

A report evaluating the success of socio-economic reintegration among TATP graduates in Liberia; based on internal M&E visits conducted by AOAV.

Tumutu Agricultural Training Programme (TATP) in Liberia aims to improve human security, by providing vocational livelihood skills and psychosocial counseling to youth who are at risk of engaging in conflict or violence

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1: Background

The Tumutu Agricultural Training Programme (TATP) aims to improve human security by offering vocational agricultural training and life skills counseling to war-affected youth at a residential training centre. The programme is run by the UK-based NGO Landmine Action¹ in collaboration with the Liberian Ministry of Agriculture (MOA).

Since 2008 TATP has been providing training to ex-combatants who did not participate in the UN Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) programme, and war-affected youth who are at high risk to re-engaging in conflict or armed violence. The primary objective of TATP is to improve human security by imparting agricultural training, life skills, business skills, numeracy and literacy to this demographic group, especially in areas where such persons are engaged in illegal resource extraction. Upon completing the course, each trainee is returned to a community of their choice with the tools, seeds and inputs to start their own farms. Prior to their return, LMA engages with each receiving community to prepare for the graduates' return and to ensure that land is made available for each graduate to farm. This programming strategy serves to reduce armed violence by providing beneficiaries with the resources, know-how and life skills to achieve a sustainable, legal livelihood within the rural sector.

In order to identify particular 'hot-spot' areas of instability for registration of beneficiaries, LMA works in close cooperation with the UNMIL Return, Reintegration and Recovery section. For the third phase of TATP, the counties of Gbarpolu and Nimba were identified as areas of potential instability. In Gbarpolu County, registration efforts were particularly focused on the gold and diamond mining and logging areas where economic relations were characterized by those of illegal extraction. Beneficiaries were also registered in Nimba County, especially around the Guinea border area, which presents a potential 'flashpoint' of regional instability. Residents of Salala district, where the site is located, were also provided 50 spaces on the course as part of an agreement with the District Commissioner. Successful registrants were all collected and transported to the TATP campus by LMA, where they live, study and eat for the entirety of the 4 month programme. LMA provides dormitory accommodation, 3 meals a day, access to a clinic and some basic hygiene items to all trainees throughout the duration of the course.

The TATP agricultural training curriculum is composed of practical and technical classes in rice, rubber and vegetable cultivation. In addition, each day trainees receive group peace building and life skills sessions, coupled with individual counseling to facilitate their social reintegration. Graduates also attend literacy and numeracy classes ranging from high school classes 1&2 to 9&10, during which they also receive tuition to develop their business acumen. During the programme trainees choose which community they want to return to after graduation. Each community is subsequently visited by an LMA representative to sensitize the community for the graduate's return, and negotiate through local power structures to ensure that land is made available for the returnee.

Trainees also elect which agricultural discipline they would like to continue after completing the course in order for them to become self-employed as small-scale farmers in the agricultural sector. Dependent on their selected discipline, LMA provides each trainee with a 'reintegration package', a start-up package of essential tools, seeds, inputs, animals, building materials, etc. This is provided in two 'batches', the first alongside the graduate when they return to their community after completing the programme; the second 6 weeks after they leave the campus. Receipt of the second part of the package is contingent upon the graduates successfully starting their own farm, not selling the materials that they are provided with and maintaining a cordial relationship with their receiving community.

¹ Landmine Action is changing its name to Action on Armed Violence in keeping with its broadening work

1.1 Organizational overview

Landmine Action (LMA) is a not-for-profit organization based in the UK. It is committed to good governance and the development of civil society through the promotion of international humanitarian law, the relief of poverty and the empowerment of communities marginalized by conflict. LMA has been working in Liberia since 2006, providing risk education on explosive remnants of war (ERW), removing weapons from circulation and facilitating the formalization of natural resource extraction by reintegrating ex-combatants. In addition to TATP, LMA currently runs another agricultural training centre for ex-combatants in Sinoe County and has a research project which monitors levels of armed-violence in Monrovia. LMA hopes to hand both of the training centers over to the Government of Liberia in the next 15 months dependent on the government's capacity to operate the facilities.

1.2 TATP Phase 3

The third phase of TATP officially started on 31 October 2009 with 400 students (354 men; 46 women) being transported to the training site to attend the course. On 12 March 2010, 375 students (335 men; 40 women) successfully graduated from the programme.

Registering trainees for the current phase was extremely challenging due to the logistical challenges of working in Gbarpolu County. Some of the mining areas are extremely remote, served by abominable roads and dangerous bridges. This made transporting the trainees to and from the TATP site a time-consuming and difficult exercise, successfully achieved by the skill and hard work of the LMA drivers.

2: Methodology

2.1 Evaluation goal

In order to evaluate the economic and social reintegration of the phase III graduates in their receiving communities, LMA undertook a mini monitoring and evaluation exercise to better understand the impact of the TATP experience. This exercise aimed to gain a deeper appreciation of the economic and social impact of the training on both the graduate themselves and members of the receiving community.

2.2 Key objectives (based on original TATP logical framework)

- Determine whether graduates have absorbed training and are able to implement taught agricultural techniques;
- Determine whether graduates are able to support themselves, by earning a living wage for themselves and their dependents;
- Determine whether graduates are living peacefully in their community, contributing to the agricultural and social life of the area;
- Determine whether graduates are removed from the cycle of violence and are likely to become involved in illegal activities again in the future;
- Determine whether there is an effective upturn in agricultural production and market activity in trainee receiving communities in the TATP trained sectors.

2.3 Further key lines of inquiry that were pursued in the evaluation

- Does gender affect success of reintegration?
- Do collective or individual graduate models have differing chances of success?
- Does the geographical location of returning graduates have any impact on the success of their economic reintegration?

2.4 Indicators

- Graduate responses to a verbal questionnaire conducted by two LMA field staff with one third of the graduates from phase III.
- Evidence of activity on the graduate's land as observed and documented by the field staff.

2.5 Means of verification

- Conducting verbal interviews with members of the receiving communities to ascertain the graduate's behavior since leaving TATP.

2.6 Overview of process

Of the 375 graduates from phase III of TATP, based on the time available, just over one third of the graduates (126) were selected randomly for interview. The random selection was done within a number of parameters to enable key lines of inquiry to be pursued. First, due to the logistical challenges of accessing some areas of Gbarpolu and the high cost of fuel and time, more trainees were surveyed in Nimba County compared to the ratio of trainees during phase III (see table 1.1) Second, it was decided that to maintain the ratio of students to reintegration activity that more vegetable farmers were surveyed than rubber and rice cultivators.

Table 1.1: # of trainees by county who attended TATP Phase III: # of graduates by county surveyed for M&E

County	# of registrants at TATP	# surveyed for M&E
Bong	50	13
Gbarpolu	235	49
Nimba	115	64

It is important to note that those phase III graduates who elected to pursue poultry farming after graduation were omitted from the M&E exercise. This was decided because these graduates are still awaiting delivery of their chickens due to LMA's inability to travel to Conakry, Guinea to collect their chicks due to the current political and security environment (discussed in more detail in recommendations section). These graduates will in turn be surveyed following delivery of their chickens.

The graduates and community members were interviewed between September and October 2010 by two field staff working concurrently in three different counties. This was approximately six months after the graduates had returned to their communities. Data was inputted by the project office staff. The M&E was conducted alongside the distribution of the 'second batch' of the graduates' reintegration packages, which included chemical inputs and fertilizers to those graduates pursuing crop cultivation specialism (vegetable, rice & rubber).

2.8 Summary of outputs

When	What	Location	Who	Outputs
Sep – Oct 10	Distribution of batch 2 reintegration items	Gbarpolu, Nimba & Bong Counties	Field staff, Drivers, Security	
Sep – Oct 10	Survey of graduates/ community members	Gbarpolu, Nimba & Bong Counties	Field staff, Drivers	126 graduate questionnaires 141 community questionnaires
Oct 10	Input of data collected	Monrovia	Project Office Staff	267 questionnaires entered into MS Excel
Oct 10	Creation of database/ Analysis of data	Monrovia	Finance Administrative Manager, Project Office Staff	Database created using MS Access
Nov 10	Final report written	Monrovia	Project Office Staff	Completed report

of Graduates Served Batch II Reintegration Materials by Activity

Reintegration activity	# of graduates
Vegetables	237
Rubber	26
Rice	6
Total	269

3: Results

The list below is an overview of the key trends identified from the M&E of phase III graduates. These characteristics, and a number of other key indicators, will be discussed in further detail in the following section.

- The overall average income of the surveyed graduates is 1773 LD (\$25 USD) per month;
- 92% of graduates are eating at least 2 meals per day
- 98.5% of the graduates feel safe in their chosen community;
- Only 2.4% mention that they have been involved with fighting after they left TATP;
- Only 4.2% mention any problems with their chosen community since they arrived;
- Only 3.3% think there will be new fighting in the future in Liberia and only 0.8% express an interest in fighting again were war to break out;
- 100% of surveyed community members welcome the graduates into their communities of reintegration, whilst many acknowledge the skills and usefulness that the graduates offer to the community;
- 90% of the graduates farming in collectives believe that they can make a living income;
- 81.4% of graduates farming as individuals believe that they can make a living income;
- 70.6% of the graduates are the main income earner in their families'
- Among the 89 main income earners the average number of people each graduate is supporting is 4.4 people
- 85.5% of women compared to 37.9% of men are farming part time.
- Graduates from Nimba County have earned the most from their farming work, with graduates from Gbarpolu second and those from Nimba third.

Name: Prince Weah (Vegetable Farmer)
Location: White Flower, Gbarpolu County

Q: Have you settled in well back into your community?

A: Since I moved back, things are fine with me. The community has been very good to me, and I am living with my sister who takes great care of me.

Q: Are you working as an individual or collective? Why?

A: I am working together with my sister. I chose to work with her rather than my friends, as some of them were not too willing to work. Working here with my sister, there is not too much talking, not too much confession.

Q: Which of the skills that you learned at TATP have you used since you returned to your community?

A: The peace building skills were most important to me. I lost a lot of my family during the war because of the violence. I try and use the skills I learned at TATP to prevent violence in my community.

Q: Do you think you will be a successful farmer? Why?

A: With the skills I learned at TATP, I am sure I can improve my life. I work hard farming - 5 hours a day, 6 days a week. In the future I hope I can also start to grow rice and use the skills I gained at TATP.



3.1 Results of key objectives

3.11 Have graduates absorbed training and are able to implement taught agricultural techniques

The majority of graduates say that they are farming and are therefore able to implement taught agricultural techniques (96.7% of the graduates say they are doing some sort of farming, only 3.3% said they were not farming.) Of those that said they were farming 56.3% were doing it as their sole employment, whilst 49.47% were earning additional money elsewhere. This trend can be explained by the employment opportunities that exist in the areas of reintegration, especially in Gbarpolu County where mining and logging activities are relatively prevalent.

Only those graduates who chose the vegetable package had harvested after six months, as both rice and rubber takes longer to produce. For those farming vegetables, 56.3 % had achieved at least one harvest. Several of those who chose rubber or rice also reported to be farming vegetables simultaneously. Although a large number have produced crops, 66% of graduates reported problems with their farms. The main problems reported were insects and heavy rain; 41.6% reported insects as their main problem and 14.2 % reported heavy rain as the main problem. Bad seeds were reported as the main problem for 17.8% of graduates.

- ***No graduate has yet to make income from rubber or rice, however many are using their knowledge of vegetable farming to survive.***

It was expected that rubber farmers would not yet be making an income from this crop as rubber trees take several years to reach maturity for tapping. None of those who selected rice have successfully harvested their crop yet. This can be attributed to a reported low germination of the rice seeds provided and the labor intensity and time required to establish a productive rice plot.

However, it must be noted that a number of those who chose rubber and rice are also currently farming vegetables to support themselves whilst they are waiting for income from their chosen sources. They are doing this without any agricultural package, using the knowledge they have gained from the course alone. This trend should be noted as significant and could imply that LMA should also provide a quantity of vegetable seeds as part of the rice and rubber packages.

3.12 Are graduates able to support themselves, by earning a living wage for themselves and their dependents?

- ***Graduates are able to make an income in their location, although it is difficult to establish how much graduates are earning on a monthly basis***

When asked, 92.8% of graduates said they believe they can make a living income; this figure includes those who are optimistic, but are yet to make any money. Of those that report that they have, or are currently making money (92.8%), the average income is 1775LD (around \$25 US). There are a handful of graduates who are being very successful and report making up to 9000LD per month, however these appear to be exceptional cases. The majority that are making larger amounts of money are working in collectives, so it is difficult to establish whether the graduate is reporting personal income or the collective income that the farm has generated as a whole.

In addition, we do not believe that many of the graduates understood the notion of a monthly income. From analyzing the data, it appears that a number of graduates may have been reporting the *total income* that they had made rather than that on a monthly basis. Furthermore, due to the nature of agricultural cycles it means that income is often changing and follows seasonal trends, thus making it

difficult to assess whether the monthly income they were making at the time of interview is consistent with all other months in the year.

Encouragingly, the TATP phase III graduates are on the whole experiencing relative food security. 92% of graduates are eating 2 or more meals per day, with only 8% eating 1 meal per day. This may be explained to an extent by the fact that 96% of graduates report that family and friends share their own food with them in the communities of return.

3.13 Are graduates living peacefully in their community, contributing to the agricultural and social life of the area?

- **All interviewed graduates are living peacefully in their chosen communities of resettlement.**

A total of 95% of graduates interviewed were still in their chosen community of reintegration at the time of the evaluation visit. Many of the graduates for phase III naturally chose to resettle in the communities where they were registered before training, and since graduating, returned to establish their farms with their families. Indeed, a significant number of students informed LMA that they made necessary arrangements with their families in order to attend the course in the first instance.

Of the graduates interviewed 54.7% returned to their home community, and a further 34.1% chose to be with family, showing they had a good support network around them. A total of 85.7% are living in their family's house. Every graduate interviewed reported that they feel that they have successfully reintegrated back into their chosen community and feel settled there. Interviews with community members provide a similar picture, with 100% of community respondents saying that ex-combatant graduates are welcome or useful to the community. In fact, the vast majority of community members specifically mentioned the graduate's skills, hard work, changed behavior or usefulness in developing the community in their qualitative response answers.

Name: Edwin Goye (Vegetable farmer)
Location: Zoloyee, Nimba County

Q: Are you working as part of a collective?

A: I am working with 2 other people from my community. Working as a collective makes the work faster, and lets me understand other people.

Q: What were the most valuable skills that you learned at TATP?

A: The most important skills for me were the peace building and vegetable cultivation skills.

Q: How useful have these skills been since you returned to your community?

A: They have been very important. The peace building skills have helped me to resolve conflict in my community. The vegetable farming skills will help me build my future, and I have already made money from my production.

Q: What makes someone a successful farmer?

A: Hard work is the most important thing. It will enable me to buy more seeds and materials.

Q: Were you happy with the teaching at TATP?

A: Very happy. I would like to thank LMA for what they did for us. If LMA had not taken us to TATP then we would not be where we are today.



- ***The majority of graduates are contributing to community life.***

Almost all graduates mention peace-building approaches learned at TATP as an asset that they use in their communities. The qualitative interviews with community members further emphasized these claims.

The esteem with which community members hold the graduates can be measured by the significant number who either thanked LMA for what they have done for the graduate or asked that LMA continues their programme to intake more trainees.

3.14 Are graduates removed from the cycle of violence? Are they likely to get involved in illegal activities again in the future?

- ***Graduates say they do not wish to be involved in violence in the future, but it is hard to judge if they are removed from the cycle of violence.***

The vast majority of graduates report feeling safe in their community of reintegration (96%). Whilst 19% reported incidences of violence in communities since their return from TATP, only 2.3% admit to being part of this violence themselves. Furthermore, these figures almost exactly tally with the accounts provided by community members.

As might be expected, a low number of graduates (0.7%) admit to be willing to fight again if there was more unrest and only 3% believe there will be fighting in the future in Liberia. Community members share this view with 94% believing that Liberia will not return to civil conflict.

The questionnaire also asked graduates whether they were still in contact with other ex-combatants. Although 69% said that they were, this statistic may not provide much insight into considering that there are many ex-combatants living in most communities across Liberia. Furthermore, a number of TATP graduates are working as part of the same collective or are living in the same small community of resettlement, so this does not really imply any real propensity for future violence.

Encouragingly, only 9.5% say they are still in contact with former commanders, suggesting that on the whole that wartime command structures have been deconstructed. However, it is difficult to quantify the impact that TATP has had on these structures, as we do not know how many were still in contact with these commanders before the course.

3.2 Results of further key lines of inquiry

3.21 Does gender affect the success of reintegration?

- ***Whilst the small sample size restricts accurate analysis, results appear to indicate that female TATP phase III graduates are less economically successful farmers than their male counterparts.***

For the M&E of the phase III graduates only 18 women were interviewed compared to 108 men. However, this ratio is comparable to the gender makeup of those who attended the course. Despite this, due to the relatively small sample size of women it is more difficult to identify key trends in terms of

their performance in order to inform future courses. However, when compared to the results of the male graduates surveyed, it appears that there are some rather important divergences in performance.

Although more women are still farming compared to men (100% of women, compared to 95% of men), they are more likely to be working alone (100% of women compared to 71.2% of men). As might be expected, they are less likely to be the main income earner for the family. Of particular significance is the fact that more women are farming part time than compared to the male graduates (55.5% of women compared to 37.9% of men).

The majority of women farming part-time are engaged in business/selling activities as their occupation in addition to their farming income. A few women are also working on another person's farm in a paid capacity. The prevailing explanation for this livelihood strategy is to generate the necessary income to employ casual laborers in order to properly establish their own farms.

In terms of social reintegration, the most striking divergence between men and women is the fact that no women are in touch with their former commanders compared to 11% of men. However, this may be a result of a separation in contact prior to enrolling at TATP, or the fact that women were involved in the civil conflict in a very different capacity compared to that of male graduates.

3.22 Do those setting up as a collective or individual have more chance of success as a farmer?

- ***Those working as collectives are showing initial signs of being more successful than those working as individuals and all those working in collectives are happy with their decision to do so.***

Out of the phase III graduates interviewed, 15.8% of respondents reported that they are now working as part of collectives.

Of potential significance is the fact that collective groups appear to be enjoying greater success than their individual counterparts, and are achieving a greater income level than individual farmers. Furthermore, graduates who are farming as part of a collective appear to be more positive about their future success and profitability in the rural economy.

When asked to estimate the average monthly income they believe they can earn, graduates farming in collectives anticipate higher levels of profitability, with those in groups believing they can earn 2694 LD per month compared to 1702 LD per month for individuals. Whilst it must be taken into consideration that the amounts divulged are estimates of how much the graduate believes he or she can make in the future, it surely does indicate that those graduates farming in collectives are more positive about their future prospects.

In terms of actually selling their produce, the incidence of those harvesting and selling some crops is the same as that experienced by individuals (50% of both groups have sold produce). However, 90% of those in collectives believe they can make an income compared to 81.4% of the individuals which again indicates a positive perspective on their future. In addition, 100% of graduates farming collectively were happy with their decision, compared to 95% of those graduates farming individually. However, considering the labor intensity of manual farm work this is in no way surprising. As one individual farmer stated, "to work alone is too hard".

3.23 Does the receiving county of the phase III graduate impact upon the success of their economic reintegration?

When analyzing the economic success of phase III graduates in terms of their geographical area of resettlement by county (see table 3.1), it is apparent that there is some differing success in graduate income by county. Graduates reintegrated in Nimba County had achieved highest rates of success in selling their crops, and are eating the greatest number of meals per day. Graduates who were registered in Bong County were registered as part of an agreement with the District Commissioner in order for Salala district to host the center. These bong graduates are earning the lowest income when compared to their counterparts in Nimba and Gbarpolu. Reasons for differing success are explored below.

Table 3.1: Economic performance and food security of phase III graduates by county of reintegration

Indicator	Bong	Gbarpolu	Nimba
Average monthly income (LD)	1433	2440	1656
Total value of crops sold (LD)	1377	2189	2777
Meals per day	1.9	1.9	2.5
% of graduates who have achieved a harvest	30.7	67.3	40.9
% of graduates farming part-time	30.7	65.0	24.5

There are a number of possible explanations to account for the favorable income levels generated from farming by the phase 3 graduates returning to Nimba County. Firstly, this may be explained by the agricultural tradition of the county prior to the war, and the comparable wealth of agricultural know-how in the area. Secondly, many of the graduates returning to Nimba County are closely located to the relatively large town of Ganta and the Guinean border, providing them with potentially more profitable market opportunities than their counterparts in more remote areas of Bong and Gbarpolu. Finally, it is interesting to note that a far higher percentage of graduates are farming full-time in Nimba County, possibly due to the relative profitability of farming or the lack of viable alternative economic opportunities.

Reasons to explain the much higher monthly income levels of graduates returning to Gbarpolu county may be explained by considering the relative proliferation of non-farming employment opportunities available in that area. In Gbarpolu, graduates have the opportunity to engage in mining or logging activities alongside their agricultural work, giving them the opportunity to earn an alternative income source that they can in turn reinvest in their farm. In contrast, such alternative employment opportunities are simply not so abundantly available in Bong and Nimba Counties.

The relative lower performance of graduates from Bong County is difficult to explain, considering that these farmers are located closest to the capital of Monrovia and the fact that a majority are based in the community of Salala, in close proximity to the main road. Furthermore, Bong County has a relatively strong agricultural tradition being the county where the Central Agricultural Research Institute (CARI) and Cuttington University are located, making these results even more difficult to explain. Consequently, further enquiry is required to disaggregate the possible reasons for the relatively inferior economic performance of phase III graduates returning to Bong County.

Finally, it is interesting to note that graduates from Nimba county are enjoying the highest levels of food security (2.5 meals per day) when compared to Bong and Gbarpolu counties (1.9 meals per day)

respectively). This divergence may be explained by the fact that graduates in Nimba seem to be enjoying greater profitability from their farm work, and consequently can afford to buy more food. Finally, the fact that many graduates who returned to Nimba are located close to the Guinean border may mean that they benefit from relatively cheaper imports than those residing in Bong and Gbarpolu Counties.

Key Recommendations

- ***Animals should not be offered as a reintegration option***

Although animal science forms part of the TATP curriculum, procuring chickens, especially for the graduates' reintegration packages, has been a particularly difficult challenge. With no hatchery in Liberia, the only available option to buy exotic breed chicks is to procure the birds from Conakry in Guinea. However, the tense situation and fragile security that has typified Guinea in recent months has resulted in a necessary delay in collecting the chicks for reintegration packages. This has resulted in around 100 phase III graduates having to wait without an income source until the political situation improves in Guinea.

Whilst LMA has strived to assist these graduates as much as possible by providing casual labor opportunities at its training sites and offering graduates the opportunity to select a different package, it is strongly recommended that animals should be removed as a reintegration option. This is further supported by a number of other problems associated with animal husbandry both from the graduates and LMA's perspective:

Graduate problems:

- Former graduates have often found it difficult to find suitable feed for their livestock, especially in remote rural locations
- Former graduates struggled to find suitable medicine for their animals, making them vulnerable to sickness
- Often rural markets are not developed to an extent to which local populations can actually afford to pay a realistic price for livestock and meat

LMA problems:

- Livestock are extremely logistically challenging to transport and very costly in terms of fuel and time to distribute
- Animals often die en-route to graduates or shortly after being received due to the atrocious road conditions in many rural areas

- ***A cash component should form part of the graduates' reintegration packages***

Whilst at TATP, LMA was explicitly clear that trainees would receive no financial assistance as part of the training provided at TATP. However, the results of the M&E may imply that this decision should be revisited when considering some of the challenges that the graduates are facing on their farms.

When asked what was most useful to help their future, 46% of graduates cited money as being critical to their success. This figure was slightly higher among women, with 50% giving this answer. Furthermore, within their qualitative responses, a significant number of graduates identified a lack of start-up funds as being detrimental to the timely establishment of a productive farm. To address this, many graduates have had to turn to part-time employment to generate start-up capital to invest in casual labor to clear their land and seed inputs.

Another important consideration is experienced more exclusively by female graduates. The M&E reveals that a number of the female graduates have been unable to successfully clear and plant their land as they need to hire casual labor to assist them with this labor intensive work. Without the necessary funds, many women have had to turn to part time employment in the informal sector in an attempt to generate the funds to start their farms. Whilst this may be a successful strategy in the longer run, there is a risk that conditions will prevent at least some of the women from establishing themselves as farmers.

To address this issue, it is recommended that the reintegration packages should include a cash component. This need not be a large sum of money, but somewhere in the region of \$25 to enable graduates to employ casual labor and to support them when establishing their farm until they have achieved a harvest. Furthermore, this cash sum could also be accompanied by a half bag of rice to provide graduates with additional food security during the formative stages of their farms, and also as a gesture to the receiving communities to facilitate the graduates' social reintegration.

- ***Greater support should be provided to trainees to encourage the formation of agricultural collectives, especially through engaging receiving communities***

In light of the conclusion that those farming collectively are proving to be more economically successful than their individual counterparts, it is recommended that greater emphasis should be put on the benefits of collective farming during any future phase of TATP. Furthermore, considering that female graduates are finding it more difficult to establish their farms as a number are engaged in part time work to generate startup capital, incorporating women into agricultural collectives could greatly improve their income levels and food security.

In addition, we recommend that receiving communities should be engaged to a greater extent to encourage graduates to include community members as part of their agricultural collectives. Such a strategy could deliver a number of benefits:

- Graduates would be more robust to mitigating the associated risks of rural employment by having greater support if they fall sick.
- Collectives would benefit from the advantages of economies of scale, division of labour, and the associated efficiency and profitability improvements with this
- Receiving communities would benefit from greater impact of returning graduates' skills and knowledge from TATP, by generating employment opportunities for community members

This could be achieved by including a greater emphasis about the merits of collective farming as part of the TATP curriculum for future phases. Graduates could also receive incentives to farm collectively by improving the reintegration packages available to those farming in groups. Finally, community members could also be sensitized to make this suggestion when the LMA field staff are conducting the community sensitization and land negotiation visits.

- ***Reintegration packages should be diversified to improve graduates' food security and reduce vulnerability to risk***

As highlighted earlier, vegetable farmers are enjoying higher profitability as compared to their counterparts who pursued rice and rubber farming. This can be explained by the much shorter production cycle of vegetable crops compared to rice and rubber.

Although a number of rubber and rice graduates have already taken it upon themselves to pursue some vegetable cultivation in order to generate income as they wait for their other crops to reach productive maturity, it is advised that in future these farmers are given some vegetable seeds and inputs as part of their reintegration package. These diversifications will strengthen the resilience and profitability of rice and rubber graduates during the time it takes for their chosen specialism to reach profitability.

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