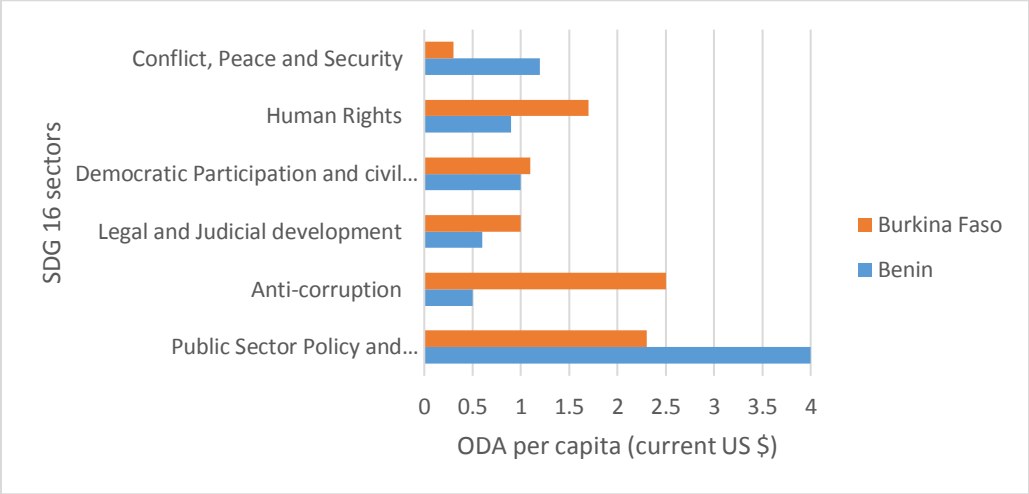
*Source:*Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

Similarly to SDG 13, total ODA per capita that goes toward SDG 16 is different than the other ODA per capita flows to the SDGs, in that Burkina Faso demonstrates higher ODA per capita directed toward it than Benin, as illustrated in figure 30 [168]. However, once again the difference is extremely small in the ODA per capita. Likewise, unlike the other SDGs, Burkina Faso scores much higher on SDG 13 progress than Benin, as shown in figure 31 [169].

[168] "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics", *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.*

[169] Sustainable Development Network Solutions.

Figure 32: Distribution of ODA to SDG 16 (2013-2015)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015.

Figure 32 illustrates the distribution of ODA toward SDG 16 sectors [170]. Interestingly, there seems to be a relation to the indicators shown in the measuring progress chapter, whereby the reason for Burkina Faso's higher score is mainly due to its higher score on control of corruption and regulatory quality. On the other hand, although Benin's overall score is lower than Burkina Faso, it does have higher political stability and an absence of violence. Benin's higher amount of ODA toward Conflict, Peace and Security allows for more funding toward peace keeping, military personal, and increasing the capacity of the police force which may be a reason for it scoring higher on that particular indicator. On the other hand, Burkina Faso has directed more far more ODA than Benin toward anti-corruption, which means there are more funds available to increase the capacity of anti-corruption institutions, which may be a reason for its higher scoring on that particular indicator. Furthermore, the same may apply as to why Burkina Faso has scored higher on its regulatory quality, as it has more ODA directed toward it.

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[170] *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development* "Query Wizard for International Development Statistics" *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.*

In sum, the development policies of aid donors have emphasized human development as an aim of aid. Moreover, countries such as Benin and Burkina Faso are particularly dependent on this aid since they have lower GDP, structural issues, and have suffered from shocks. Thus, ODA provides increased funding which can increase governments' capacity to increase human development. At first glance, the total ODA per capita between 2013 to 2015 does not seem to correspond with human development outcomes by means of using the SDGs as a measurement. However, when examining the ODA flows to each SDG and the distribution within each SDG there seems to some correlation with SDG progress and subsequently human development and ODA. Benin had a greater amount of ODA per capita to SDG 2 and also scored higher on SDG 2 than Burkina Faso. The distribution of the ODA highlights that Benin's increased funds toward food security programmes and agricultural development and financial services due to ODA allows for greater capacity in increasing food security and decreasing stunting. Thus, the increased ODA can contribute to higher progress toward SDG 2, for which Burkina Faso had scored lower due to food insecurity and stunting. It was found that on SDG 4, Benin had scored better but has also dedicated more of total government expenditure toward education. Benin's higher amount of ODA toward education also increases its funds available to progress the indicators of SDG 4. In addition, Burkina Faso's lack of progress and lower amount of funds available toward SDG 4 is also linked to ODA in that it had lost five major donors of education in the past five years.

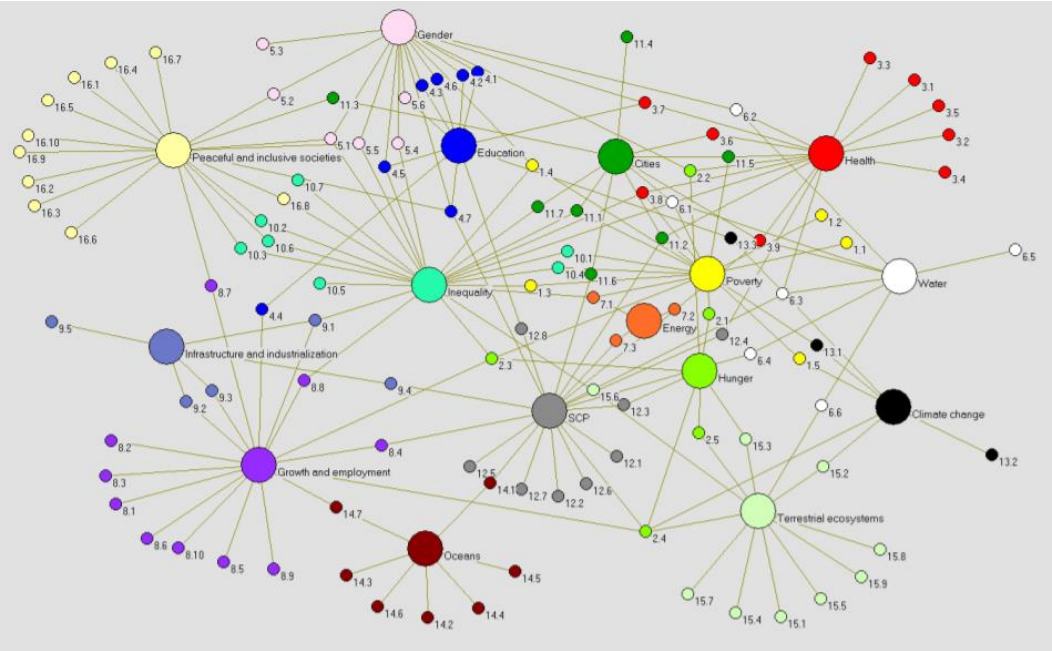
On SDG 7, it was highlighted that Burkina Faso's lower amount of ODA toward transmission and distribution does not seem to be a big determinant of its lower progress. This is due to the fact that it has a much higher rural population than Benin, meaning that transmission and distribution of power through the national grid is more costly, cumbersome and that instead off-grid solutions may be far more suitable for Burkina Faso. Thus, a more crucial factor that correlates with Burkina Faso's lower scoring on SDG 7 is the lower amount of ODA toward renewable energy generation which means there is less financial capacity for the necessary off-grid solutions. On the other hand, Benin has almost a 50/50 split between its rural and urban population which means that an increased emphasis on the national grid can in fact increase progress in the electrification of urban areas. In addition, Benin's higher amount of ODA per capita toward renewable energy generation may allow it to service its rural population better with off-grid solutions. Benin's higher ODA

toward SDG 8 and SME development and business support services has been noted to have a positive impact on progress on SDG 8 as the increased financial capacity given by ODA can remove barriers and promote SME development which in turn contributes to economic growth and employment.

Burkina Faso had slightly more ODA directed toward SDG 13 and 16 than Benin and had higher progress on these SDGs. It was noted that Burkina Faso's higher ODA toward environmental policy may indeed promote progress on SDG 13 as it allows for more financial capacity to develop and implement policies that mitigate climate change. However, the emissions of Benin's energy sector were the main determinant for its lower scoring, which highlights that Burkina Faso's lower electrification may be a key determinant of its lower energy emissions and thus a cause for its seemingly higher progress on SDG 13. Lastly, SDG 16 showed a strong correlation to the amount of ODA directed toward its indicators. Burkina Faso scored higher on the SDG due to its higher score on control of corruption and regulatory quality, both of which are factors for which it has had a significantly higher amount of ODA directed toward in comparison with Benin. Moreover, although Benin scored lower in SDG 16, it scored higher on the political stability and absence of violence indicator of SDG 16. This factor relates to the fact that Benin directed more ODA toward conflict, peace, and security which allows for more funding toward peace keeping, military personnel, and the increased capacity of the police force, which increases political stability.Thus, in answering the questions " To which extent does ODA correlate to human development progress?" and " Can any found correlations be justified by data?", the research suggests that there is strong correlation between ODA and human development which is justified by the ODA per capita flows to each SDG and the distribution thereof.

CHAPTER FIVE: SYNERGIES

Figure 33: The SDGs as a network of targets



Source: Le Blanc, 4.

Figure 33 displays the SDGs as a network, in which they are all linked to each other [171]. This is due to the fact that the SDGs were designed to be integrated at different levels and across the sustainable development pillars. Similar to the human capability approach, the SDGs suggest that the political, social, environmental, and economic dimensions of development are interconnected and interdependent. Subsequently, the SDGs should be viewed as an "indivisible whole" due to the various interactions between the goals [172]. This is due to the fact that for the most part, goals and targets of the SDGs are mutually supporting, thus in order to achieve one of the goals, other interrelated goals need to be addressed simultaneously.

[171] David Le Blanc, *Towards integration at last? The sustainable development goals as a network of targets* (New York: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015), 4.
[172] Måns Nilsson et al., *A draft framework for understanding SDG interactions (*Paris: International Council for Science, 2016), 1.

It is argued that countries such as Benin and Burkina Faso are burdened with significant budgetary constraints and are thus likely to prioritize certain goals over others, which could lead to low performance on 'non-prioritized' goals which, due to the interrelated nature of the SDGs, would negatively impact progress toward other goals[173]. Thus,this chapter aims to answer the questions " What nexus issues can be drawn from the SDG results?" and "How do these nexus correlate to human development progress?". The synergies that are reviewed in this section have been selected based on the available literature on nexus approaches in the SDGs and based on the nexus that can be extrapolated from the progress toward SDGs in both countries. Furthermore, this chapter aims to draw attention to the need for an integrative approach in both policy and financing of the SDGs in order to ensure well rounded progress toward the 2030 Agenda.

Unemployment, child labor, and education Nexus:

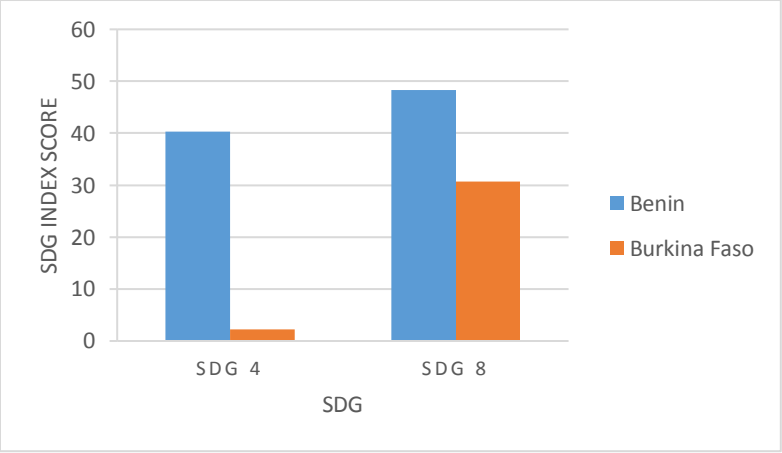
In this paper, child labor is defined according to the ILO's Minimum Age Convention in 1973 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child which sets the minimum age of employment as 15 years old, or 14 in instances where educational facilities are underdeveloped, and further highlights that said work should be light, unharmful to the child, and should not negatively affect school attendance[174] . The definition of child labor further includes household chores that are hard, time intensive and/or harmful to the child, and hinder school attendance and/or productivity.

Economic hardships, child labor, and educational progress have been shown to have a causal relationship with each other. An educational system that does not sufficiently support students who require additional attention or tuition may make children who are demotivated and deterred by education due to inferior performance prime candidates for entry into labor [175]. In addition, child labor may hinder progress in education by negatively affecting school attendance and time spent studying[176] . It can also take away "idle" time that is meant for recreational activities which

[173] Ibid., 1.
[174] Elizabeth Gibbons, Friedrich Huebler and Edilberto Loaiza, *Child Labour, Education and the Principle of Non-Discrimination* (New York: United Nations Children's Fund, 2003), 1.
[175] Peter Dorman, *Child labour, education and unemployment: A review of the literature* (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 2008), 3.
[176] Ibid., 4.

negatively impacts children's development and education. On the other hand, education can lead to higher earning opportunities and productivity, thus positively affecting household income and quality of employment. With regards to economic hardships, evidence suggests that a key determinant of both education and child labor is household income and the state of the economy. With regards to household income, data has shown that children that are from the poorest quantile of a population tend to have lower school attendance and a higher likelihood of partaking in child labor whereas children in the richest quantile of a population tend to have higher school attendance and a lower probability of early entry into the labor force [177]. However, children in the richest quantile were still likely to enter the labor force early when there was a lack of quality, affordable, safe, and non-discriminatory schooling. This highlights the vital role a country's economy plays in both education and child labor, since both employment and the availability of affordable and quality education is highly dependent on it.

Figure 34: SDG 4 & 8 Synergies



Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

Figure 34 shows the synergy between SDG 4 and 8 in terms of Benin and Burkina Faso[178] . As may be noted, Burkina Faso has a lower score in both SDG 4 and 8 whereas Benin has a higher score in both SDGs. In addition, as noted in the SDGI measurements and indicators, child labor and a lower amount of expected years of schooling in Burkina Faso were the main determinants of its lower score in comparison to Benin. According to the nexus approach, these results highlight

[177] Gibbons et al., *Child Labour, Education and the Principle of Non-Discrimination,* 11.
[178] Sustainable Development Solutions Network

that Benin's higher progress in SDG 4 may be attributed to its higher progress on SDG 8 which allows for greater household income and affordable, quality, and safe educational facilities. In turn, progress toward SDG 4 promotes decent work and economic growth, thus reinforcing the positive progress toward SDG 8. On the other hand, Burkina Faso's extremely poor performance on SDG 8, which has been noted to be in part due to high amounts of child labor, hinders progress toward SDG 4, which further hinders income opportunities and reinforces child labor practices. Thus, by creating coherent and integrated policy which acknowledges the synergies between SDG 4 and 8 greater human development progress can be achieved whereas failure to incorporate the nexus into policy and/or financial management may be a barrier to human development progress in terms of education, income and decent work.

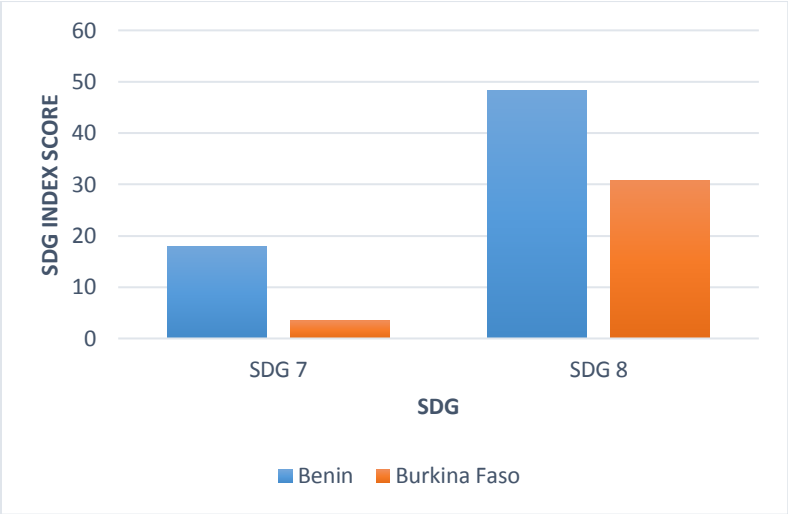
Energy and Economic Growth Nexus:

The energy and economic growth nexus argues that there is a bidirectional relationship between Gross Domestic Product and energy[179]. The process of industrialization that is undertaken by developing countries requires exhaustive use of energy and resources. A lack of energy can be a "limiting factor to economic growth." [180] In addition, energy poverty leads to basic needs being unmet and depressed economic opportunities. Moreover, energy is a vital catalyst for the rural economic activity which is vital for many developing countries' economic growth [181]. Furthermore, fossil fuels are finite and they have a negative impact on both the environment and climate change[182] . Due to this fact, there has been increasing evidence that renewable energy is able to meet the growing energy demands, spur development, reduce CO2 emissions, and ensure sustainability. On the other hand, an increase in GDP may affect energy as well since as household incomes increase there are more options to spend additional income on modern technology and appliances[183]. An increase in GDP further affects energy due to the diminishing marginal

[179] Renuka Mahadevan and John Asafu-Adjaye, "Energy consumption, economic growth and prices: A reassessment using panel VECM for developed and developing countries, " *Energy Policy* 35, no.1 (2007):2486.
[180] Lester Hunt, Richard Pierse and Jaruwan Chontanawat, "Does energy consumption cause economic growth?: Evidence from a systematic study of over 100 countries," *Journal of Policy Modelling* 30, no. 1 (2008):225.
[181] Christian Casillas and Daniel Kammen, "The Energy-Poverty-Climate Nexus," *SCIENCE* 330, no.1 (2010):1181.
[182] Sharif Hossain, "Panel estimation for CO2 emissions, energy consumption, economic growth, trade openness and urbanization of newly industrialized countries," *Energy Policy* 39, no. 1(2011):6991.
[183] Mahadevan and Asafu-Adjaye, *Energy consumption, economic growth and prices,* 2486.

propensity to emit (MPE) CO2 as economies develop[184] . Moreover, with energy positively contributing to growth, growth can also improve energy by investing in new and innovative technologies which are renewable and more efficient.

Figure 35: SDG 7 & 8 Synergies



Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

Figure 35 shows the relationship between SDG 7 and 8 in terms of Benin and Burkina Faso[185] . Burkina Faso has a significantly lower score in both SDG 7 and 8 whereas Benin has a higher score in both SDGs. In addition, as noted in the SDGI measurements and indicators, Burkina Faso lags behind on SDG 7 mainly due to its tremendous energy access deficit. According to the nexus approach, these results highlights that Benin's higher progress toward SDG 8 may be attributed to its higher progress toward SDG 7 which allows for greater production, industrialization, rural economic activities, and employment opportunities. In turn, progress toward SDG 8 leads to diminishing marginal propensity to emit (MPE) CO2 as economies develop, which means that it positively affects SDG 7 in terms of renewable energy. Moreover, it should be noted that greater GDP allows for higher energy investments, particularly in off-grid solutions which greatly increases rural development. On the other hand, Burkina Faso's lack of progress toward SDG 7 has accordingly negatively affected its progress toward SDG 8, since without energy production, economic development and rural development cannot progress. As a result of poor electrification

[184] Hossain, 6991.
[185] Sustainable Development Solutions Network.

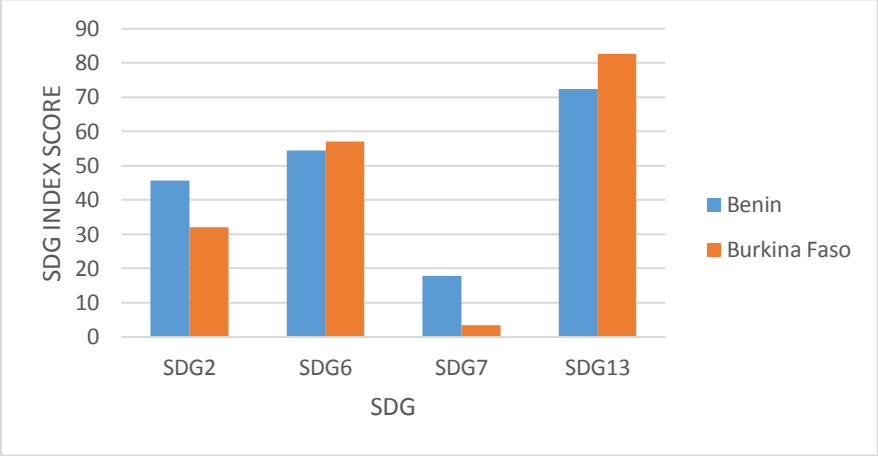
and its negative relationship to SDG 8, there is also less government expenditure to further invest in greater electrification rates. Thus, by acknowledging the synergy between energy and economic growth and incorporating it into policy and financial frameworks, countries can achieve higher human development progress. Contrariwise, the failure in policy or finance in tackling the two SDGs in an integrative manner can pose to be a barrier to human development progress in terms of energy, economic growth and employment.

Food, Water, Climate Change, and Energy Nexus:

The food, water, and energy nexus has recently become a central theme for progress toward SDG 2. The agricultural sector accounts for about 70% of the world's consumptive use[186], whereas agriculture accounts for about 30% of the global energy consumption[187]. Water is needed for irrigation, whereas substantial energy inputs are needed for the extraction, purifying, and distribution of water as well as for farm operations and fertilizers [188]. Climate change is connected with an increase in droughts and floods. Increased temperatures are anticipated to have a negative impact on crop production and thus a severe impact on food security[189]. Additionally, it is expected that climate change will reduce surface and groundwater resources that are needed to sustain and improve the agricultural sector[190]. Once again, meeting the SDG 7 target is vital to food security in that the shift toward renewable energy sources can greatly reduce CO2 emissions and subsequently mitigate climate change. Due to the intricate link between energy, water, and climate change to food, the lacking in one or both of the input factors (water and energy) or climate change vulnerability can significantly threaten food security.

[186] Richard Lawford et al., "Basin perspectives on the Water–Energy–Food Security Nexus," *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability* 5, no. 1 (2013): 609.
[187] International Renewable Energy Agency, *RENEWABLE ENERGY IN THE WATER, ENERGY & FOOD NEXUS* (Abu Dhabi: IRENA, 2015), 26.
[188] Golam Rasul and Bikash Sharma, "The nexus approach to water–energy–food security: an option for adaptation to climate change," *Climate Policy* 16, no.6 (2016): 687.
[189] Abdul Haris, B. P. Bhatt and Vandna Chhabra, "Climate change and food security," *in Status of Agricultural Development in Eastern India*, ed. Bhatt, B.P. et al. (Patnapp: ICAR Research Complex for Eastern Region, 2012), 52.
[190] International Renewable Energy Agency, *RENEWABLE ENERGY IN THE WATER, ENERGY & FOOD NEXUS*, 24.

Figure 36: SDG 7 & 8 Synergies



Source: Sustainable Development Solutions Network, 2017.

Figure 36 highlights the difference in progress in food, water, energy and climate change [191]. Although there is a slight difference in SDG 6 performance, in this instance a lack of progress toward SDG 6 does not seem to be significant enough to have caused the drastic difference in the performance of SDG 2. On the other hand, Burkina Faso has scored higher on SDG 13 than Benin yet still holds much lower progress toward SDG 2. However, as noted in the contextual chapter, Burkina Faso has suffered from severe desertification due to climate change which may have long lasting impacts on food production due to a loss of land. Based on the progress toward the SDGs, the most obvious nexus is between Burkina Faso's significantly lower score on SDG 7 and on SDG 2. This highlights a lack of vital energy inputs for the agri-chain which hinders farm operations, transport and the processing of finished food products, fertilizing, innovation, and the use of new agricultural technologies among others. On the other hand, Benin does not show significantly higher progress toward SDG 6 and it has a lower score on SDG 13 but a significantly higher score for SDG 2 and 7, highlighting the positive synergy between SDG 2 and 7. Thus, by focusing policy and financial flows to energy and food in an integrative manner can lead to higher human development. This is equally the case for SDG 6 and 13, however, it is not reflected in the case study. Contrariwise, obstacles in policy or financial management which do not approach SDG 2 and 7 in an integrated manner may lead to lower human development progress.

[191] Sustainable Development Solutions Network

In summary, due to the interlinkages of SDGs and the dependence of certain SDGs on other SDGs, a lack of progress toward one SDG can hinder progress toward another; or contrariwise, progress toward one SDG can stimulate progress toward another. Although there are many more nexus present in the SDGs, three stand out when comparing Benin and Burkina Faso. The nexus between unemployment, child labor, and education negative synergy is when unemployment drives child labor, which in turn hinders school attendance. The positive synergy that is within the nexus is when education increases income and employment opportunities which lessens the chances of child labor and increases household income, while also allowing for more government income which can then be spent on providing affordable, quality, and safe education. With regards to Burkina Faso, the negative synergy between unemployment, child labor, and education is highlighted, which may explain the low progress toward SDG 4 and 8, whereas in Benin, there is positive synergy between these factors which may explain the higher progress on SDG 4 and 8. Economic growth and energy has been noted as another relevant nexus to the case study, whereby economic growth requires energy inputs and growth allows for more income to be spent on modern technologies which requires more energy and may improve the energy sector with new research and innovative technologies. This seems to be the case for Benin based on the SDG results, on the other hand Burkina Faso's lack of progress on SDG 8 may be due to its lack of energy which is required for a productive economy. Lastly, the food, water, energy, and climate change nexus is relevant to the case study. Food is dependent on both water and energy inputs and climate change has a direct impact on the necessary inputs and thus can hinder food security. A lack in either inputs has a negative impact on food security as well, whereas an increase in these inputs can have a positive impact on the agri-chain. With regards to this nexus, SDG 6 does not seem to play an important role with Benin and Burkina Faso since the progress on the SDG is not significantly different. On the other hand, Burkina Faso, which scores lower on SDG 2, has a higher score on SDG 13 than Benin, which makes the impact of climate change on SDG 2 in this particular case questionable. However, Burkina Faso has suffered from desertification due to climate change which may have long lasting impacts on food production due to the loss of land, which the SDGI does not capture. Most importantly for this nexus is the difference in progress toward SDG 7, which shows that Burkina Faso lacks the required energy inputs for the agri-chain which can severely hinder food security. In contrast, Benin's higher score on SDG 7 may explain its higher

score on SDG2 since it has more vital energy that can be used in the agri-chain. The chapter aimed to answer the questions " What nexus issues can be drawn from the SDG results?" and "How do these nexus correlate to human development progress?". It was found that three nexus are prevalent in the SDG progress results. Additionally, it was found that poor results in any one of the SDGs in the nexus linked to poor results on all the interrelated SDGs as well. On the other hand, greater results in any one of the SDGs in the nexus linked to better results on all interrelated SDGs as well. However, although the literature suggests significant synergies between SDG 2,6,7 and 13, the case study had not displayed these synergies completely.

CONCLUSION:

The paper has selected human development as the theoretical framework since it combines the strengths of the neoliberal, basic needs and sustainable development approach whilst avoiding the major issues the mentioned approaches has encountered. In addition, the human capability approach provides a robust view on development which is in line with the people centered development that has come to dominate development thinking. The SDGI was used as a proxy to measure human development. This was done by creating the analytical links between the sustainable development and human development approach. Although the SDGs have only been adopted in 2015, data could be taken from 2013-2015 due to the continuity of the MDGs and measurements of the SDGs. The paper has argued that policy, ODA and synergies across the SDGs are the variables which either drive human development or hinder it. Thus, these have been selected as the independent variables and human development has been selected as the dependent variable. Benin and Burkina Faso were selected as the case study for analysis based on Most Similar Systems Design.

The paper used the SDGI in chapter two to highlight that the SDGs 2 , 4, 7 , 8 , 13 and 16 were selected for further analysis due to the gap of 10 percent or more in progress between Benin and Burkina Faso. The chapter further emphasized the importance of each SDG for human development and the indicators which have affected the two countries scores. Burkina Faso scored lower on SDG 2 due to its inability to tackle the prevalence of undernourishment and wasting. Burkina Faso scored lower on SDG 4 due to its low net primary school enrolment and expected years of schooling. Both countries did not score high on SDG 7 but Burkina Faso much lower than Benin. This is mainly due to a lack of energy access. Burkina Faso scored lower on SDG 8 due to its higher levels of child labour, a lower growth rate and higher unemployment than Benin. Burkina Faso scored higher than Benin on SDG 13 due to its lower CO2 emissions. Benin scored lower than Burkina Faso on SDG 16 due to the lack of control of corruption, the regulatory quality and rule of law.

Policy is the first independent variable which was analyzed in chapter three. Policy is an important factor to analyze in terms of human development since it creates the enabling conditions for human development across the social, economic, environmental and political dimensions. It allows states to clearly define guidelines, rights, duties and rules for effective implementation of the SDGs. Furthermore, an enabling policy or regulatory framework helps states to mobilize investment which expands progress on each SDG and subsequently on human development. Indicators were selected based on the existing literature of enabling frameworks for each SDG, these were then measured with the RISE methodology and a traffic light system. The chapter aimed to answer the question "To which extent has policy differences in Benin and Burkina Faso contributed to the difference in human development progress?". The research suggested that there is a correlating or causal relationship between the regulatory framework and human development for certain SDGs. On SDG 2, overall both countries had the necessary policies in place and neither a bottleneck in the policy framework nor the financial mechanisms seem likely to have been the causal factor in the difference in progress on SDG 2 . However, the difference in the regulatory scores for disaster risk management may have attributed to Benin's higher performance and Burkina Faso's lower performance on SDG 2, by building resilience to climate related agricultural shocks. On SDG 4, there was no policy bottleneck which caused Burkina Faso's lower progress. However, it is unclear whether the existence of the educational policies have caused greater progress than without them. On SDG 7, the electrification framework in both countries is not likely to have impacted the variance in progress on SDG 7. However, Benin's stronger mini-grid framework may be a determinant in its higher electrification rate, its higher progress on SDG 7 and subsequently on human development in terms of energy. Additionally, Benin has greater financial mechanisms and consumer affordability which makes investment in off-grid systems more attractive in Benin and allows greater energy access to consumers. On SDG 8, both countries have a strong overall policy framework to enable SDG 8. However, Burkina Faso has scored lower on child protection mechanisms due to a lack of international agreements on child labour and trafficking. This may be correlated to its lower SDG 8 scoring which was low due to child labour and unemployment. Overall both countries were in the green light zone for SDG 13. In addition, with regards to the existence of a policy framework and appropriate funding on SDG 13 the two countries are equal . Thus, it is unlikely that a climate change adaption policy framework or funding framework for climate change has had an impact on progress on SDG 13. However, implementation measures

may have caused Benin's lower score. The policy score on a renewable energy framework under SDG 7 also has an impact on the SDG 13 progress of the two countries in that it creates an enabling environment in Burkina Faso for renewables which reduces CO2 emissions. However, it should also be noted that Burkina Faso has lower electrification which has a significant impact on its CO 2 emissions as well. The regulatory framework surrounding the rule of law in both countries are equal on SDG 16 . Thus, it is unlikely to have had an impact on Benin's lower progress on SDG 16. However, the lower regulatory score on anti-corruption and accountability measures strongly correlates with Benin's lower score on SDG 16 . However, it is recommended that further and more extensive research on the relationship between policy and human development be conducted and that the champion organizations of each SDG should develop an appropriate tool such as RISE to measure the policy framework. This will allow for greater academic analysis of each SDGs regulatory framework, comparison between countries and may signify potential investors of high impact countries on each SDG.

Chapter four analyzed ODA. It is argued that countries such as Benin and Burkina Faso with low GDP, that have been affected by shocks and that have had issues with development because of structural reasons are particularly aid dependent. This highlights the importance of aid in implementing the SDGs which enhance human capabilities. The chapter aimed to answer the questions "To which extent does ODA correlate to human development progress?" and "Can any found correlations be justified by data?". The research suggested that there is strong correlation between ODA and human development which is justified by the ODA per capita flows to each SDG and the distribution thereof. Benin had a greater amount of ODA per capita to SDG 2 and also scored higher on SDG 2 than Burkina Faso. The distribution of the ODA highlights that Benin's increased funds toward food security programmes and agricultural development and financial services due to ODA allows for greater capacity in increasing food security and decreasing stunting. It was found that Benin's higher amount of ODA toward education also increases its funds available to progress on SDG 4. In addition, Burkina Faso's lack of progress and lower amount of funds available toward SDG 4 is linked to ODA in that it had lost five major donors for education in the past five years. On SDG 7, Burkina Faso had a lower amount of ODA towards renewable energy generation, which means there is less financial capacity for the needed

off-grid solutions. This limits its ability to provide energy access to its majority rural population. On the other hand, Benin has greater ODA towards grid connectivity which progresses the electrification of urban areas. In addition, Benin's higher amount of ODA per capita towards renewable energy generation may allow it to service its rural population better with off-grid solutions. Benin's higher ODA toward SDG 8 and SME development and business support services has been noted to have a positive impact on progress on SDG 8 . The increased financial capacity given by ODA can remove barriers and promote SME development which in turn contributes to economic growth and employment. Burkina Faso had slightly more ODA directed toward SDG 13 and 16 than Benin and had higher progress on these SDGs. It was noted that Burkina Faso's higher ODA towards environmental policy may indeed promote progress on SDG 13 as it allows for more financial capacity to develop and implement policies that mitigate climate change. However, the emissions of Benin's energy sector were the main determinant for its lower scoring which highlights that Burkina Faso's lower electrification may be a key determinant of its lower energy emissions and thus a cause for its seemingly higher progress on SDG 13. Lastly, SDG 16 showed a strong correlation to the amount of ODA directed toward its indicators. Burkina Faso had scored higher on the SDG due to its higher score on control of corruption and regulatory quality, both of which are factors it has had a significantly higher amount of ODA directed toward in comparison with Benin. The strong link between ODA and human development highlights the need for donors to perform appropriate SDG mapping in recipient countries in order to identify financing gaps and to better distribute ODA for human and sustainable development.

Chapter five analyzed the correlation between SDG synergies and lower human development. The SDGs should be viewed as an "indivisible whole" due to the various interactions between the goals. This is due to the fact that for the most part goals and targets of the SDGs are mutually supporting, thus in order to achieve one of the goals, other interrelated goals need to be addressed simultaneously. It is argued that countries such as Benin and Burkina Faso are burdened with significant budgetary constraints and are thus likely to prioritize certain goals over others which could lead to low performance on 'non-prioritized' goals which due to the interrelated nature of the SDGs would negatively impact progress on other goals. The chapter aimed to answer the questions " What nexus issues can be drawn from the SDG results?" and "How do these nexus correlate to human development progress?". It was found that three nexus are prevalent in the SDG

progress results. Namely, the nexus between unemployment, child labor and education, economic growth and energy and food, water, energy and climate. It was found that poor results in any one of the SDGs in the nexus linked to poor results on all the interrelated SDGs. On the other hand, greater results in any one of the SDGs in the nexus linked to better results on all interrelated SDGs as well. Burkina Faso displayed negative synergies between unemployment, child labor and education, which correlated strongly to its low progress on SDG 4 and 8. Whereas in Benin, the positive synergy between these factors existed which correlates to the higher progress on SDG 4 and 8. Benin displayed positive synergy between energy and economic growth in which its higher progress on SDG 7 strongly correlates with its higher progress on SDG 8. On the other hand Burkina Faso's lack of progress on SDG 8 correlates to its lack of energy which is required for a productive economy. SDG 6 did not seem to play an important role with Benin and Burkina Faso in the food, water, energy and climate change nexus since the progress on the SDG is not significantly different. On the other hand Burkina Faso which scores lower on SDG 2 has a higher score on SDG 13 than Benin, which makes the impact of climate change on SDG 2 in this particular case questionable. However, Burkina Faso has suffered from desertification due to climate change which may have long lasting impacts on food production due to the loss of land which the SDGI does not capture. Most importantly with this nexus is the difference in progress on SDG 7, which shows that Burkina Faso lacks the required energy inputs for the agri-chain which can severely hinder food security. Whereas, Benin's higher score on SDG 7 may explain its higher score on SDG2 since it has more vital energy that can be used in the agri-chain. Based on the results it is recommended that further research be directed toward SDG nexus in order for policy makers to enact coherent policy in an integrative and effective manner.

Overall the paper aimed at answering the question "What are the main drivers and barriers of human development?". It has found that policy can in certain cases be a driver for human development and policy bottlenecks in certain instances can be a barrier to human development. ODA has been found to be a great driver for human development and a lack thereof may be a barrier. Lastly, the paper has found that the synergies between SDGs can be a driver or barrier of human development based on whether it is a positive or negative synergy. This largely relates to the need for a coherent and integrated approach to human development.

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Annex 1:

REGULATORY SCORING:

SDG 2-Benin		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of national food security strategy	100	"Projet de Sécurité Alimentaire par l'Intensification Agricole (PSAIA)," *Coalition for African Rice Development.*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of agricultural development plan	100	"Plan d'Investissement Agricole 2010 – 2015," *Ministere De L'Agriculture De L'Elevage Et De La Peche.*
Sub-indicator three: Existence of livestock development plan	100	
Indicator Two: Financial Support	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of agricultural investment plan	100	"Plan d'Investissement Agricole 2010 – 2015," *Ministere De L'Agriculture De L'Elevage Et De La Peche.*
Sub-indicator two: Income generating activities	100	
Indicator Three: Existence of disaster risk management plans	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of disaster risk management and prevention strategy	100	INONDATION AU BéNIN - Rapport d'évaluation des Besoins Post Catastrophe," World Bank
Sub-indicator two: Provisions for flood control	100	
Sub-indicator three: Drought Protocols	100	
Sub-indicator four: Sufficient disaster risk management capacity	100	
Sub-indicator five: mention of nutrition and food security	100	
Total Score	**100%**	

SDG 2-Burkina Faso		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of national food security strategy	100	"Politiquenationaledesécuritéalimentaireetnutritionnelle," *Ministère De l'Agriculture Et Des Aménagements Hydrauliques Du Burkina Faso.*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of agricultural development plan	100	"Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)-Burkina Faso," *New Partnership for Africa's Development.*
Sub-indicator three: Existence of livestock development plan	100	"PLAN D'ACTIONS ET PROGRAMME D'INVESTISSEMENTS DU SECTEUR DE L'ÉLEVAGE AU BURKINA FASO DIAGNOSTIC, AXES D'INTERVENTION ET PROGRAMMES PRIORITAIRESVERSION FINALE ,"*Ministere Des Ressources Animales.*
Indicator Two: Financial Support	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of agricultural investment plan	100	"CADRE D'ACTION POUR L'INVESTISSEMENT AGRICOLE AU BURKINA FASODOCUMENT PROVISOIRE POUR

		ATELIER DE RESTITUTIONPOUR USAGE OFFICIEL UNIQUEMENTMARS 2011 ," *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.*
Sub-indicator two: Income generating activities	100	
Indicator Three: Existence of disaster risk management plans	**70%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of disaster risk management and prevention strategy	100	"PORTANT LOI D'ORIENTATION RELATIVE A LA PREVENTION ET A LA GESTION DES RISQUES, DES CRISES HUMANITAIRES ET DES CATASTROPHES," *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.*
Sub-indicator two: Provisions for flood control	100	
Sub-indicator three: Drought Protocols	100	
Sub-indicator four: Sufficient disaster risk management capacity	50	"Renforcement des capacités nationales de gestion de catastrophes et relèvement de crises," *United Nations Development Programme.*
Sub-indicator five: mention of nutrition and food security	100	
Total Score	**90%**	

SDG 4-Benin		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of Education Sector Policy	100	"Plan sectoriel de l'éducation 2013-2015. Benin," *Global Partnership for Education.*
Sub-indicator two: Regularly updated	100	
Sub-indicator three: Does plan deal with all levels of education	100	
Indicator Two: Financial Support	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Are there external resources (budget support, loans and grants) available	100	"Plan sectoriel de l'éducation 2013-2015. Benin," *Global Partnership for Education.*
Sub-indicator two: Free access to education	100	"La situation de l'éducation au Bénin," *Teranga.*
Total Score	**100%**	

SDG 4-Burkina Faso		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of Education Sector Policy	100	"Plan sectoriel de l'éducation 2012-2021. Burkina Faso," *Global Partnership for Education.*
Sub-indicator two: Regularly updated	100	
Sub-indicator three: Does plan deal with all levels of education	100	
Indicator Two: Financial Support	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Are there external resources (budget support, loans and grants) available	100	"Plan sectoriel de l'éducation 2012-2021. Burkina Faso," *Global Partnership for Education.*
Sub-indicator two: Free access to education	100	Kouraogo, Pierre and Dianda,Amboise, "Education in Burkina Faso at Horizon 2025.
Total Score	**100%**	

SDG 8-Benin		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of Labour Law	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Freedom of association, collective bargaining and industrial relations	100	"Benin," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator two: Elimination of forced labour	100	
Sub-indicator three: Equality of opportunity and treatment	100	
Sub-indicator four: Existence of labour administration	100	
Sub-indicator five: Employment policy, promotion of employment and employment services	100	
Sub-indicator six: Employment security and termination of employment regulations	100	
Sub-Indicator seven: Existence of Social security (general standards)	100	
Indicator Two: Child Protection Mechanisms	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of mechanisms for the protection of children from forced labour and slavery	100	"Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports Benin," *United States Department of Labor.*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of regional and bilateral agreements to combat child labour and traficking	100	"Benin," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator three: Ratification of Minimum Age Convention, 1973	100	"Benin," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator four: Ratification of Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999	100	"Benin," *International Labour Organization.*
Indicator Three: Financial Support	**33%**	
Sub-indicator one: Is there access to finance for small and medium scale businesses.	0	
Sub-indicator two: Existence of national development plan	100	"Bénin : Le processus d'élaboration du Plan National de Développement 2018 – 2025 lancé,"*United Nations Development Programme.*
Sub-indicator three: Funding to mechanisms for protection of children at national and local government levels	0	"Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports Benin," *United States Department of Labor.*
Total Score	**77%**	

SDG 8-Burkina Faso		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of Labour Law	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Freedom of association, collective bargaining and industrial relations	100	"Burkina Faso," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator two: Elimination of forced labour	100	
Sub-indicator three: Equality of opportunity and treatment	100	

Sub-indicator four: Existence of labour administration	100	
Sub-indicator five: Employment policy, promotion of employment and employment services	100	
Sub-indicator six: Employment security and termination of employment regulations	100	
Sub-Indicator seven: Existence of Social security (general standards)	100	
Indicator Two: Child Protection Mechanisms	**75%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of mechanisms for the protection of children from forced labour and slavery	100	"Burkina Faso," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of regional and bilateral agreements to combat child labour and traficking	0	
Sub-indicator three: Ratification of Minimum Age Convention, 1973	100	"Burkina Faso," *International Labour Organization.*
Sub-indicator four: Ratification of Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999	100	
Indicator Three: Financial Support	**66%**	
Sub-indicator one: Is there access to finance for small and medium scale businesses.	0	
Sub-indicator two: Existence of national development plan	100	"National Plan for Economic and social development (PNDES) 2016-2020,"*PNDES.*
Sub-indicator three: Funding to mechanisms for protection of children at national and local government levels	100	"Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports Burkina Faso," *United States Department of Labor.*
Total Score	**75%**	

SDG 13-Benin		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of national policy on sustainable development	100	"Bénin : Le processus d'élaboration du Plan National de Développement 2018 – 2025 lancé,"*United Nations Development Programme*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of climate change adaptation measures	100	"PROGRAMME D'ACTION NATIONAL D'ADAPTATION AUX CHANGEMENTS CLIMATIQUES DU BENIN (PANA-BENIN)MINISTERE DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT ET DE LA PROTECTION DE LA NATURE (MEPN) REPUBLIQUE DU BENIN," *Clearing House Mechanism of Benin.*
Sub-indicator three: Ratified Paris Agreement	100	"Paris Agreement - Status of Ratification," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*.
Indicator Two: Appropriate implementation measures	**75%**	
Sub-indicator one: Set CO2 emission limit	100	"Bénin : le dossier de ratification de l'Accord de Paris sur les changements climatiques remis au Parlement,"*French China Org*.

Sub-indicator two: Entity responsible for implementation	100	Ministry of Environment
Sub-indicator three: Functional early warning systems in place	0	
Sub-indicator four: Existence of a climate change monitoring and data collection mechanism	100	"CONTRIBUTIONS PREVUES DETERMINEES AU NIVEAU NATIONAL," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.*
Indicator three: Appropriate climate funding framework	**50%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of climate funding institution	100	"CONTRIBUTIONS PREVUES DETERMINEES AU NIVEAU NATIONAL," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*
Sub-indicator two: Sufficient climate finance secured through aid or investment	0	"CONTRIBUTIONS PREVUES DETERMINEES AU NIVEAU NATIONAL," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.*
Total Score	**75%**	

SDG 13-Burkina Faso		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Existence of policy framework	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of national policy on sustainable development	100	"National Plan for Economic and social development (PNDES) 2016-2020,"*PNDES.*
Sub-indicator two: Existence of climate change adaptation measures	100	"BURKINA FASO NATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION PLAN (NAP)," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.*
Sub-indicator three: Ratified Paris Agreement	100	"Paris Agreement - Status of Ratification," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.*
Indicator Two: Appropriate implementation measures	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Set CO2 emission limit	100	"Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) in Burkina Faso," *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.*
Sub-indicator two: Entity responsible for implementation	100	"LOCAL DEVELOPMENT,INSTITUTIONS and CLIMATE CHANGE in BURKINA FASO," *World Bank.*
Sub-indicator three: Functional early warning systems in place	100	"Burkina Faso," *Climate Change Adaption.*
Sub-indicator four: Existence of a climate change monitoring and data collection mechanism	100	"Burkina Faso," *Climate Change Adaption.*
Indicator three: Appropriate climate funding framework	50%	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of climate funding institution	100	"Burkina Faso," *Climate Change Adaption.*
Sub-indicator two: Sufficient climate finance secured through aid or investment	0	
Total Score	**83%**	

SDG 16-Benin		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**

Indicator One: Rule of law	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Separation of power between the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary.	100	"Constitution de la République du Bénin du 11 décembre 1990," *Organisation Internationale De La Francophonie.*
Sub-indicator two: Democratic rule of law	100	
Sub-indicator three: Constitutional court highest authority	100	
Indicator two: Accountability and anti-corruption measures	**40%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of mechanisms for public sector accountability	100	"Le front des Organisations Nationales contre la Corruption au Bénin," *Gouvernance en Afrique.*
Sub-indicator two: Public annual reports	0	
Sub-indicator three: Public financial statements	0	
Sub-indicator four: Reporting mechanisms	0	
Sub-indicator five :Anti-corruption institution	100	"Le front des Organisations Nationales contre la Corruption au Bénin," *Gouvernance en Afrique.*
Total Score	**70%**	

SDG 16-Burkina Faso		
Policy Measure	**Score**	**Reference**
Indicator One: Rule of law	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Separation of power between the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary.	100	"Burkina Faso's Constitution of1991 with Amendments through 2012," *Constitute Project.*
Sub-indicator two: Democratic rule of law	100	
Sub-indicator three: Constitutional court highest authority	100	
Indicator two: Accountability and anti-corruption measures	**100%**	
Sub-indicator one: Existence of mechanisms for public sector accountability	100	"Burkina Faso adopts two anti-corruption laws," *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.*
Sub-indicator two: Public annual reports	100	
Sub-indicator three: Public financial statements	100	"Evaluation of Public Financial Management Reform in Burkina Faso, 2001–2010," *Organisation for Economic* Co-operation and Development.
Sub-indicator four: Reporting mechanisms	100	
Sub-indicator five :Anti-corruption institution	100	"Burkina Faso," *Anti-Corruption Authorities*.
Total Score	**100%**	

PLEDGE OF HONESTY:

The pledge of honesty shall read: On my honour as a student of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.