RESILIÊNCIA EM PAÍSES FRÁGEIS

Uma investigação exploratória em curso

Carlos Sangreman

Apresentação

Esta investigação começou em 2017 quando o diretor de uma direção de serviços do Joint Research Center, na ECAS em Genebra, convidou o Prof. Carlos Sangreman para um estudo exploratório sobre a resiliência na Guiné-Bissau com o título Context specific risk perception and resilience patterns for individuals and communities (urban/non-urban) – the case of people in Guinea-Bissau.

A parceria entre o JRC e o Cesa envolveu ainda o Prof. Alexandre Abreu e a Mestre Jessica Santos, além do Carlos Sangreman. Da parte do JRC estiveram Chistophe Quétel, Guy Bourdin et Ilektra Lemi.

Realizou-se um inquérito em todas as regiões e capital do país a 210 famílias, com um piloto prévio a 36 para aperfeiçoar o questionário nessa parceria: projeto Enquêtes de terrain sur la perception du risque et la résilience des ménages en Guinée-Bissau Projet: Ares(2018)2381703 - 04/05/2018. Centre Commun de Recherche (JRC) de la Commission Européenne, Direction E, e o CESA-Centro de Estudos sobre África e Desenvolvimento da Universidade de Lisboa.

Este trabalho deu origem a um Relatório final, mas não teve continuação no JRC.

O debate teórico na equipa deu origem a um artigo publicado no Journal of Human Development and Capabilities A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development.

Em 2022 Carlos Sangreman propôs à mestre Deolinda Martins da Universidade de Aveiro que se candidatasse a doutoramento utilizando com dados base os recolhidos para esta investigação.

Essa candidatura foi aceite e o doutoramento em Economia está em curso na Universidade do Minho.

Da elaboração do Plano de tese de doutoramento nasceu o texto que foi publicado no site Academia como working paper não revisto por pares e sujeito a comentários. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/362327032_Individual_Resilience_-causes_and_effects_in_a_relationship_with_Fragile_States_Guinea-Bissau_a_case_study

Este WP do CESA destina-se a divulgar este processo de investigação, os seus instrumentos de recolha de dados e as reflexões editadas até ao momento presente.

Note-se que este questionário apela a uma capacidade de abstração que foi difícil de obter de inquiridos escolhidos aleatoriamente. Não se pediram factos ou opiniões sobre factos passados. Pediu-se para cada pessoa imaginar situações futuras (familiares, sociais e políticas) e reportar qual pensava que seria o seu comportamento perante essas situações hipotéticas. Por isso se fez um inquérito piloto com tempo para perceber quais seriam as alterações necessárias.

Lisboa, setembro 2022

Working Paper

CEsA is a research Centre that belongs to CSG/Research in Social Sciences and Management that is hosted by the Lisbon School of Economics and Management of the University of Lisbon an institution dedicated to teaching and research founded in 1911. In 2015, CSG was object of the international evaluation process of R&D units carried out by the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research and technology (FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology) having been ranked as "Excellent". Founded in 1983, it is a private institution without lucrative purposes, whose research team is composed of ISEG faculty, full-time research fellows and faculty from other higher education institutions. It is dedicated to the study of economic, social and cultural development in developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, although it places particular emphasis on the study of African Portuguese-speaking countries, China and Pacific Asia, as well as Brazil and other Mercosur countries. Additionally, CEsA also promotes research on any other theoretical or applied topic in development studies, including globalization and economic integration, in other regions generally or across several regions. From a methodological point of view, CEsA has always sought to foster a multidisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of development, and a permanent interconnection between the theoretical and applied aspects of research. Besides, the centre pays particular attention to the organization and expansion of research supporting bibliographic resources, the acquisition of databases and publication exchange with other research centres.

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Individual Resilience - causes and effects in a relationship with Fragile States? Guinea-Bissau, a case study.

Carlos Sangreman & Deolinda Martins

ABSTRACT

Starting from the assumption that it is necessary to encourage the state-building process in fragile countries, how can the individual resilience help to stop the fragility of these same countries? Knowing how individuals deal with uncertainty, situations of insecurity and disruption can lead to political decisions that are more aware and concerning of the real needs?

For this purpose, the case of Guinea-Bissau was analyzed, considered as one of the most fragile countries in the world, applying some questionnaire surveys in some areas of Bissau. From these surveys we understood that people are very poor and rely on the family and informal network to solve day-to-day situations as well as the most disruptive ones.

The replies received allow us to have a better perception of the reality of Guineans, but also lead us to the imperative pathway of conducting new research and deeper approaches in the sense that when this method is applied on a larger scale, we can find the causes and effects of resilience in the state-building?

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INTRODUCTION

The State must assume itself as the guarantor of the country's security to eliminate/minimize conflict situations, it must be a guardian of the Law and it must also have the ability to collect revenue. These survival functions embody the concept of "State-building" (DFID, 2008) and which, when well developed, allow greater involvement of society and strengthening of the State (James C Scott cited by DFID, 2008:9).

However, for DFID (2008:4) the idea of State-building should be seen as an internal process resulting from the relations between the State and society shaped by local dynamics (DFID; 2008:4). A dynamic that is expected through a greater focus on the relations between the State and its populations.

Thus, the idea arises that development programs must be adjusted to people's needs and expectations and that for this purpose it is necessary to understand these same expectations, risks and the ability to manage them in their daily lives (OECD quoted by Quétel, et al., 2021:2).

With this purpose in mind that it is imperative to determine whether resilience can be an explanatory variable for the concept of state-building, i.e., as one more link in promoting the strengthening between the State and societies, a new approach to exit fragility situations?

RESILIENCE – A NEW IDEA OR AN OLD WISDOM

The approach to this theme of resilience dates back to the 17th century, but it is in the 20th century that it extrapolates to the domain of social sciences. (Cyrulnik, 2021; Bush & Roubinov, 2021). Although with specific approaches by the disciplines that study this phenomenon, the main meeting point is in the certainty that resilience is the ability to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt, recover and transform a given process after it has collapsed/failed (UNDRR 2016 in Quétel et al, 2021; Ungar, 2021), namely, the ability to successfully adapt to challenges that threaten the function, survival or development of the system (Masten, 2021:116). It should be noted that the idea that resilience is not a characteristic that arises naturally in a given system is unanimous,

but rather a process in constant change and interconnected with various realities and complex systems (USAID, 2017; Roubinov & Bush; Masten; 2021; Alessa & Kliskey, 2021).

When we focus this discussion on the area of Economics, we see that economic resilience is associated with actions taken by policymakers and private economic agents that allow a country to resist or recover from the negative effects of shocks, the economy's ability to cope, recover and rebuild (Briguglio et al, 2008). Economic resilience as a necessary and complementary condition for economic growth, according to Brunnermeier, cited by Pisani-Ferry (2021).

This economic resilience can be analyzed at a more macro level, analyzing a country, or at a more micro level, that is, focused on the household level and their ability to withstand shocks over time through savings, the ability to share risks among families through social protection.

The relevance of focusing the analysis at the microeconomic level is due to the fact that the consequences are felt differently depending on the financial/social situation of each family and if the objective of the evaluation is to observe the impacts on well-being, highlight just only in economic aggregates can be misleading, so it is this individual/family resilience that is defined as the ability of an economy and society to minimize household welfare losses to a certain level of aggregate consumption losses (Hallegatte, 2004: 22).

Family resilience, which resides in the fact that the family, as a whole, is able to transcend adversity, involves the personal and relational transformation potential and positive growth that can be created from adversity, based on the conviction that all families have the potential to build resilience in dealing with their challenges (Walsh, 2021:256).

Resilience implies a holistic approach between individuals and their context, so it must be observed across several domains, that is, the intrinsic characteristics of individuals and their interaction when inserted in the community, the moment in which adversity occurs and the time required for its development (Cefai, 2021; Schoon, 2021).

According to Béné (2017:4) in the field of food security and development, the focus is essentially on the domestic domain and on the community, with some negligence regarding the individual, a level that he considers to be more frequently considered to avoid losing the ability to capture local heterogeneity, highlighting its relevance and representativeness, as measuring only at the

household level for some indicators (as is often done in resilience analysis) can introduce some biases and obscure certain intra-family resilience dynamics.

STATE-BUILDING

For John Stuart Mill, "...the State has the role of ensuring education and health services...", "...interfering in the lives of citizens to prevent them from harm the others..." (Galvão, 2021: 20 a 23).

This concept that the State should interfere to avoid "damage" and promote happiness, defended in the 19th century by some philosophers, has been discussed and protected until the present day by several scholars from different social areas, namely with regard to the Economic Development and more specifically within the scope of International Cooperation, "increasingly, human rights, human security and human development are concepts directly linked to the capacity of the State" (Ferreira, 2014:79).

For Zartman, the State fails when legitimate power, law and political order fall and there is a need to rebuild them (Ferreira, 2014), for DFID (2008) the survival functions that should be guaranteed to achieve the idea of State-building, are:

• Country security to eliminate/minimize conflict situations;

• Ability to collect revenue (tax revenue);

• To apply the law.

The idea of State-building goes beyond the need to create strong state institutions, with the financial capacity and the delivery of goods/services by the State, it is based on a greater focus as well as how it relates to society (Steer 2007, in Brabant, 2010).

Therefore, State-building is nothing more than an internal process resulting from the relations between the State and society (it should be noted that the OECD places special emphasis on all parts of the community) shaped by local dynamics (DFID; 2008:4), and the strengthening of this

relationship depends on the effectiveness and efficiency of these survival functions (James C Scott cited by DFID, 2008:9).

For the OECD (2008) the State-building process will lead to more resilient States and more capable of absorbing the shocks they may be subject to.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Located in West Africa and with a history strongly marked by Portuguese colonization, it was the first country to proclaim its independence and in 1974 it was recognized internationally, namely by Portugal, as the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, with Bissau being its capital. (World Bank, UNIOGBIS, 2022).

Considered one of the smallest countries in Africa, with around 1.9 million inhabitants, it is "...a country composed of multiple social identities that intersect and overlap" (Sangreman, et al, 2016:24), which justifies the existence of several dialects beyond the official Portuguese language, namely Crioulo, Balanta, Mandingo, Fula, Manjaco, Papel, Mancanha (UNIOGBIS, 2022).

Guinea Profile	1990	2000	2010	2020
Population, total (millions)	0.98	1.2	1.52	1.97
Population growth (annual %)	2.2	2	2.6	2.4
Surface area (sq. km) (thousands)	36.1	36.1	36.1	36.1
Densidade Populacional (pessoas/Km2)	34.7	42.7	54.1	70
Urban population growth (annual %)	7.3	3.1	3.6	3.4
Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	47	50	55	58
Fertility rate, total (births per woman)	6.6	5.8	5	4.4
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)	136	130	113	102
Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000 live births)	222	174	115	77

Source: World Bank (2022)

Strongly marked by constant political instability, Guinea-Bissau is noted by the World Bank as "one of the countries more leaning to political instability in the world", given that, between 1998 and 1999, it was the scene of a civil war and several coups d'état, especially the coup d'état of 2012

The repeated weaknesses led Guinea-Bissau to be classified, according to the World Bank, as one of the poorest and most fragile countries in the world, considering that extreme poverty is one of the highest in the world, "most of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are out of reach for Guinea-Bissau, (World Bank, 2022).

Its fragility associated with the pandemic crisis, felt more strongly in 2020 and 2021, caused the country's economy to contract by 1.4% compared to the real GDP growth of 4.5% in 2019; the increase in inflation of 1.5, total government expenditure increased to around 26% of GDP in 2020 from 19% in 2019 to 25.8% in 2020, as a result, public debt reached 79.3%.

Recognized as a State in a Situation of fragility it is important to highlight that, in light of the dimensions of fragility described above, that Guinea-Bissau represents a greater risk of fragility in the following dimensions:

Fragility Dimension	Risk of Fragility
Economic	Very fragile
Environmental	Severe Fragility
Politics	Very fragile
Safety	Fragile
Society	Very fragile

i. The individual resilience in Guinea-Bissau

The difficult task of knowing the individual resilience of guineans was initially addressed, in an experimental phase, in 2019, based on a questionnaire survey applied in some regions of Bissau.
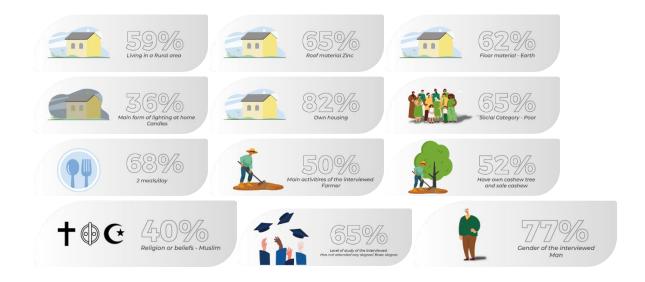
As preliminary survey results, and although there is a great dispersion of information, we can say that the majority of respondents:

59% Living in a Rural area	**65%** Roof material Zinc	**62%** Floor material - Earth
36% Main form of lighting at home Candles	**82%** Own housing	**65%** Social Category - Poor
68% 2 meals/day	**50%** Main activitires of the interviewed Farmer	**52%** Have own cashew tree and sale cashew
40% Religion or beliefs - Muslim	**65%** Level of study of the interviewed Has not attended any degree/ Basic degree	**77%** Gender of the interviewed Man

Respondents' reactions to some situations:

· Most respondents live in rural areas and do not consider leaving the place where they live;

· See themselves as very poor;

· If they lose their house, rebuild it with the help of family and friends;

· Do not participate in collectivities;

· Faced with a scenario of political instability, they would not do anything;

· In case the head of the family could not support it, they would sell the goods;

· In case the children's teacher leaves school due to lack of working conditions, they will question the local authorities;

· In case of robberies in the neighborhood, they participate in defense actions and in case of theft of high-value goods, they turn to the police;

· In case of being unfairly accused, they will resort to a trusted court;

· In case of great difficulties to support the family, they would not resort to illegal actions;

· In case of serious illness in the family, they go to the doctor;

· They believe that more centers and health provide a better quality of life for the family;

· The biggest problem for families is the lack of water and the biggest threat is health.

CONCLUSION

The European Commission (2016:5) draws attention to the fact that "Fragility and Resilience as shifting points along a spectrum", this resilience to the daily risks of individual and collective life, which is considered as an added value of States, institutions, communities and people, is still a poorly studied and known field to be a shaping component of the economic, social and cultural policies of societies in fragile countries (MacLeman, et al, 2017).

Thus, with greater awareness that growth and economic development strategies must be thought and defined taking into account the real needs and specificities of communities so that through these realities more adjusted and profitable political decisions can be taken.

Considering, also, the scarcity of studies on how family/individual resilience and that this can be a guiding channel for the promotion of economic growth and development, it is intended to understand if with a focus on knowledge and support for individual/family resilience the fragility of states decreases, i.e., is there a cause/effect relationship between resilience and fragility of states?

Our ongoing research will try to build an instrument for the analysis of resilience and fragility with a generic formulation of:

$Y = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + B_3 X_3 + ... + \beta_k X_k L$, where:

- Y is the Sate-building function";
- X1;2;3...k = Explanatory variables;
- B1,2,3...k = Regression coefficients.

Where we can observe quantitative variables from surveys and qualitative variables resulting from analyzes from other sources. This modeling path is yet to be explored and if we want to use data obtained directly from randomly chosen citizens and not from restricted groups. But it is the path we have chosen and on which we will work.

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Attachments

Table 1 - Characterization of respondents

Statistical Information	Average	Median	standard deviation
Urban (1) /Rural (2)	1.59	2	0.49
Number meals/day the last week	1.68	2	0.47
Roof material - Straw(1)/Zinc (2)	1.65	2	0.48
Floor material - earth (1)/semi-earth (2)/cement (3)	1.47	1	0.89
Candles (1) /Oil/Petrol(2)/Solar Panels (3)/generator(4)	3.34	3	2.27
Social Category - Poor (1)/Less poor(2)	1.35	1	0.48
Range Number of adult men >18 anos	2.46	2	1.81
Range Number of adult women >18 anos	2.63	2	1.68
Range Number of persons 7-17 years	2.39	2	1.64
Number of persons <7	2.03	2	1.57
Total number of persons in this household	9.51	8	5.00
How many people attend school aged < 17 years?	2.72	2	1.95

How many are in a public school?	1.81	1	1.91
How many are in a private school?	0.45	0	1.05
How many are in a self-managed school?	0.39	0	1.04
How many are in a religious school?	0.23	0	0.83
Gender of the interviewed -Man (1)/Women (2)	1.23	1	0.42
Age of the interviewed	50.34	52	11.23
Main activities of the interviewed - Farmer (1) until horticulturist (78)	21.57	1	26.37
Level of study of the interviewed -Has not attended any degree (0) until university level (6)	1.41	1	1.44
Religion or beliefs - Muslim (1)/Christian (2)/Catholic Roman (3)/Protestant (4)/Animist (5)	2.82	3	1.70
Own housing(1)/Ceded (2)/Rented (3)	1.27	1	0.63
Have cows - Yes (1) /No (2)	1.84	2	0.41
Have own cashew trees - Yes (1)/No (2)	1.47	1	0.53

Cashew sale - Yes (1) /No (2)	1.47	1	0.52
Anyone in a family sell vegetables - Yes (1)/No (2)	1.73	2	0.49
Anyone in a family sell fish - Yes (1)/No (2)	1.92	2	0.43

Table 2 - How to react in disruptive everyday situations

Statistical Information	Average	Median	Standard Deviation
Perception of lifes' quality [0-10]	2.91	3	1.78
Faced with Political Instability-Leaving the country alone(1)/leaving the country with the family(2)/taking the children out of the country(3)/doing nothing(4)	3.43	4	0.94
In case of serious illness Head of the Family - Take the children out of school and put them to work(1)/Place the children withteh family (2)/Sell the goods(3)/A relative take care of the family (4)	3.17	3	1.01
Teacher's departure due to lack of salary - Would give money or food so that parents of students can pay his/her salary;(1)/ If it is a public school, I would ask the authorities and expect them to solve the problem (2)/ Would put the children in a private school (3)	1.84	2	0.85
In case of violence/robberies in the neighborhood - Moves to another location(1)/participates in defense actions(2)/complains to the police(3)/searches for weapons to defend the family(4)	2.56	2	0.72
In case of losing the house - Rebuilds with the help of neighbors(1)/lives in the same place without rebuilding(2)/moves to another location(3)	1.13	1	0.51
Police Charge as a Drug Dealer -Goes to CAJ(1)/Goes to court with confidence(2)/Goes to court with limited confidence(3)/Defends to traditional authorities(4)/Changes location(5)	2.03	2	1.13

No resources to support the family - Accepts transporting drugs(1)/Becomes a robber(2)/Organizes clandestine games(3)/works for someone powerful(4)/Did none of these things(%)	4.47	5	1.01
Priority action in the face of a serious illness in the family - Going to the doctor(1)/Looking for traditional medicine(2)/Recourse to ceremonies and rituals(3)	1.09	1	0.37
Action in the event of theft of a valuable asset (example: livestock) - Going to the police(1)/traditional authority(2)/courts(3)/self(4)	1.31	1	0.65
What is the best proposal to improve the family's life (Most important solution)- Insurance against losses(1) production support(2)/loans(3)/that ideas are heard(4)/More health centers(5) /better education system(6)/better justice(7)/putting non-burning material on the roof(8)	4.31	5	1.94
What is the best proposal to improve the family (Less important solution) - Insurance against losses(1) production support(2)/loans(3)/that ideas are heard(4)/More health centers(5)/better education system(6)/better justice(7)/putting non-burning material on the roof(8)	6.08	6	2.80
The biggest problem for the family - Loneliness(1)/Water(2)/Electricity(3)/Food(4)/Access to Information(5)/Injustice(6)/Violence	2.77	2	1.44
The least relevant problem for the family - Loneliness(1)/Water(2)/Electricity(3)/Food(4)/Access to Information(5)/Injustice(6)/Violence	5.70	6	2.95
Greatest threat to the family - Health(1)/Housing(2)/Social Dishonor(3)/Exceptional negative event(4)/Problems with resources(5)	2.20	1	1.68
Biggest threat in the loss of assets (urban) - Work(1)/Vehicle(2)/Inventory of products for sale(3)/Savings(4)	4.40	4	2.14
Biggest threat in the loss of assets (rural) - Labor(1)/Land(2)/Livestock(3)/Seeds(4)/Cultures(5)/Stock(6)/Economies(7)/N.A.(9)	5.36	6	3.41
Greater concern if you were not the head of the family - Loneliness(1)/Water(2)/Electricity(3)/Food(4)/Access to Information(5)/Injustice(6)/Violence	2.73	2	1.62

Greater concern if you were not the head of the family - Assets(1)/Health(2)/Road accident(3)/Accommodation(4)/Having to migrate(5)/Social dishonor(6)/Exceptional negative event(7)	2.31	2	1.86
Participates in some community - No(1)/Yes(2)	1.36	1	0.51
Did you leave the countryside to live in the city? - No(1)/Yes(2)/N.A(3)	2.27	3	0.93
What is the opening to move to a city or large village (rural) -No(1)/Yes(2)/N.A(3)	1.95	2	0.95
Possibility of leaving the country - No(1)/Yes(2)	1.23	1	0.45
Perception of lifes' quality [0-10] - end of survey	3.19	3	1.78

On the Nature and Determinants of Poor Households' Resilience in Fragility Contexts

Christophe R. Quétel, Guy Bordin, Alexandre Abreu, Ilektra Lemi & Carlos Sangreman

ABSTRACT

Several global policy frameworks focus on managing (risks of) disasters affecting broad populations. In those frameworks resilience is a conceptualisation that possibly has important ideological implications. It is often opposed to fragility, and used to validate the notion of recurring insecurity, promote individual adaptability almost in the form of an obligation, and push the idea that crises/catastrophes are opportunities for profound changes. While effects from the COVID-19 pandemic have brought the protective role of the state to the fore, applying the word resilience to poor people requires clarification, especially in contexts of weak state public services and because assessment of complex poverty situations too often remains oversimplified and error-prone. We argue that to build capacity for resilience poor households need policies that protect and help them out of poverty, and that policymaking processes require engagement with people. Individuals must be asked about their perceptions and management of risks and threats, both in daily life and under exceptional circumstances, especially if the resulting stress factors accumulate and interact. This socially informed, place-specific, and multi-level approach could contribute substantially to identifying interventions, reducing poverty and poverty related risks, enhancing wellbeing and promoting development and cooperation programmes that meet people's expectations.

Keywords

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INTRODUCTION

This paper questions the meaning of resilience as it is applied to poor people in fragile contexts. Many policies advocate the value of resilience – in a nutshell, the ability to overcome destabilising evolutions and shocks. This is typically the case in recommendations/orientations at the global level on disaster risk mitigation and disaster management. These policy frameworks, such as the United Nations' Paris Agreement on Climate Change (UNFCC 2016), are important to poor people in fragile contexts for obvious reasons. More generally, vision statements and methodologies on development and cooperation (that have adopted resilience as one of their key tools and/or objectives) also often directly address poor people in fragile contexts. High profile examples include the Agenda 2063 and priorities of the African Union (AU 2015 and ISS 2020), the strategic approach to resilience and priorities of the European Union external action (EU 2017a, 2017b), and proposals to put social protection across the humanitarian-development nexus (European Commission, EC 2019).

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the fragility of living conditions results from 'the combination of exposure to risk and insufficient coping capacities of the state, system and/or communities to manage, absorb or mitigate those risks' (OECD 2019a). A few years ago this organisation moved from the notion of 'fragile states' to that of 'states of fragility' while introducing a five-dimensional framework for the analysis of fragility encompassing societal, political, economic, environmental, and security aspects. In fact, fragility and poverty are closely linked, and estimations are that by 2030 80% of people in extreme poverty could be living in fragile contexts (OECD 2018, 6). The g7+ association of countries experiencing fragility and/or recovering from conflicts emphasises the complexity of these situations and campaign for donor monitoring frameworks 'that are more attuned to the realities of fragile contexts and that take account of the stage of fragility a country is in' (g7+ 2013). For the OECD (2018) too, development programmes that meet people's expectations need to be built from data documenting people's perceptions of risks and people's capacities to cope, as well as the quality of life that people experience. This approach is also close to the methodology described in the European Consensus for Development adopted by the EU and its Member States in 2017.1 Concretely, however, 'this type of data on [people's] perceptions is hard to collect [in the field] and even harder to integrate into programming' (OECD 2018, 17).

In addition, it appears that while resilience plays a central role in these policies, this terminology remains the subject of intense discussions, debates, and controversies. There is no consensus on the definition: is it an outcome, a state, a property, or a process? There is not even an agreement on its relevance for human societies (cf. Manyena 2006; Fleming and Ledogar 2008; McAslan 2010; Béné et al. 2012 and 2014; Reghezza-Zitt et al. 2012; Rufat 2012; Alexander 2013; Kindra 2013; Olsson et al. 2015; Doorn 2017; Carr 2019).

Our paper discusses the meaning and the applicability of the idea of resilience to poor people, and why these need clarification, especially in contexts of weak state public services. We look at key aspects of the complexity arising from and associated with situations of fragility. We argue that policy. making processes should include engagement with those who are the targets of such initiatives through participatory approaches, and collect qualitative information on people's perceptions, experiences, and expectations regarding both daily circumstances and exceptional challenges (disasters). Based on Amartya Sen's capability approach and the more recent work of Wolff and De-Shalit (2007), we discuss how resilience could be envisaged as 'secure functionings' (ibid.) that people would have the genuine opportunity to achieve.

The following main section addresses more closely the discourse on resilience in global policies, and looks at what this may imply for the poorest and marginalised people. Examples are given to illustrate the ideological dimension of the narrative on resilience and the way in which this discourse can be detrimental to poor people (at least if efforts are not made to reduce poverty and offer protection simultaneously). This last point is examined in light of the situation created by the on-going COVID-19 pandemic. We observe that the aid and institutional support mechanisms provided in response have so far been vital to people and the integrity of societies benefiting from them. Whereas, by contrast, we also see that the millions of greatly disadvantaged people living in contexts of informal economy without income security and without adequate social protection do not have the support and financial means to adapt to the lockdowns and changes brought about by this crisis. These latter persons are in great danger of falling into extreme poverty and dead-end situations.

In the third main section we introduce our proposal for an evolution of the concept of resilience, especially as it is applied to poor people. We discuss why shaping interventions and policies in support of the most deprived populations, in both the short and long terms, calls for

understanding the importance of the historical and cultural context at the household level, and the way in which poverty (and also local knowledge, values, beliefs, and interests) shape coping behaviours and (perceived perspectives on) the quality of life.

Resilience of the Poorest and Marginalized Within the Context of Global Policies

Alexander (2013) traces the history of the term resilience back to legal texts from the beginning of the 1st century AD. In the twentieth century the term was applied to a wide range of areas, including the social sciences in the 1950s, ecology in the 1970s, disaster risk reduction (DRR) in the 2000s, and climate change adaptation from 2010 on (ibid.). In recent years international organisations and institutions managing and contributing to international cooperation and development programmes, such as those from the UN and the EU, have multiplied strategies, policies, and global treaties based on the notions of resilience, adaptability, and recovery.[2]

Considering that exposure to major crises is inevitable, many of the UN policies are linked to preventing/managing risks and recovering from disasters. UN definitions for resilience and recovery related to DRR are as follows. Resilience is 'the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt to, transform and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions through risk management' (UNDRR 2016, 22). Recovery is 'the restoring or improving of livelihoods and health, as well as economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets, systems and activities, of a disaster-affected community or society, aligning with the principles of sustainable development and 'build back better', to avoid or reduce future disaster risk' (op. cit.: 21). Several authors make analogies to ecological studies in which exposure to threats is described as a constitutive process in the development of living systems, and thus the problem is never simply how to secure oneself but how to adapt (Reid 2012; Joseph 2013). For Reid (2012), a resilient person must start by accepting the disastrous-prone nature of the world (s)he lives in as a condition for taking part in that world. Resilient persons are expected to be prepared and demonstrate flexibility and the ability to bend without breaking. They must be able to find ways proactively to pull themselves out of crises and

seise opportunities to improve or 'build back better'. As the examples below show, disasters are even seen as opportunities for profound ideological changes.

The Ideological Dimension of the Narrative on Resilience

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union resilience was considered to be a more positive qualifier than 'vulnerable' in the discourse on disasters, and started to prevail (Bankoff 2019). This evolution was also political and took place with the rise of neoliberalism. With the consequent change of the environmental and societal conditions – such as the privatisation of public services and infrastructures to enable a fully functioning market that placed many services beyond the reach of the poor –, 'it was expedient to stress what made people resilient rather than what made them vulnerable' (op. cit.: 226). Anglo-Saxons introduced resilience into the discourse, political vocabulary, and policy documents to serve as a governance tool that emphasises individual responsibility and adaptability (Joseph 2013; Joseph and Juncos 2019). The underlying logic was the opening up of new areas to 'destatification', active interventions into civil society and the institutionalisation of a rationality of competition, private enterprise and individual initiatives (ibid).

Processes that generate long lasting and large-scale destabilisation include trade liberalisation and globalisation, religious tensions, struggles for power, bad governance, protracted conflicts, pandemics, industrial accidents, ecological damage, climate change, and natural hazards. Many of these processes can and often do lead to life-threatening situations, loss of livelihoods, (increases in) poverty, or social and economic inequalities. At the same time, people obviously wish for more optimistic perspectives, such as the capability to send children to school, and to enjoy food security, proper health care, safe and fulfilling living conditions, and more opportunities in life in general. Klein (2007) provides an ample overview of how, in the context of neoliberalism, natural and man-made shocks, crises, and states of emergencies have been opportunities to implement specific policies that would otherwise (under normal circumstances) encounter popular resistance (e.g., extensive privatisation and deregulation), and re-engineer societies in line with free market principles. Through the examples of post-disaster situations in Haiti and New Orleans, Rufat (2012) examines how the notion of resilience can be used politically

and for the purpose of manipulation to circumvent the historical perspective or promote societal choices on a non-democratic basis. The author recounts that following the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti the dominant international discourse was focussed on the fatality and the obligation for Haitians to show capacity for resilience, while avoiding mention of the vulnerabilities of the island linked to two centuries of isolation by former colonialist countries. The author also explains how after hurricane Katrina the discourse on resilience was used to justify the focus of reconstruction efforts in New Orleans on creditworthy homeowners and residents, while neglecting social housing and abandoning the poorest victims to their fate (ibid.).

Resilience is not necessarily synonymous with strength or (recovered) wellness, as underlined by Witter and Hunter (2017), particularly for poor people. Béné et al. (2012, 13–14) give the example of when a 'head of a household resolves to move their family to a less expensive but also less secure part of town (where rents are lower but street crime is higher) in order to cope with the recent loss of their job. By moving to a less expensive place, they certainly increase their ability to cope with the loss of their job (what we would consider a sign of resilience), but at the detriment of some elements of the well-being of the family'. For poor or marginalised people, surviving a disaster that has taken away most or all of their property may be seen as a sign of resilience, though in the longer term it is obviously more complex than that (for instance, the case of people transferred to refugee camps where they end up living for years). Hallegatte et al. (2017, 1) point out that in the aftermath of disasters triggered by natural hazards the same financial loss will affect poor people far more than others, and argue that estimations of the economic consequences provide information on the trends and overall costs but fail to detail how disasters affect people's well-being. These authors think that efforts to reduce poverty and DRR are complementary, and that 'policies that make people more resilient—and so better able to cope with and recover from the consequences of disasters that cannot be avoided—can save $100 billion a year' (op. cit.: 2-3). The far-reaching consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on-going at the time of this writing give us an opportunity to look at the limitations of the idea of capacity for resilience in absence of institutional support, and what this means for the most vulnerable specifically.

Resilience and the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic brought to the fore the effectiveness of measures taken at the state level to address the crisis and support the population. The purpose was indeed to help people overcome problems on essential issues such as healthcare, jobs, income, food, mortgage relief, etc. The life of billions of individuals was disrupted, and many governments have found it necessary to intervene with massive funding to mitigate the impact at both health and socioeconomic levels. In the EU the 'total firepower' mobilised over a few months to address the public health crisis and 'to support workers and businesses' amounted to more than 30% of the EU's gross domestic product (EC 2020). This crisis led to political declarations from heads of states on the need to rethink Europe's political economy, with more interventionist roles for the states and the reallocation of resources towards spending that improves societal resilience (e.g., healthcare, education and social welfare) (Bergsen et al. 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has also exposed people's vulnerabilities to a great extent in countries with insufficient coping capacities and high economic informality. In ordinary times most informal workers do not have the benefit of institutional health and social protection systems, and infrastructures for basic needs (e.g., healthcare, potable water, sanitation) might be lacking or insufficient. Lockdown measures to prevent the spread of the virus have tended to exacerbate the situation socio-economically. They have led or will lead many of those making a living on a day-to-day basis to lose their livelihood, and perhaps, to eventually fall into poverty and food insecurity. According to the World Bank (WB 2020a, 2021), this pandemic could push up to 160 million people below the '$1.9 poverty line' by 2021, in addition to the approximately 590 million people already living in conditions of extreme poverty. These catastrophic figures indicate that poverty reduction remains an essential goal (and that the SDG1 will not be achieved), and show the limits to the notion of putting the onus of adaptability to crisis on individuals, and on the most vulnerable ones more particularly.

Applying the word resilience to poor people thus requires clarification, especially in contexts of weak state-provided services and protection mechanisms. This discussion might be especially relevant regarding the sub-Saharan region, where most of the population live in fragile contexts and where 90% of all poor people will be concentrated by the year 2030 (WB 2020b). In the next section, we discuss how resilience could evolve from the expectation to adapt to capacities

people can build (and turn into secure functionings) with the support of policies addressing the root causes of vulnerability (in relation to situations of e.g., poverty and insecurity).

Accounting for the Social, Economic, and Cultural Dimensions of Resilient Outcomes

The Capability Approach and the Need for More and Comparable Field Data

In a recent literature review on resilience indicators in the field of DRR, Doorn (2017) observed a lack of 'a clear sense of what equality or distributive justice should mean in the context of resilience and disaster management'. As a way forward, she elaborated on a proposal by Murphy and Gardoni (2012) to apply Amartya Sen's capability approach (doings and beings – functionings – that people have the opportunity to achieve if they wish to) to risk analysis and to the distinction between acceptable and tolerable threshold levels for risks. Doorn (2017) stressed the relationship she sees between resilience as a capacity to do something and the capability approach. Wolff and De-Shalit (2007) also introduced the dimensions of risk and security to the capability approach to examine the idea of vulnerability. In the terminology relating to DRR, vulnerability is the 'conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes which increase the susceptibility of an individual, a community, assets or systems to the impacts of hazards' (UNDRR 2016, 24). For Wolff and De-Shalit (2007), vulnerability is a consequence of being disadvantaged in a number of ways. Having the capability to achieve chosen functionings reflects the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another, while not being able to achieve a given functioning is being disadvantaged in a particular way. They describe disadvantage as a 'lack for genuine opportunities for secure functionings', in order to account for the possibility that exercising certain opportunities, depending on circumstances, may involve undue cost or risk to other functionings (ibid.).

These authors developed their reflection based upon semi-structured interviews in Israel and the UK of both disadvantaged people and people involved in forms of service delivery and support to the disadvantaged. Using as a starting point Martha Nussbaum's list of ten central human

capabilities, they found that the most disadvantaged of the society are those who experience a 'clustering' of all of the following six disadvantages: doing badly on life, on bodily health, on bodily integrity, on affiliation, on control over one's environment, and on sense, imagination, and thought (ibid.: 132). These disadvantages are so handicapping that overcoming at least some of them, and avoiding their clustering, is essential to people. Wolff and De-Shalit (2007) underline the case of those very poor for whom there is no sign that the future might be better than the present, and emphasise the 'corrosiveness' of extreme poverty when it leads to the clustering of more disadvantages (ibid.). In addition to deprivations arising from the lack of money, 'the steps taken to increase income can make things worse through exposure to risk' (op. cit.: 148), and eventually bring people into dead-end situations that preclude any form of resilience. The dismantling of collective institutions of social protection leading to a proliferation of risks in people's everyday lives, identified in studies for EU countries (Wright 2016), could also be described as a corrosive disadvantage. More examples are provided below. They illustrate how greater risk propagation and greater poverty can reinforce each other, whereby poor people living in fragile contexts are easily/chronically exposed to stressful circumstances and high risks in their struggle to survive, for themselves and people around them.

Based on the above, we suggest the following evolution of the UNDRR definition for resilience and link it to the introduction of aid and support mechanisms at the institutional level. Resilience is the ability to cope with both daily and exceptional challenges, insofar as genuine opportunities are available to achieve the necessary functionings securely. Poor and disadvantaged people need protective policies and measures at the institutional level to enable them to build their resilience capacities and hope for a more promising future. Such policies and measures must address the root causes of poverty and the lack of opportunities for these resilience-related secure functionings.

Amartya Sen's theory on individual capabilities and well-being also influenced the recommendations of the Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009), created in 2008 by the French government, on 'the measurement of economic performance and social progress'. These recommendations inspired the drafting of many of the global policies mentioned above that promote the notion of resilience. A major observation of this Commission was that assessing economic progress based on variations of the gross domestic product (GDP) was largely

insufficient, and that new indicators on the reality and the quality of people's lives, including qualitative ones, needed to be included. Nevertheless, ten years later Stiglitz, Fitoussi, and Durand (2018, 3) point out that the deficit of 'datasets and tools to examine the factors that determine outcomes for people and for the places where they live' persists, and that developing more of them is still a necessity. The same observation was made by the authors of a survey that in 2018 sought to ascertain the 'risks that matter' the most to inhabitants of 21 OECD countries (OECD 2019b). The purpose was to fill in the gaps left by results from standard household and labour force surveys and government administrative records. The main concerns indicated by the respondents were 'falling ill', 'struggling to make ends meet', and 'having enough money in old age' (ibid). The findings point to a clear sense of anxiety and dissatisfaction vis-à-vis existing social policy and protection mechanisms (ibid.). In the perception of the vast majority of people their government should do more in terms of social and economic security (ibid.; cf. also Wright 2016 and Bankoff 2019). The conclusion of this survey was also 'that listening to people matters' (op. cit.: 56).

Problems of outdated or insufficient/irrelevant statistics and knowledge on poverty, and of drawing too strongly on mathematical modelling exercises with questionable relevance, are worrying. That is the case especially for populations of sub-Saharan Africa. As was mentioned above, this region accounts for most of the poor persons in the world, even more since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Beegle et al. (2016) from the WB have underlined important problems of data deprivation and data quality on poverty in Africa (a result of misreporting and deficiencies in data processing, among other reasons), with the consequence of being unable to track poverty over time and make proper decisions on tackling poverty. Even if the same authors have more recently reported some significant progress in this matter (Beegle and Christiaensen 2019), there is a striking contradiction between these findings and the otherwise near unanimous opinion that situations of fragility require redoubled attention because of their complexity.

Hence, in the specific case of poor people with weak national public services and protection mechanisms we need to undertake fieldwork with methodologies able to address this complexity if we want to bring new insight on what people need in order to be resilient. Individuals must be asked directly about what they do and aspire to, and local interdependencies and interactions need to be examined. It is necessary to develop qualitative and contextual approaches to people's

risk perceptions and (lack of) solutions to overcome adversity and disruptions, whether under 'regular' or 'exceptional' circumstances (disasters). Doing so would help to better assess what drives the choices made by individuals and groups, and what needs to be done at the policy level to develop/increase social protection and societal resilience, and to help people find solutions and maintain/improve their livelihoods. This knowledge is also necessary to identify historical patterns of marginalisation, how people became precarious to begin with, and what needs to be done to make governments more accountable (Gladfelter 2018).

Jones (2019a) is a recent example of a how-to guide for eliciting people's self-evaluations of their resilience to hazards, using quantitative questions and with a focus on climate extremes and disasters. Our proposal, centred on the poorest people living in fragile contexts, similarly seeks to underscore the importance of the subjective perspective of individuals and households on their situation, and argues in favour of adopting a multi-level approach to understand how both daily and exceptional challenges are dealt with, and whether (and how) stress factors accumulate and interact.

The Need to Collect Qualitative Information

'Voices of the poor', the first large-scale international study on 'the views, experiences, and aspirations' of poor people, was conducted using 'participatory and qualitative research methods' (Narayan et al. 2000). While there were problems with the methodology (e.g., the short duration of the study, the training of the surveyors, and other challenges more specific to the different countries of the project), an important conclusion was the possibility given to poor people to present 'very directly [...] the realities of their lives' (ibid.). That is also an important objective of our proposal – to open up new perspectives on the concept and operational understanding of the driving forces of resilience (see also Jones 2019a, 2019b). We see a need to collect information qualitatively through semi-structured interviews, and quantitatively through surveys at the various levels of society (individual, household, community). Many factors at the personal and societal levels play a central role in people's ability, or lack thereof, to not only manage daily problems, but also withstand disasters when they occur, and to the extent possible, recover from them. These include cultural frameworks, historical backgrounds, local experiences, values,

beliefs, interests and perspectives, economic priorities and the social reality of economic production, power relations, and social connections.

As an example, investigating in the field the practice of DRR also illustrates the importance of taking the indigenous/local knowledge into account and of questioning the reasons why external stakeholders tend to dismiss it in their discourses and initiatives. Balay-As, Marlowe, and Gaillard (2018, 18–19) provide an overview of cases in which 'this differentiation disenfranchises indigenous knowledge, with scientific knowledge often preferred as the rational, objective and highly advanced response to disasters'. This disconnect is based on the assumption that only the combination of scientific knowledge and technological solutions, essentially of Western origin, has the capacity to tackle the complexity of disasters, framed as extraordinary events. The same authors give the example of typhoon early warning systems in Northern Philippines, whereby 'indigenous peoples' strategies for DRR are shaped by both indigenous and scientific knowledge and approaches' if potential issues of power that may arise from integrating these two forms of knowledge are recognised and responded to (ibid.). The rediscovery of the importance of mangroves in the daily livelihoods of local populations and as buffers against storm surges and tsunamis through attenuation of the strength of the waves (Romanach et al. 2018, 72) is also exemplary. Dahdouh-Guebasn et al. (2005) investigated the situation in Sri Lanka one month after the Indian Ocean tsunami that killed over a quarter million people and left millions homeless. The authors relate their findings to interviews of residents of the Indian subcontinent undertaken a few years earlier, showing that there was already a clear local understanding of the increased vulnerability to cyclones and floods due to the alteration/conversion of mangroves (e.g., to shrimp farms). Their post-tsunami investigation confirmed that mangrove areas that were relatively unaltered provided effective mitigation of the damage inflicted on the coastal zone by the tsunami (ibid.: R444). Thus, as part of the policy-making process, engaging with people and integrating local and scientific knowledge is a promising path (Bankoff 2015; Balay-As, Marlowe, and Gaillard 2018; Casey Makondo and Thomas 2018; Parsons et al. 2019).

The Role of Local Drivers, Culture, and the Imperative of Survival in Risk Perception and Risk Propagation

The authors of the World Disasters Report 2014 remind us that 'culture is highly complex and encompasses beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours' (IFRC&RCS 2014, 13). They explain very eloquently the importance of understanding 'how people put values on different aspects of their lives, assign priorities and find ways of living that enable them to live with hazards' (op. cit.: 17). This point applies across the world, including in the Western/Northern countries. For instance, the role of religion is far greater in the USA than in many European countries. At the same time, the USA are also characterised by a strong faith in technologies, which it is presumed will protect them and solve problems. More examples of cultural justifications for decisions that other peoples would find unacceptable or incomprehensible, based on other rationales, are presented in IFRC&RCS (2014, Chapter 2).

More generally, religious beliefs, cultural schemes, and the imperative of (economic) survival can be seen as powerful means of resistance to adversity, despite the lack of Wolff and De-Shalit's (2007) 'genuine opportunities for secure functionings'. These beliefs and schemes allow people to deal with problems of cognitive dissonance, for example, i.e., clashes between contradictory ideas, risk perceptions and beliefs, or information that constitute(s) a source of mental discomfort. Take the case of people who decide to return to a dangerous area after a disaster in order to secure their livelihoods and remain connected with ancestral behaviours (e.g., populations returning to the nearby environs of a volcano following an eruption). Benin's black market for petrol (Cessou 2016) is another case in point, whereby nearly 80 per cent of all fuel consumed in Benin is illegally refined oil from Nigeria –also an illustration of the corrosive character of poverty. Smuggling is performed on motorbikes by people carrying dozens of litres of gasoline in multiple drums, through major cities, clearly involving a high risk of explosion. The danger exists not only for the drivers but also for all of those in the vicinity (Corso 2017). Approximately 200 000 informal petrol vendors are willing to accept the risks associated with the roadside peddling of between 1 000 and 1 500 litres every week, earning nearly three times the income of a civil servant (Cessou 2016). People are aware of the risks they take, of course. However, they decide to cope mentally and live with these dangers, or to overlook them and avoid 'the stress of the dissonance' (IFRC&RCS 2014, 81).

In such cases, outsiders (such as 'experts' from international organisations) may conclude that people do not appear to learn from past disasters, whereas in reality, 'much more significance

needs to be given to factors that are not [scientific] knowledge-related' (op. cit.: 24). Intra-group social relationships, power structures between individuals and groups, and/or the unequal allocation of risk between different groups are other possible explanations for seemingly non-rational and counter-intuitive behaviour (ibid.). Johnson, Wahl, and Thomalla (2016) warn against international organisations adopting a technocratic approach to risk assessment and resilience related matters, informed solely by scientific knowledge. It is worth recalling that 'no one is 'immune' from culture', including international organisations and their staff, who run the risk of regarding themselves as unbiased and non-cultural, 'failing to recognize that their own culture has influenced their understanding of risk and framed their current modus operandi' (op. cit.: 3). Accounting for these fundamental dimensions in the shaping of a field survey will then help to limit the cultural bias that would otherwise most likely affect the results.

Conclusions

Throughout this paper we have looked at a number of features and patterns that are commonly found among international and governmental organisations and places of power regarding the concept/term of resilience when applied to human beings and their social settings. We have noted that resilience is often used to produce narratives underpinning policies linked to preventing/managing risks and recovering from disasters. While the emphasis is most often put on individual adaptability and the capacity to rebound, we have instead highlighted the importance of social structures and public mechanisms in supporting resilience capabilities, not only under exceptional circumstances but also in daily life. In this respect, the sophisticated universal social protection arrangements based on redistribution processes introduced in many advanced economies during the twentieth Century (Polanyi 1944), certainly remain as examples of some of the most powerful means of resilience.

The goal of fighting against poverty brings to the fore the meaning of resilience in the case of poor people living under fragile conditions. One of the main points of this paper is that resilience remains a valuable conceptual and operational framework on the condition that it is not

understood and mobilised as an obligation but as capacities that people can build and turn into sustainable functionings, with the help of support mechanisms available at the institutional level.

We propose that resilience be seen as the ability to cope with both daily and exceptional challenges, insofar as genuine opportunities are available to achieve the necessary functionings securely. Poor and disadvantaged people need protective policies and measures at the institutional level to enable them to build their resilience capacities and hope for a more promising future. Such policies and measures must address the root causes of poverty and the lack of opportunities for these resilience-related secure functionings.

Setting up these mechanisms requires prior knowledge of what people actually think, do and hope for, in order to gain a better understanding of the various constitutive dimensions of the society in all its complexity. In other words, we need a better understanding of what poor people in fragile contexts do (and lack) to cope with 'ordinary' difficulties as well as large crises, both individually and collectively. This implies the involvement of the concepts and tools of the social sciences, in particular fieldwork, with interviews and surveys, and incorporation of local knowledge. Undertaking further research at this level of granularity should also contribute to reducing the Western cultural bias that often affects policy-making, especially when it comes to assessing needs and to designing and implementing policies. Furthermore, this work should also help local governments and international organisations to identify and design actions and interventions that are closer to the populations concerned, thereby contributing to the local appropriation of development cooperation programmes, projects and initiatives.

Disclaimer

Acknowledgments

Disclosure Statement

Notes

1. 'The EU and its Member States will implement humanitarian action and development cooperation in a more coherent and complementary way, actively contributing to building individual, community, societal and state resilience, addressing extreme poverty, preventing and tackling crises, reducing chronic vulnerability and building self-reliance. Sustainable solutions require multi-stakeholder approaches, interventions at different levels and a long-term vision. This means strengthening the link between relief, rehabilitation and development, including through an in-depth exchange of information, donor coordination and joint analysis of gaps, risks and vulnerabilities, and a shared vision of strategic priorities, as early as possible' (EU 2017b).

2. Prominent examples at UN level include the UN Development Programme report on 'Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience' (UNDP 2014), the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015), the strategy on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 2015), and the Paris Climate Agreement (UNFCC 2016). Alongside the emphasis on individual adaptability, EU documents also underscore, as illustrated in note 1, the importance of societal and state resilience, whereby the state has responsibility for protecting the population (for more on comparing UN and EU policy documents about resilience, see Joseph and Juncos 2019). Recent examples include 'A Strategic Approach to Resilience in the EU's external action' (EU 2017a), 'The new European consensus on development' (EU 2017b), 'Towards a comprehensive Strategy with Africa' (EU 2020a), and the '2020 Strategic Foresight Report' (EU 2020b). In the 2019 Reference document No 26 of the European Commission (EC 2019), longterm social protection instruments are described as potential game changers for shock preparedness and supporting people through crises.

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Questionaires

SEGUNDO QUESTIONÁRIO DE RESILIÊNCIA/RISCO – FASE 2

METADADOS QUESTIONÁRIO – FASE 2

SEGUNDO QUESTIONÁRIO DE RESILIÊNCIA/RISCO - FASE 2

SEGUNDO QUESTIONÁRIO DE RESILIÊNCIA/RISCO - FASE 2

ID F2-A

Nº da Família: ___ -F2   Data de entrevista: _____   Nome do inquiridor: _____

Reservado para o controlador

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

1 Imagine uma linha com níveis numerados de 1 a 10 onde 1 representa a pior vida possível e 10 representa a melhor vida possível e para si e para a sua família. Em que nível pensa que está neste momento?

pior 1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9-----10 melhor

2 Se achar que haverá instabilidade e incerteza na vida política do país (governo, presidente, partidos, militares) ao longo dos dois próximos anos, o que poderia fazer ou decidir? (escolha uma resposta)

a) Sair do país sozinho/a e instalar-se noutro país   a)
b) Sair do país com a sua família e se instalar noutro país   b)
c) Incentivar os seus filhos a sair do país e a se instalarem noutro país   c)
d) Continuar a sua vida como sempre porque isso não faz nenhuma diferença   d)
e) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares: e)

3 Se um chefe de família ficasse gravemente doente, que devia fazer: (se der várias respostas, indicar a mais importante)

a) Retirava os seus filhos da escola para que fossem trabalhar   a)
b) Colocava os seus filhos em casa de parentes que lhes assegurassem uma vida melhor   b)
c) Vendia os seus bens para que a família pudesse viver sem a sua contribuição   c)
d) Traria um parente para que tomasse conta da sua família   d)
e) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares: e)

V-27M19

ID [F2-A]

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

4. Se o professor da escola dos seus filhos lhe dissesse que iria embora porque não recebe o salário do Estado há alguns meses que faria: (se der várias respostas, indicar o mais importante)

a) Contribuia com dinheiro ou comida para que os pais dos alunos pagassem o salário

b) Se é uma escola pública, perguntava às autoridades e esperava que resolvessem o problema

c) Colocava os seus filhos numa escola privada

d) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

a)
b)
c)
d)

5. Se começar a haver violência ou roubos frequentes no seu bairro, vila ou tabanca, você: (se der várias respostas, indicar o mais importante)

a) Muda-se para outra (indique qual) cidade, vila, tabanca ou bairro da sua cidade

b) Participa na organização da defesa e vigilância do seu bairro, vila ou tabanca

c) Vai fazer queixa à polícia até que vigiem melhor o bairro ou cidade

d) Vai procurar armas para assegurar a defesa da sua família

e) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

a)
b)
c)
d)
e)

6. Se a sua casa ficar completamente destruída (num incêndio por exemplo), que acha que poderia fazer? (escolha uma resposta)

a) Reconstruir a casa com a ajuda de vizinhos ou família (e posso ir viver com familiares enquanto não acabo a reconstrução)

b) Não pensa em reconstruir, mas sim ir viver com a família no mesmo lugar

c) Ir viver para outro sítio na Guiné Bissau

d) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

a)
b)
c)
d)

V-27M19

2

57

Se a polícia o/a acusar de traficante de droga sendo inocente, você em primeiro lugar:

a) Vai primeiro a um Centro de Acesso à Justiça (CAJ)

b) Vai primeiro defender-se em tribunal com confiança

c) Vai primeiro defender-se em tribunal com confiança limitada

d) Vai primeiro defender-se junto das autoridades tradicionais

e) Muda de região, cidade, tabanca, vila ou bairro

f) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

8 **Se por uma razão qualquer se encontrar sem recursos para alimentar a sua família, estaria disponível a (se der várias respostas, indicar aquela que aceitaria mais facilmente)**

a) Aceitar transportar drogas para um outro país

b) Aceitar juntar-se a um grupo para assaltos

c) Organizar um sistema de jogo clandestino

d) Aceitar trabalhar com alguém poderoso sem perguntas sobre as atividades desta pessoa

e) Nenhuma delas / outra(s) / descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

9 **Se você ou alguém da sua família ficar doente com uma doença grave ou problema de saúde grave, classifique por ordem de prioridade o que faria - 1ª, 2ª, 3ª:**

a) Ia ao hospital ou a um centro de saúde

b) Ia consultar um praticante de medicina tradicional

c) Recorria a cerimónias rituais, para consultar os espíritos e forças divinas

d) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

10 Se lhe roubarem gado ou outro bem de grande valor, a quem pensa recorrer em primeiro e segundo (1ª e 2ª) lugar de modo a recuperar o bem roubado?

a) A polícia

b) A autoridade tradicional

c) Aos tribunais

d) Nenhum dos três, pois vou tentar recuperar eu mesmo

e) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

11 Acha que as propostas seguintes podiam constituir uma solução para ajudar a melhorar a vida da sua família ou para ficar menos preocupado/a com o futuro :

Urbano [ ]   Rural [ ]

	Solução mais importante? (**apenas uma resposta possível neste caso**)	Solução importante?	Solução menos importante que as outras?
a) A proposta de um seguro contra as perdas de culturas e gado			
b) Ajudá-lo a ter mais produtos na sua produção agrícola			
c) Empréstimo de dinheiro para um projecto			
d) Ser aconselhado e que as suas ideias sejam ouvidas (a nível da vila, bairro e outras comunidades)			
e) Criação de mais centros de saúde na sua região ou bairro			
f) Melhoria do sistema de educação para as crianças da sua região, ou do seu bairro (mais escolas, escolas melhores e professores mais qualificados)			
g) Melhoria do sistema de justiça na sua região ou bairro			
h) Substitua a palha em seu telhado (se for) com um material que não queima			
i) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:			

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

12) Para a vida da sua família, classifique por ordem de importância aquilo que representa:

12-I _possíveis problemas da vida quotidiana_

	Problema mais importante? **(apenas uma resposta possível neste caso)**	Problema importante?	Problema menos importante que as outras?
a) **Solidão** - A solidão, falta de solidariedade	a)		
b) **Água** - A falta de acesso à água potável	b)		
c) **Electricidade** - A falta de electricidade	c)		
d) **Comida** - A falta de comida ou lenha (para cozinar)	d)		
e) **Informação** - A dificuldade de acesso a informação (rádio, televisão, telemóveis, internet - **indicar qual deles em particular)**	e)		
f) **Injustiça** - Ações injustas por parte das autoridades públicas e/ou do governo e/ou da justiça	f)		
g) **Violência** - Assaltos nas casas ou insegurança nas ruas	g)		
h) Outro(s), indique quais:	h)		
i) Nenhum, em geral não estou preocupado/a com esses problemas. Insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:	i)		

12-II _uma maior ameaça - 1ª, 2ª, 3ª (apenas uma resposta possível para 1ª, 2ª e 3ª):_

a) **Saúde** - Doença ou acidente grave do chefe de família/ de um membro da família	a)
b) **Habitação** - Perda do alojamento familiar (em seguida a um evento excepcional, como um incêndio por exemplo)	b)
c) **Desonra social** da família perante a comunidade por uma razão particular	c)
d) **Evento negativo excepcional** - por exemplo uma guerra como a do 7 de Junho 1998	d)
e) **Problema com seus recursos** - para uma explicação veja a pergunta 12-III abaixo	e)
f) Outra(s), descreva/insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:	f)

12-III _uma maior ameaça no caso de seus recursos especificamente - 1ª, 2ª, 3ª (apenas uma resposta possível para 1ª, 2ª e 3ª):_

Urbano [   ]

U) **Recursos** - Perda dos seus bens, meios de subsistência, fontes de recursos :

U1- Trabalho	U1)
U2- Veículo	U2)
U3- Estoque de produtos para venda	U3)
U4- Economias	U4)
U5- Outro (indique qual):	U5)

Rural [   ]

R) **Recursos** - Perda dos seus bens, meios de subsistência, fontes de recursos :

R1- Trabalho	R1)
R2- Terras	R2)
R3- Gado	R3)
R4- Sementes	R4)
R5- Culturas	R5)
R6- Estoque	R6)
R7- Economias	R7)
R8- Outro (indique qual):	R8)

Observações do entrevistado **(se for útil)**

5

13. SE VOCÊ NÃO FOSSE CHEFE DA FAMÍLIA, estaria preocupado com estes possíveis problemas da vida quotidiana? (diga quais acha que são importantes):

	Problema mais importante? (apenas uma resposta possível neste caso)	Problema importante?	Problema menos importante que as outras?
a) **Solidão** - A solidão, falta de solidariedade	a)		
b) **Água** - A falta de acesso a água potável	b)		
c) **Electricidade** - A falta de electricidade	c)		
d) **Comida** - A falta de comida ou lenha (para cozinar)	d)		
e) **Informação** - A dificuldade de acesso a informação (rádio, televisão, telemóveis, internet - **indicar qual deles em particular)**	e)		
f) **Injustiça** - Ações injustas por parte das autoridades públicas e/ou do governo e/ou da justiça	f)		
g) **Violência** - Assaltos nas casas ou insegurança nas ruas	g)		
h) Outro(s), indique quais:	h)		
i) Nenhum, em geral não estou preocupado/a com esses problemas. Insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:	i)		

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

14. SE VOCÊ NÃO FOSSE CHEFE DA FAMÍLIA, quais são os riscos que mais o preocupariam? - classifique por ordem de importância - 1ª, 2ª, 3ª (apenas uma resposta possível para 1ª, 2ª e 3ª):

a) **Bens, rendimentos** - A perda dos seus bens, meios de subsistência, fontes de rendimentos	a)
b) **Saúde** - Ficar gravemente doente ou de ter um acidente grave	b)
c) **Acidente rodoviário especificamente** - Quando é necessário se deslocar pelo país	c)
d) **Alojamento** - Perder o seu alojamento devido a um evento excepcional (um incêndio por exemplo)	d)
e) **Ter que sair** - Ter que sair da sua vila/cidade	e)
f) **Desonra social** - Cair em desonra social por uma razão particular	f)
g) **Evento negativo excepcional** - Por exemplo uma guerra como a do 7 de Junho 1998	g)
h) Outro(s), descreva:	h)
i) Nenhum, em geral não estou preocupado/a. Insira aqui eventuais comentários suplementares:	i)

Observações do entrevistado (**se for útil**)

Se faz parte de grupos de cidadãos (por exemplo, na sua tabanca, no seu bairro, uma associação em geral, uma associação de mulheres em particular, um partido político, um sindicato, uma organização profissional, até mesmo as pessoas da sua etnia, ou outra), esses grupos ajudam você a resolver problemas, para encontrar soluções (ou, pelo contrário, você pode ajudar pessoas / famílias nesses grupos)?

a) Se não, marque esta caixa e vá para a próxima pergunta

Não: a)

b) Se sim, marque esta caixa e dê alguns exemplos (na vida quotidiana ou em casos excepcionais) dessa solidariedade (concidadãos que ajudaram você, ou você que ajudou outros cidadãos através desses grupos, indicam quais grupos foram):

Sim: b)

16

Urbano	Rural

Saiu do campo para vir viver na cidade?

Imagina-se a poder ou dever ir viver na capital Bissau (ou uma outra grande vila)?

a) Não, esse não é o meu caso, eu sempre vivi na cidade **(marque a caixa + vá para a pergunta 17)**

Não: a)

a) Não, não iria nunca viver numa cidade grande **(marque a caixa + se possível explique porque esta escolha + vá para a pergunta 17)**:

Não: a)

b) Se sim **(marque a caixa + responda às perguntas abaixo)**:

Sim: b)

b) Se sim **(marque a caixa + responda às perguntas abaixo)**:

Sim: b)

b-1) Porque razão?

b-1) Porque razão iria?

b-2) Saiu sozinho/a?

b-2) Iria sozinho/a?

b-3) Quais eram suas esperanças?

b-3) Quais seriam suas esperanças?

b-4) Quais foram os seus principais medos, com o que esteve mais preocupado?

b-4) Quais seriam seus principais medos, com o que estaria mais preocupado?

b-5) Você se arrepende de sua decisão de vir morar na cidade (não/sim)? Se sim, porque?

17 | Imagine que podia ou devia sair um dia do seu país para se instalar num país estrangeiro?

a) Não, acho que nunca sairia do meu país **(marque a caixa + se possível explique porque esta escolha + vá para a pergunta 18)**:

Não: ☐   a) [ ]

b) Se sim **(marque a caixa + responda às perguntas abaixo)**:

Sim: ☐   b) [ ]

b-1) Qual poderia ser a razão?

b-2) Partiria sozinho ou somente com a família?

b-3) Quais seriam as suas esperanças?

b-4) Quais seriam os seus principais medos ou com o que estaria mais preocupado/a?

18 | Agora que respondeu a todo o questionário peço-lhe para imaginar de novo uma linha com níveis numerados de 1 a 10 onde 1 representa a pior vida possível e 10 representa a melhor vida possível e para si e para a sua família. Em que nível pensa que está neste momento? (não dizer ao inquirido qual a resposta que deu na questão 1)

pior 1 ------2 ------3 ------4 ------5 ------6 ------7 ------8 ------9 ------10 melhor

Observações do entrevistado **(se for útil)**

OBSERVAÇÕES GERAIS E CONCLUSÕES DO INQUIRIDOR

V-27M19

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METADADOS QUESTIONÁRIO – FASE 2

METADADOS QUESTIONÁRIO - FASE 2

ID: F2-A

Nº de Familia:

Região:

Sector:

Tabanca/Vila/Cidade/Bairro:

A - Zona Urbana ou Rural?

Urbana:　　Rural:

Nome inquiridor:

Lingua da entrevista:

-F2

B - Pobres ou menos pobres ?

Na semana passada quantas refeições tomou por dia ?:

1　　2　　3 ou +

Categoria social de acordo com o inquiridor :

Pobres　　Menos pobres

Habitação cobertura:
palha:　zinco:　fibrocimento:　outro:

Habitação chão:
terra:　parte terra:　cimento:　outro:

Principais formas de iluminação em casa esta semana?:
vela:　óleo:　luz painel solar:　luz rede ou gerador:　outro:

C1- O agregado familiar

Quantas pessoas vivem nesta casa?

Homens adultos (18 e + anos):
Jovens entre 7 e 17 anos:
Mulheres adultas (18 e + anos):

Entre as crianças e jovens quantos frequentam a escola básica?

Uma escola pública? Quantos?
Uma escola privada? Quantos?
Uma escola autogestão? Uma escola autogestão? Uma Que tipo? Quantos?

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Nº da Família: -F2

ID: F2-A

C2- O agregado familiar

ADULTOS DO AGREGADO FAMILIAR (18 e + anos)		01 (CHEFE)	02	03	04	05
Nome dos adultos do agregado						
Sexo						
Idade						
Etnia/Raça						
Parentesco com o/a chefe de família						
Que faz na vida? (atividades principais)	1ª					
	2ª					
Qual o grau mais alto de ensino oficial que frequentou?						
Qual a religião ou crença ?						
Faz parte ou é sócio ou membro de algum clube desportivo, associação de tabanca, bancada, partido político ou outra ?						

66

Nº da Família: [   ] -F2

ID: F2-A

D- Habitação

Habitação própria, cedida/emprestada sem renda ou arrendada/paga renda ?

Se não é o próprio, tem parentesco com o dono? Se sim qual parentesco?

E- Recursos

Você é dono de vacas?	sim	não
Você possui horta de caju?	sim	não
Você vende castanha de caju?	sim	não

Quantos quilos da última campanha?

Quantas?

Você tem bolanhas? sim não

Se sim, a produção é suficiente todo o ano para alimentar toda a família? sim não

Se sim, consegue também para vender? sim não

F1- Mobilidade

Alguém da sua família vende legumes? sim não — Todos os dias Todas as semanas

Alguém da sua família vende peixe? sim não — Todos os dias Todas as semanas

F2- Mobilidade

Você vive aqui faz quantos anos?

Se mudou, antes vivia em que região?

Porque se mudou?

Troca ou oferece produtos e animais	Compra produtos e animais	Tem crianças de parentes consigo	Construiu uma casa ou melhorou a que tem	Participa nas cerimónias	Vai lá de vez em quando de visita	Não tem nenhuma relação

Se vive na cidade que tipo de relação tem com pessoas da família que morem na sua região de origem ?

cesa
CENTRO DE ESTUDOS SOBRE ÁFRICA E DESENVOLVIMENTO
ISEG - Universidade de Lisboa

Se vive na tabanca ou vila pequena que tipo de relação tem com pessoas da família que morem na cidade ?

Compra produtos que não existem na tabanca	Leva produtos para eles venderem	Troca ou oferece produtos e animais	Manda crianças para casa deles	Manda jovens para casa deles para estudarem	Vai lá de vez em quando de visita	Não tem nenhuma relação

G-Emigração

Tem pessoas da família emigrantes ?   não: [ ]   sim: [ ]

Se sim: - em que países?

- esses emigrantes ajudam a família ?

Mandam dinheiro	Enviam produtos	Ajudam no estudo das crianças e jovens	Ajudam em problema saude	Ajudam noutros assuntos (quais)?	Não ajudam

H-A entrevista

Quem principalmente respondeu?   Chefe da família?   sim: [ ]   não: [ ]

Se não: - porque o chefe da família não respondeu?

- quem então respondeu principalmente?

Quantas pessoas falaram na entrevista?

OBSERVAÇÕES E NOTAS DO ENTREVISTADOR E DO CONTROLADOR (só se necessário):

CSG — INVESTIGAÇÃO EM CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS & GESTÃO / RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES & MANAGEMENT

ISEG — Lisbon School of Economics & Management

U LISBOA — UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

FCT — Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia