



Food and Agriculture Organization  
of the United Nations

SUSTAINING PEACE AND IMPROVING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH THE PROMOTION OF RURAL  
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH IN CONFLICT-PRONE AREAS

UNJP/LIR/026/PBF

## BASELINE STUDY REPORT

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## **Executive Summary**

### **Brief Background**

This report presents the findings of the baseline study of the **UNJP/LIR/026/PBF** “Sustaining Peace and Improving Social Cohesion Through the Promotion of Rural Employment Opportunities for Youth in Conflict-Prone Areas” project. The Project is co-implemented by three United Nations’ agencies in Liberia: The Food and Agricultural organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Food Programme (WFP). The study focused on Outcome 2 directly implemented by FAO. The data was collected from October 21 to 29, 2019 while the processing, analysis, presentation and report writing spanned two months from December 2019 to January 2020.

A survey design was used. Primary data was collected using household questionnaires, key informant interviews (K2I) and focus group discussions (FGDs) were used to gather primary data. Relevant secondary data collection was done through review of existing data sources as national/public documents and reports, data from other international development agencies as the World Bank, and study reports issued by sister UN agencies as the ILO etcetera. The unit of analysis comprised households from the 6 project communities in Bong and Lofa counties. In total, 277 household interviews were conducted.

The data gathered – qualitative and quantitative – were analysed using Excel, MAXQDA, and STATA 15.

### **Key Findings**

#### **(1) Household Characteristics**

Two hundred seventy-seven (277) households were interviewed. 46% of them were female headed while 56% were male headed. The minimum age of household head is 20 even though majority of household heads (42.98%) are aged between 35 and 49 years. On average, a household size is 11.2 compared to the national average of 4.3 persons. In general, household membership is female dominated even though majority of the heads are males. Majority of household heads are married, and many household members are children indicating the nature of population dependency at the household level.



Just as females dominate in household membership, they constitute a higher proportion at the pre-school and basic educational level but fewer at the top of the educational ladder compared to females. Above the primary educational level, males dominate except in the category of those without formal education. A higher proportion of 16% females compared to 11% male have no formal education.

## **(2) Employment, Income and Economic Opportunities**

### **a. Employment**

There is high perception of unemployment and agriculture is less considered as a business. Twice as many of those engaged in non-agricultural sector activities are engaged in agricultural activities. 84.1 % reported that they are unemployed, without means of livelihood compared to 15.9% employed. However, 72 per cent of the unemployed respondents admitted sustaining themselves and their dependents through agriculture and related activities. In crop production, male dominate in all project communities. Females dominate the activities that relate to marketing and petty trade. Rice is the commonest crop grown in Ganglota, Zorzor and Salayea. In Salala, Totota and Tumutu, cassava is the commonest crop. In all project communities, crop producer has little to no training on improved methods and techniques for crop production. Direct project beneficiaries confirmed this through FGDs and consider training a need. Farmers and beneficiaries also lack constant advisory services in their respective activity areas.

### **b. Income**

incomes are low. Monthly average income is LDR 14,783.47 (about 70USD) giving an average daily earning of 300LDR (1.6USD). This means many people are poor considering the poverty line of 2USD per day. The show that there is gender parity the lower the income, but gender gap widens at income level rises. the little incomes are earned through efforts, more than 51 per cent must do at least 2 different activities to earn their income.

## **(2) Productive Assets**

Land is the major, commonest productive asset in rural agrarian settings like the project communities. Land is a contested asset in the project communities. More than 75 per cent of respondents have access to land on which they do farming activities and these lands are personal assets. However, more than 80 per cent have had litigations over the lands while more than 44 per cent have not registered their lands. These issues affect the usability of land. Beneficiaries in FGDs



revealed that because of the contested nature of lands, ‘supporters’ or local community private lenders and susus hardly accept land as collateral before providing credit.

Access to water and irrigations schemes is lacking or limited. In Salayea, Zorzor (Boi and Konia communities), and Ganglota, all respondents indicated no access to such assets for production. At least 46 per cent of respondents in Salala, Tumutu and Totota do not have access to water systems for agriculture. In short, except in Salala where majority (53%) reported access to water and irrigation systems, majority to all do not have access to such schemes. Thus, agriculture, especially crop production, is mainly rain-dependent. Among all project beneficiaries who are youth, land and other assets are acquired through hire and payment is either by cash or by kind (farm produce).

### (3) Credit, Markets and Inputs

The interviews and FGDs revealed that credit remains one of the most challenging to farmers. Banks and micro-finance institutions serve credit to 1.09% and 2.55% respectively of respondents. Local community finance arrangements constitute an agriculture finance system. In order of prominence, family and friends, susu, informal individual lenders and savings are the main sources of credit serving 32.73%, 26.55% and 8.00% respectively of respondents. Moreover, 17.09% had no access to credit for farming. Project beneficiaries in FDGs indicated they acquire credit for agriculture through what is termed “supporters” systems, private individuals and market sellers who give credit under the terms that debtors repay after harvest either in cash or by selling produce to them at “suppressed” prices. While beneficiaries noted that “supporters” are less preferred because they stifle farmers, all beneficiaries resort to them for farming credit.

“Supporters” are one of the market channels through which produce are sold. Majority 75.63 per cent do not have arranged, ready buyers or off-takers – a proxy for market linkages. Aside “supporters,” respondents sell mainly at community or village markets.

#### **Recommendations:**

- The results framework and indicators of the project outcome and relevant outputs be updated to reflect the baseline, and perhaps some of the indicators be modified to clarify them more.
- Project implementation should place more emphasis on the issue of finance especially the establishment of sustainable locally fit finance mechanisms for farmers to resolve the perennial financial difficulties young farmers face in their effort to engage in agricultural activities.





- Considering the difficulty of transporting produce from farm to home, the quantity involved and the fact that produces are for consumption and less for storage and [future] sale, construction of storage facilities should not be a major focus. There is need to re-balance resources from storages' construction to, say, establishing sustainable agricultural financing systems and providing more inputs and tools. Simple storage advice, affordable techniques and methods such as woven polypropylene sacks could be of immense impact.
- Young farmers seem full of zeal but little strategy and know-how, if possible, mentorship or provision of appropriate advisory services be made easily accessible to beneficiaries by, for example, assigning technical support to them.
- Though this overboard, it is worth stating. The provision of public goods such as farm-to-market roads is essential.



## **PART 1**

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

The project **UNJP/LIR/026/PBF** “Sustaining Peace and Improving Social Cohesion Through the Promotion of Rural Employment Opportunities for Youth in Conflict-Prone Areas” is jointly implemented by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), World Food Programme (WFP) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) all of the United Nations in Liberia. Funded through the Peace Building Fund (PBF), the implementation is done in partnership with the Government of Liberia (GoL) represented by the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MYS); Ministry of Agriculture (MoA); Ministry of Labor; Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection (MoGCSP); Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and Social Protection (MoGCSP); Liberia Land Authority; and Cooperative Support Organizations as the Cooperative Development Agency; as well as non-governmental agencies as the Liberian National Federation of Cooperative Societies; the West Africa Farmers Cooperatives and National Farmers Union Network (FUN).

The Project aims to address the consequences on peace and stability of unemployment and limited, non-participation of youth and women in dispute resolution processes and mechanisms. To this end, the Project has two principal outcomes:

1. Young women and men have increased access to local conflict resolution mechanisms, with a focus on land disputes, and become active agents of peace
2. Rural young women and men have access to sustainable agricultural livelihoods addressing key drivers of conflict.

While WFP and ILO are co-implementing the activities concerning the first outcome, FAO is responsible for the realization of the second outcome. As part of the activities outlined to achieve the outputs and thus the outcome, a baseline, ascertaining the status of the indicators at the beginning of the project to support the monitoring and evaluation of the Project, was conducted between October 20 to 27 2019. The present report presents the findings from the study.

### **II. RATIONALE FOR THE BASELINE STUDY**

This baseline study is in fulfilment of the monitoring and evaluation plan of the Project. As outlined in the Project’s monitoring and evaluation plan, a baseline be undertaken to establish the status of the indicators at the beginning of project implementation. This is to enable the delineation of development change brought about by the project post-implementation. The present study, thus, aims to provide a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the status of the project indicators.

### **III. ORGANIZATION OF REPORT**

The present report is structured into two(2) main components: Part 1 and 2. Part 1 covers the general introduction in Section I, study rationale in Section II; the project and study background in Section IV; scope of the study in Section V; and the methodology in Section VI.



Part II of the report reports the findings as relevant to the indicators. Section 1 covers Household Characteristics; Section 2 Employment, Income and Economic Opportunities; Section 3 Productive Assets; Section 4 Access to Markets; Section 5 Access to Credit and Finance and Section 6 concludes and presents recommendations.

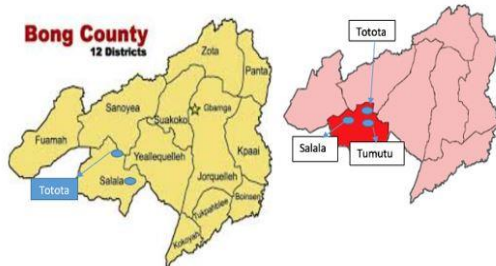
#### IV. PROJECT BACKGROUND

Though the civil war in Liberia had negative impact on all fifteen (15) administrative counties, the negative consequences of the war remained disproportionate: some counties were hard hit than others. Of the hard-hit counties, Lofa and Bong counties came up in studies as those that suffered the most from the repercussions of the conflict, and that till date the two counties are still facing the negative effects. In the post-war era, the negative effects of the war manifest in Lofa and Bong counties in the form of agitation among youth over access to two things: participation in conflict resolution processes and mechanism and access to productive land and economic opportunities in the form of sustainable, gainful employment. These two thorny issues, the 2017 “Mapping of Opportunities for the Consolidation of Peace in Liberia” found, remain potential risk for resurgent conflict in the two counties.

In response to these problems, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, with funding from the Peacebuilding Office, took several different but related initiatives toward addressing them in Liberia. One of them is the **UNJP/LIR/026/PBF** “Sustaining Peace and Improving Social Cohesion Through the Promotion of Rural Employment Opportunities for Youth in Conflict-Prone Areas” Project, implemented in two counties: Bong and Lofa (See Map 1 & 2).

Map 1: Bong County

*Conflict study areas: Totota, Salala/Tumutu, Bong*



Source: (Liberia Mapping Peace population, 2019).

Map 2: Lofa County

*Conflict Study Areas: Zorzor, Salayea and Ganglota, Lofa County Liberia*



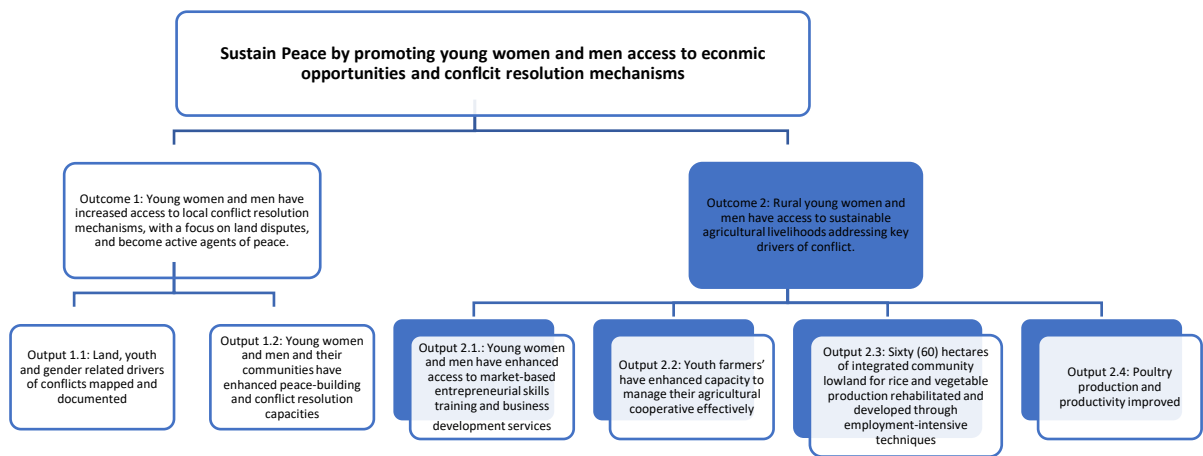
Source: (Liberia Mapping Peace population, 2019).

The Project aims to address the two related causes of conflict by enhancing the participation of young men and women in conflict resolution processes and mechanisms while promoting their access to sustainable and gainful agricultural livelihoods. To this end the project is expected to produce two key outcomes: **Outcome 1:** Young women and men have increased access to local conflict resolution mechanisms, with a focus on land disputes, and become active agents of peace. **Outcome 2:** Rural young women and men have access to sustainable agricultural livelihoods addressing key drivers of conflict.



It is anticipated that if access by young women and men to conflict resolution mechanisms and processes is increased in addition to increased engagement of the youth in productive economic activities, then their access to economic opportunities and active participation in conflict processes by the youth would improve, because the potential situations that can potentially lead to conflict would reduce and when such circumstances occur, young women and men would not agitate but resort to established mechanisms and procedures to address their grievances. Figure 1 depicts the intervention logic of the project.

**Figure 1: Project Intervention Logic**



Source: Author’s construct based on ProDoc

## V. SCOPE OF THE BASELINE STUDY

As stated earlier, FAO is directly responsible for the implementation of **Outcome 2**. Under this Outcome, the ProDoc specifies 24 key indicators with respect to the key outputs. These output indicators are outlined in Table 1.



**Table 1: Project Indicators under Outcome 2**

OUTCOME 2 INDICATORS			
1. % of targeted youth with access to sustainable agricultural livelihoods			
2. % of participants who expect their future economic situation to be better than their present economic situation			
Output 2.1 Indicators	Output 2.2 Indicators	Output 2.3 Indicators	Output 2.4 Indicators
# of livelihood activities youth engaged in for self-reliance	# of local partners engaged in developing/supporting youth agricultural cooperatives identified	# of hectares identified and selected	# of sites identified for poultry production
# of training manuals adapted to local context	# of financial institutions identified/assessed	% of participants who report feeling comfortable working alongside a member of other social group	# of birds and associated poultry materials distributed to beneficiaries
# of TOT workshops conducted	#My.COOP training package adapted and available in the local language	# of farm implements sets, planting materials and agro processors distributed to beneficiaries	# of training conducted
% of targeted youth with access to business development training	# of TOT workshops conducted	# of irrigation schemes rehabilitated and developed	
# of mentorship and business management training conducted	#Number of youth groups trained in the formation of cooperatives using the My.COOP training package	# of post-harvest facilities constructed	
# of capacity building training conducted		# of training conducted for rice and vegetable	
# of financial organizations receiving technical support		#Number of trainings conducted on asset creation on integrated lowland productivity and behavioural change communication to improve youth participation in agriculture	
# of products competitive in the market against imported products		# of raw material identified locally	
# of market network established			
# of centers established			

Source: Author’s construct from UNJP/LIR/026/PBF ProDoc

## VI. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The requisite data consisted of two types of data: qualitative and quantitative data. In the following sections, the detailed approach to the collection of data is outlined.

### a. Sampling and Data Collection Methods

The present survey was conducted in two counties Bong and Lofa – the two project counties. In total, seven project communities were surveyed, 3 in Bong and 4 in Lofa. A

minimum of 10 interviews and maximum of 104 interviews were conducted proportionate to number of households in the given community. Communities were purposively selected based on their being a beneficiary community of the project. Households, on the other hand, were randomly selected using a systematic sampling technique guided by a sampling interval of 3 i.e. every third house was selected for interview. Table 2 depict the counties, communities and samples. While household interviews gave a broader situation in the project communities, data and information regarding project beneficiaries were obtained through focus group discussions and interview.

**Table 2: Survey Samples**

County	Community	No. of Households (N) (Projected)	Sample Size
<b>Bong</b>	Tumutu	119	10
	Salala	3470	104
	Totota	2113	63
<b>Lofa</b>	Ganglota	314	15
	Salayie	994	30
	Zorzor (Boi and Konia)	1846	55
<b>Total</b>		<b>8856</b>	<b>277</b>

Source: Author's calculations using LISGIS approved projection method and 2008 Census data, October 2019

### **b. Data Collection Methods and Tools**

Data was collected using different but complementary methods and tools. The main data collection tools employed included household questionnaires, focus group guides, interview guides and key informant interactions (KII). Household questionnaires were design using Epicollect5 with section including (1) Household Characteristics; (2) Employment, Income and Economic Opportunities; (3) Productive Assets; (4) Access to Markets; and (5) Access to Credit and Finance. The structure of the questionnaire was informed by the Outcome concerned, the related outputs and relevant indicators to ensure that as much data as relevant are collected toward informing the indicators.

With the tools mentioned, the necessary data was collected using several methods comprising interviews, focus groups discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (K2Is) and review of secondary data sources such as census data and other studies UN agencies have done. On the one hand, **Primary Data** was gathered using the first three data



collections methods, viz.: interviews, FGDs and K2Is. Seven (7) FGDs with project beneficiaries (both males and females) were conducted, one in each of the seven project communities (3 in Bong County; 4 in Lofa County). Each FGD session lasted at least 45 minutes. **Secondary Data**, on the other hand, was collected using the review of existing data sources especially government statistics.

### ***c. Training and Field Work***

Ten (10) enumerators with prior training on surveys were employed to collect the data. Enumerators underwent a two-day specific, further training to facilitate a common understanding of the survey questionnaire's key terminologies and how to frame the questions on the field to assure common comprehension among interviews. The sex ratio of the enumerators was 3:7. Sixty (60) per cent of the enumerators were deployed in Boing County and 40 per cent in Lofa County.

Field data collection was conducted between October 21 and October 28, 2019. Enumerators, uploaded data collected directly to the Epicollect5 platform. This server was monitored to ensure that enumerators conducted and uploaded the number of interview entries per survey community.

### ***d. Data Analysis***

There applications facilitated analysis of the data uploaded to the epicollector5 platform. These applications are Excel, Stata 15 and MaxQDA. Data was downloaded from the Epicollect 5 server in excel format for cleaning. Cleaned Excel data file was formatted into Stata compatible form and uploaded into Stata 15. Frequency distribution tables, summary statistics including percentages, means, maximums and minimums etcetera were then generated. These were converted into charts using Excel. For sorting and filtering of data based on variables such as sex, community, response type etcetera Excel was used. MaxQDA aided in the transformation of qualitative and descriptive text responses into themes and related patterns.

### ***e. Limitations of the Study***

The present study is limited to the study areas and might not be generalizable to other contexts. Where attempt of applying the findings to another context is considered, utmost caution must be exercised.

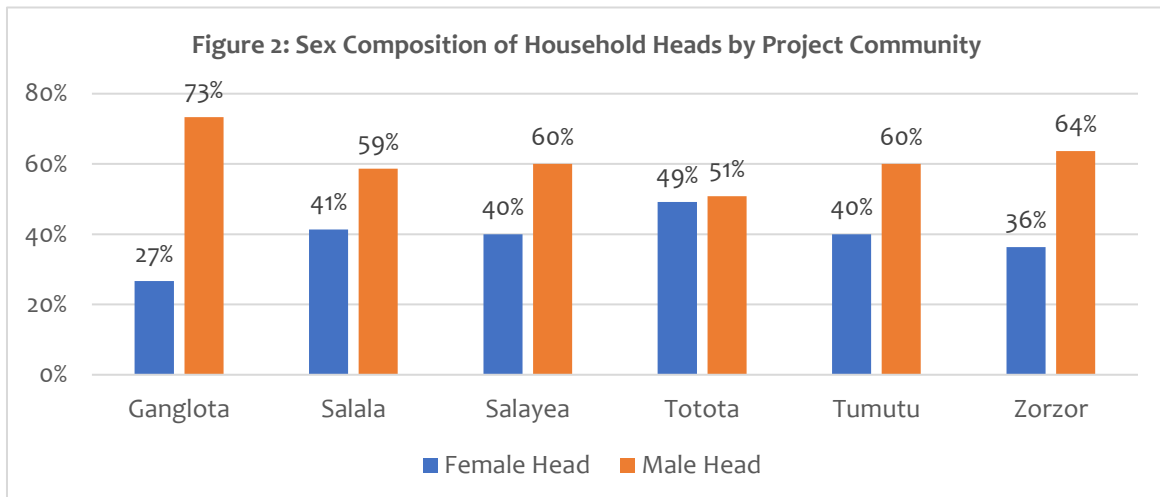
## PART 2

### VII. FINDINGS

The study’s findings are presented along the structure of the survey instrument, the design of which was informed by the relevant outputs/indicators.

#### (1) Household Characteristics

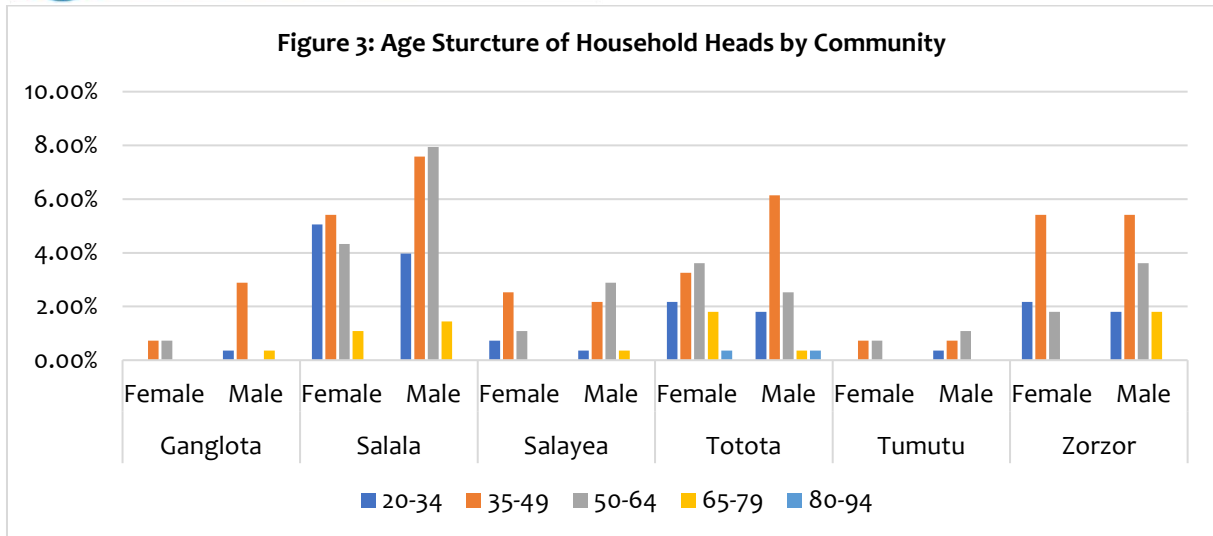
In total, 277 households were interviewed (See Table 2). Of this, 54% are headed by men, 46% by women. This proportion varied among project beneficiary communities. There is gender gap in household heads in the project communities with somewhat big gap except in Totota where the female- versus male-headed households are almost at par. Figure 2 depicts the sex ratio of household heads in the project communities. Male headed households dominate in all the project communities. The average size of households is 11.23 persons which is higher compared to the national average of 4.3 persons.



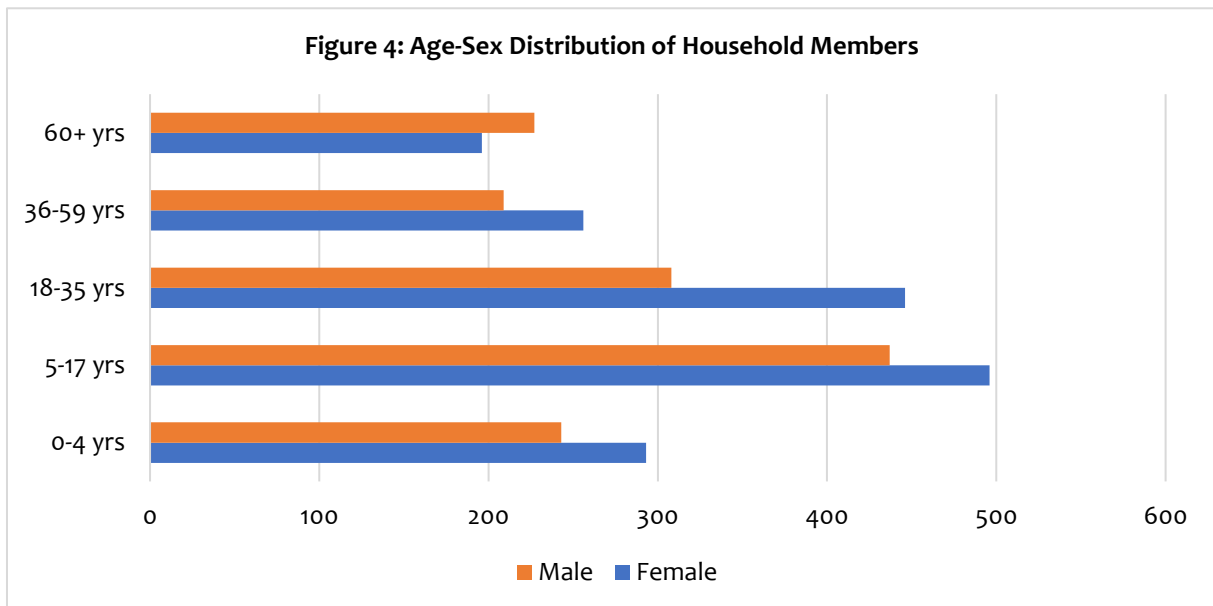
Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

Even though in all communities, female household members are more than men, men tend to be holding leadership roles in the households as heads. Figure 3 presents the age-sex disaggregated structure of the household heads along the various age cohorts. Detailed age-sex structure/distribution of household members in project communities is shown on Figure 4. Household heads are aged minimum 20 years. In all project communities, household heads are mainly in the age range of 35 to 49 years. Though, aged people (80-94 years) serve as household heads, they are only few in Totota. In Salala, Totota and Zorzor, it is common to find youth aged 20-34 years as household heads compared to the other communities.



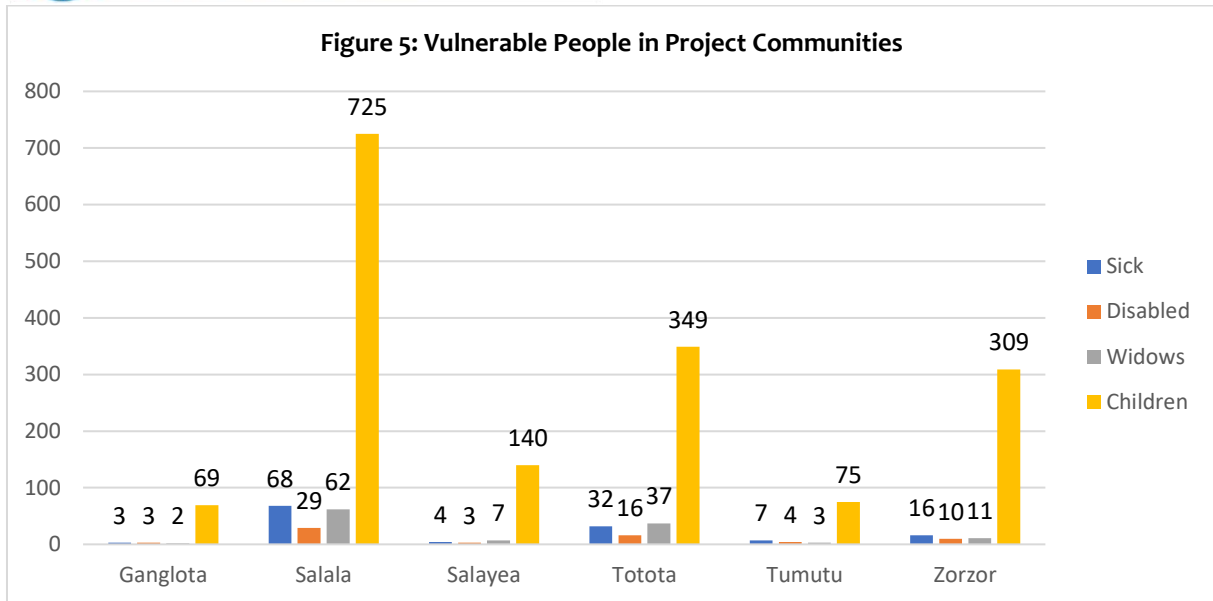


Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019



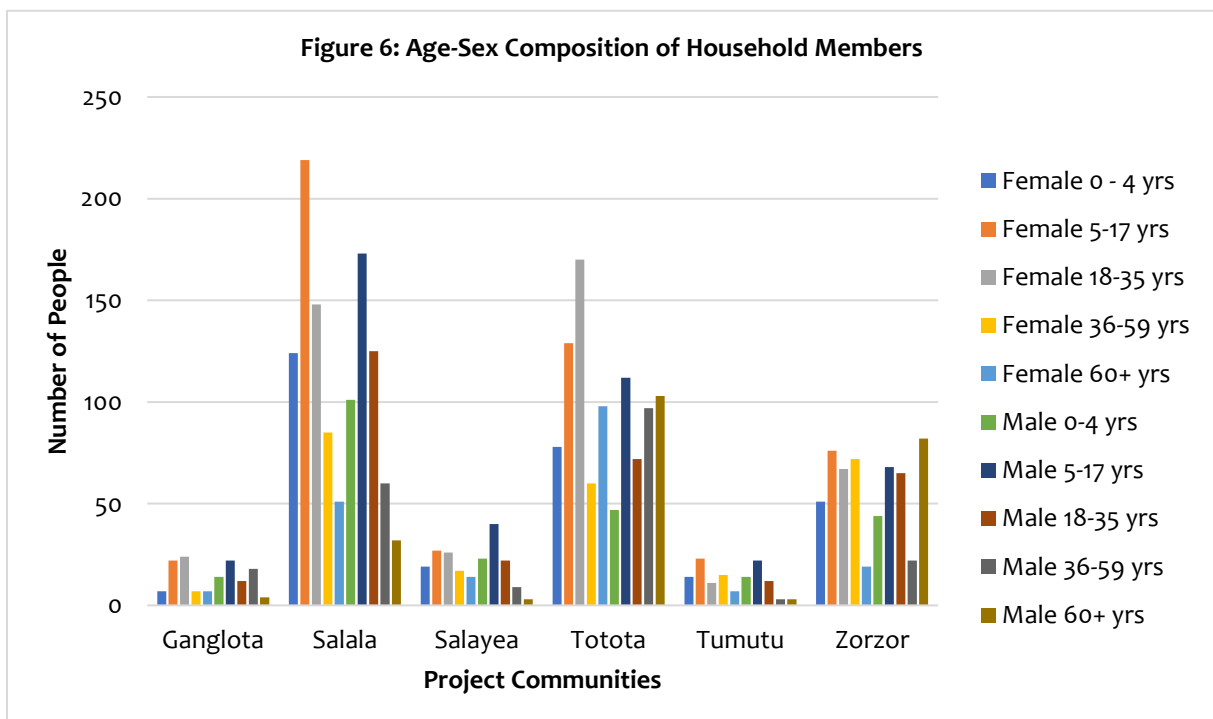
Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

Vulnerable or potentially vulnerable groups in the project communities include children, widows, the sick and the disabled (physical, mental). In the project communities, majority of vulnerable groups are children. The population of these groups in the project communities is presented in Figure 5.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

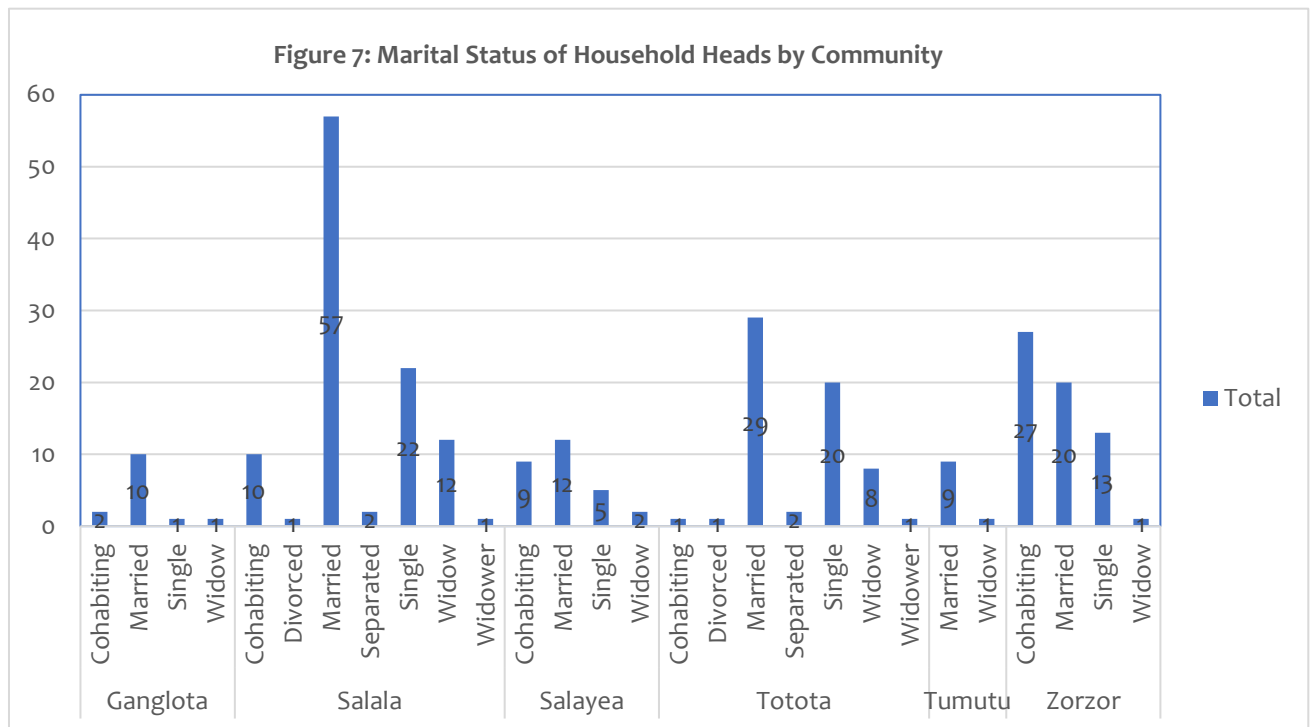
Disaggregating the household members by age groups and sex showed that households in project communities are young, aging between 0 and 18 years. At the bottom of the age pyramid, females dominate, and the pyramid is broader at the bottom but gets narrow at the top. This indicates why more females are more at lower educational grades compare to males (see Figure 8). Figure 6 presents age-sex disaggregation of the population in project communities.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

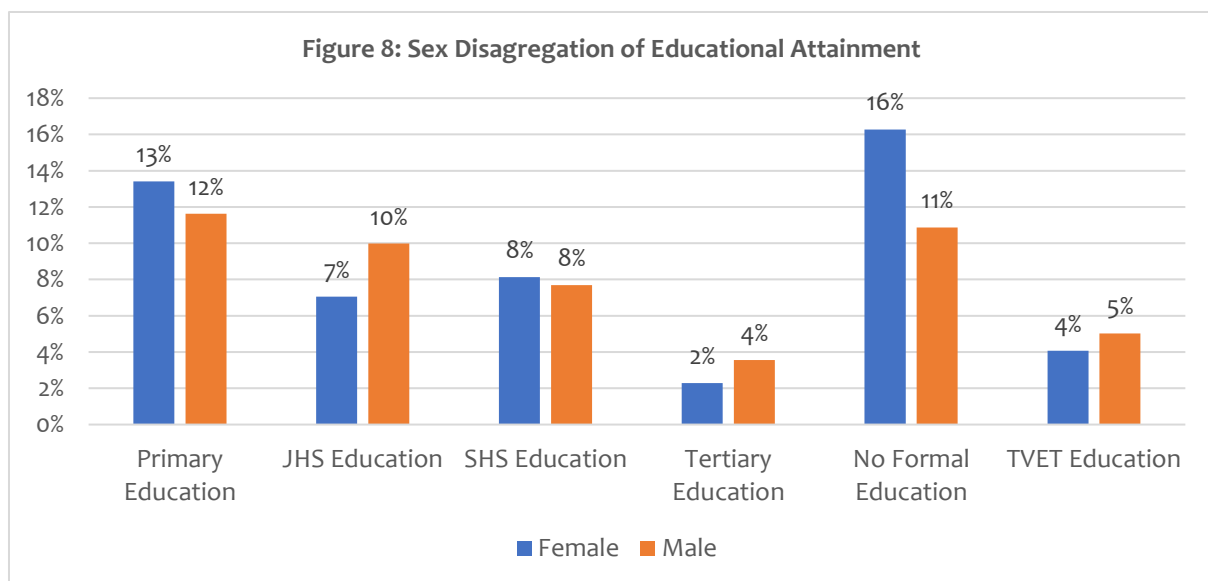
Respondent household heads are largely married, single or cohabiting. In Zorzor, majority are cohabiting compared to the remaining five project communities where respondents'

marital status was predominantly married followed by singles. The marital status of household heads in project communities is shown in Figure 7.

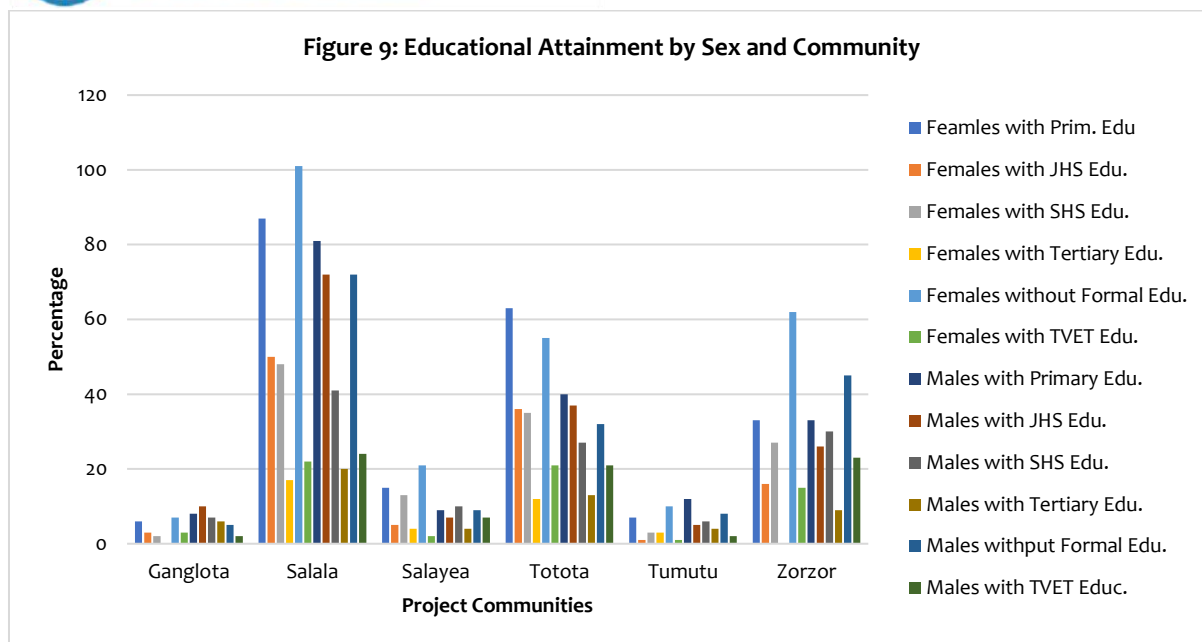


Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

The educational attainment within households, two things stand out. First, at the early stages of the educations ladder, more females than males are enrolled in school, but the number dwindles up the ladder. Second, more females (16%) than males (11%) have no education i.e. never been to school. In short, females have lesser educational attainment than males though more of the former enrol in school than the latter in the project communities.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019



Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

## (2) Employment, Income and Economic Opportunities

### a. Employment

Being engaged in legitimate income/livelihood generating activities, irrespective of the sector, is important for sustained income and improved living condition. Among the 277 household heads interviewed, excess of 84 per cent perceive themselves to be unemployed people, without livelihood source. Though lower, the perception of unemployment in the project communities reflects the high level of vulnerable employment in rural Liberia 88.7% (LISGIS, 2017). “To escape from poverty,” Karnani (2011:74) argues, “the poor need productive jobs that lead to higher income.” It is no surprise that ILO study on the profiling of youth land related conflict toward this project ascertained that respondents regard unemployment and access to and control over productive assets such as land as key concerns for youth and women empowerment (ILO Liberia, 2019).

Among household heads, unemployment will have further ramifications on the dependent household members including food and nutrition implication as heads serve as breadwinners, especially considering the existence of vulnerable people in households as in Figure 5. Table 3 presents the proportions of employed-unemployed household heads in the project communities.

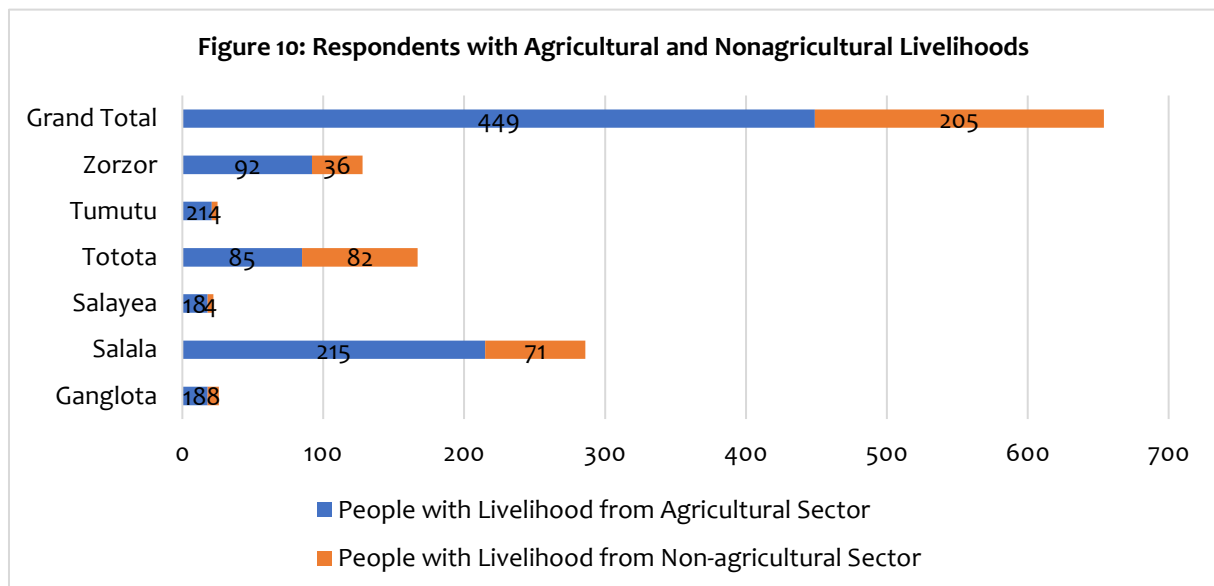
Table 3: Employment Status of Household Heads

Employed/Unemployed	Ganglota	Salala	Salayea	Totota	Tumutu	Zorzor	Total
<b>No, I am unemployed</b>	57.1%	100.0%	64.3%	91.9%	100.0%	62.3%	84.1%
<b>Yes, I am employed</b>	42.9%	0.0%	35.7%	8.1%	0.0%	37.7%	15.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

In all the project communities, majority of household heads consider themselves unemployed. In total, 84.1 per cent of household heads reported being unemployed with 15.9 per cent considering themselves having employment. Further probing regarding how unemployed household heads sustain themselves and their dependants, same household heads admit engaging in various agricultural activities. Of the 84 per cent of household heads who consider themselves unemployed, excess of 72 per cent mentioned various agricultural activities such crop production as their means of sustenance. This brings forth the notion of agriculture as a no business, but an activity engaged in because other preferable employment opportunities are non-existent.

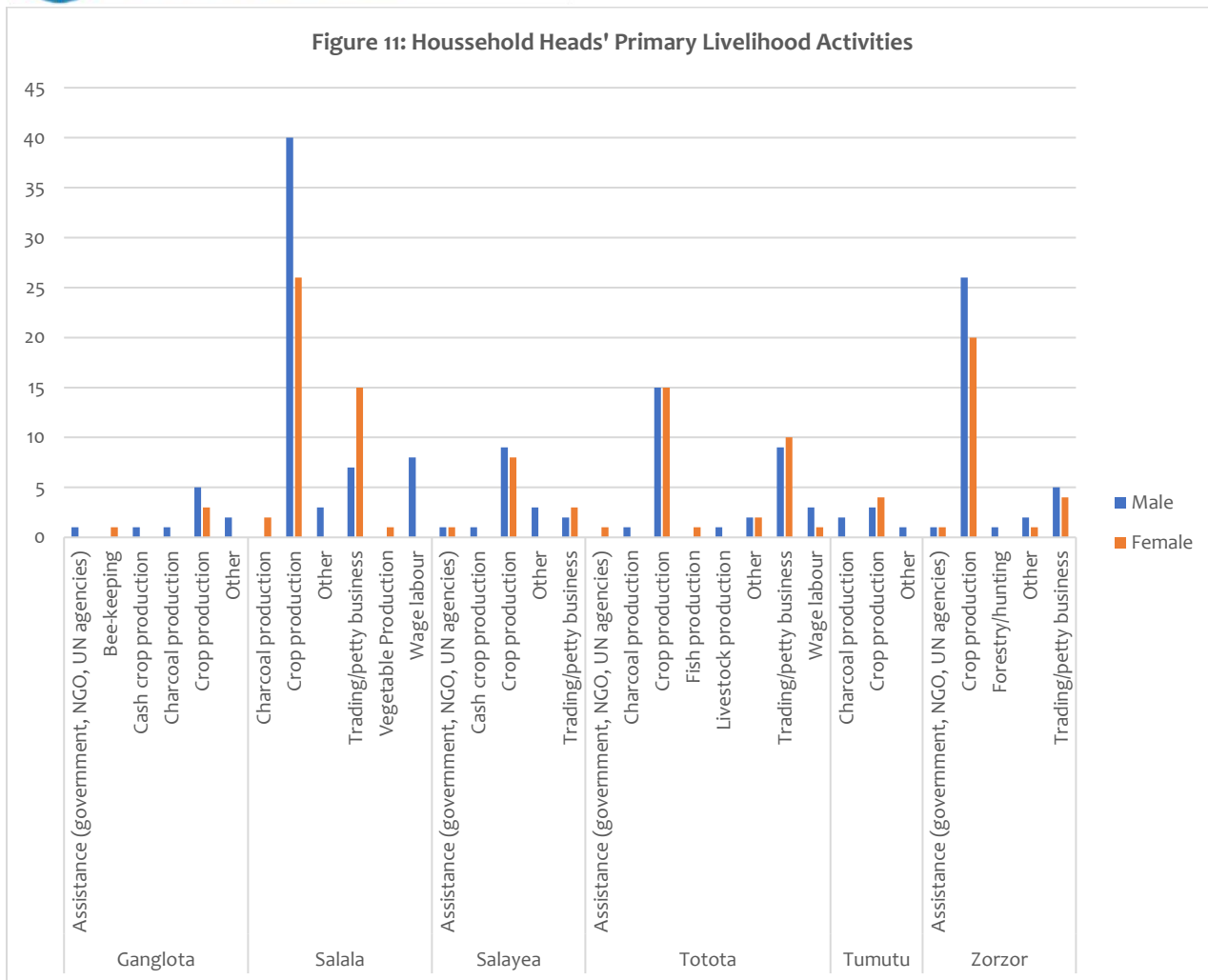
Proof of this point is shown by simple consideration of the employment profile of household members. As shown in Figure 10, a crude comparison of household members reported to be employed in the agricultural versus non-agricultural sectors reveals that as twice of household members engaged in non-agricultural sector livelihood activities earn their living from the agricultural sector.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

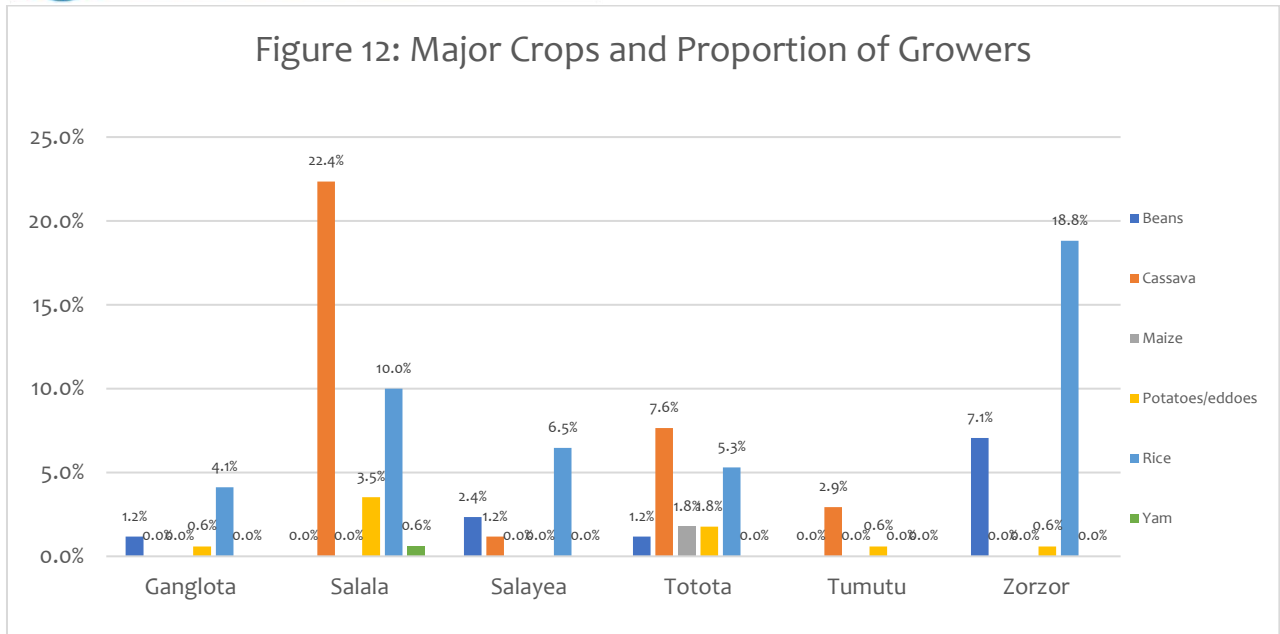
Of the respondents engaged in the agricultural sector as the source of livelihood, crop production is predominating other agricultural activities. From gender angle, women dominate in some livelihood activities such petty trading/small-scale businesses. This is the trend in all project communities. Figure 11 depicts the common livelihood activities disaggregated by sex. As the commonest livelihood activity, crop farmers mainly grow rice and cassava. Other mentioned crops include plantain, maize, eddoes, beans, and potatoes. In vegetable production, women are the reported growers. Livestock and poultry production are less common among the communities except the household level rearing of few pigs, goats, cattle and, fowls and ducks, this is not primarily driven by commercial aims but for consumption and as fall-back mechanisms during financially difficult times.

As indicated earlier, poultry production is not currently an agricultural livelihood activity among the respondents, since in all the project communities, it was not considered as primary activity.



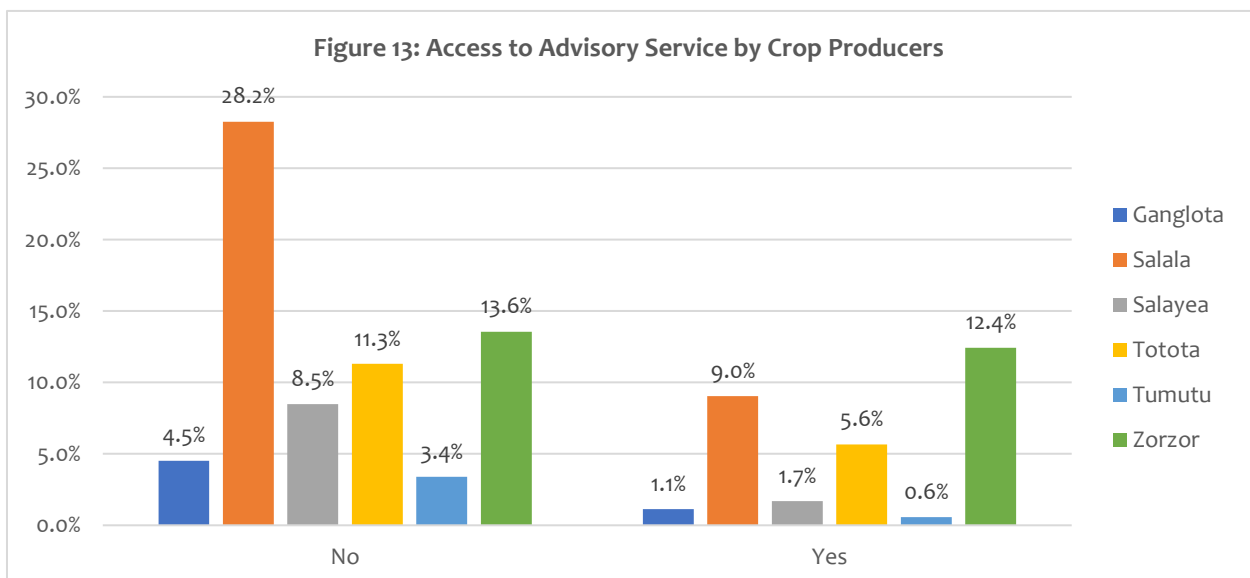
Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

Among crop producers, the major crops, in order of commonality, are cassava, rice, potatoes and beans. Cassava production is dominant in Salala and Totota; rice in Zorzor, Salayea and Ganglota. Other crops include yam and maize. Common crops in project communities are presented in Figure 12



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

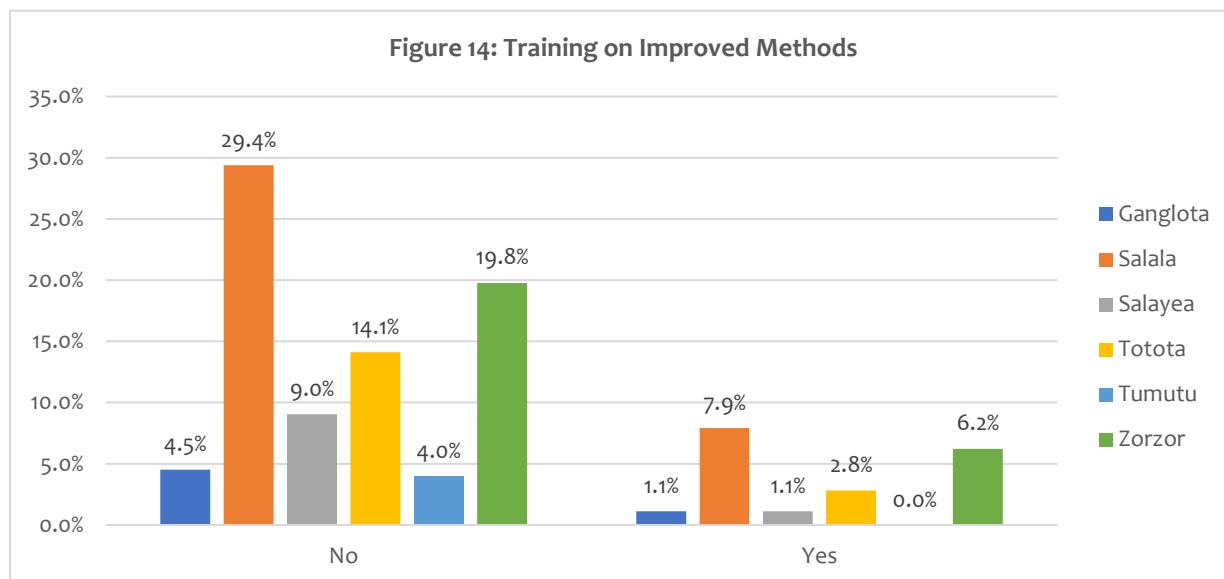
It must be noted that crop producers' productivity boost requires advisory and extension services, all things equal, given that extension and advisory service play critical role of knowledge transfer and human capital development in farm households (FAO, 2008). For inadequate access to advisory and extension services, beneficiaries and authorities, during focus group discussions and key informant interview, noted that they just do agriculture as they deem right without improvement of the agricultural practices over time. This is partly due to the inadequacy or lack of advisory services. Figure 13 depicts crop farmers access to advisory services in the project communities.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

In addition, the data showed that relatively many crop farmers have had no requisite training on production methods, technologies and practices that would inure to increased productivity and production. This was also mentioned by key informants. This is the situation in all project communities, where majority are those farmers who have never

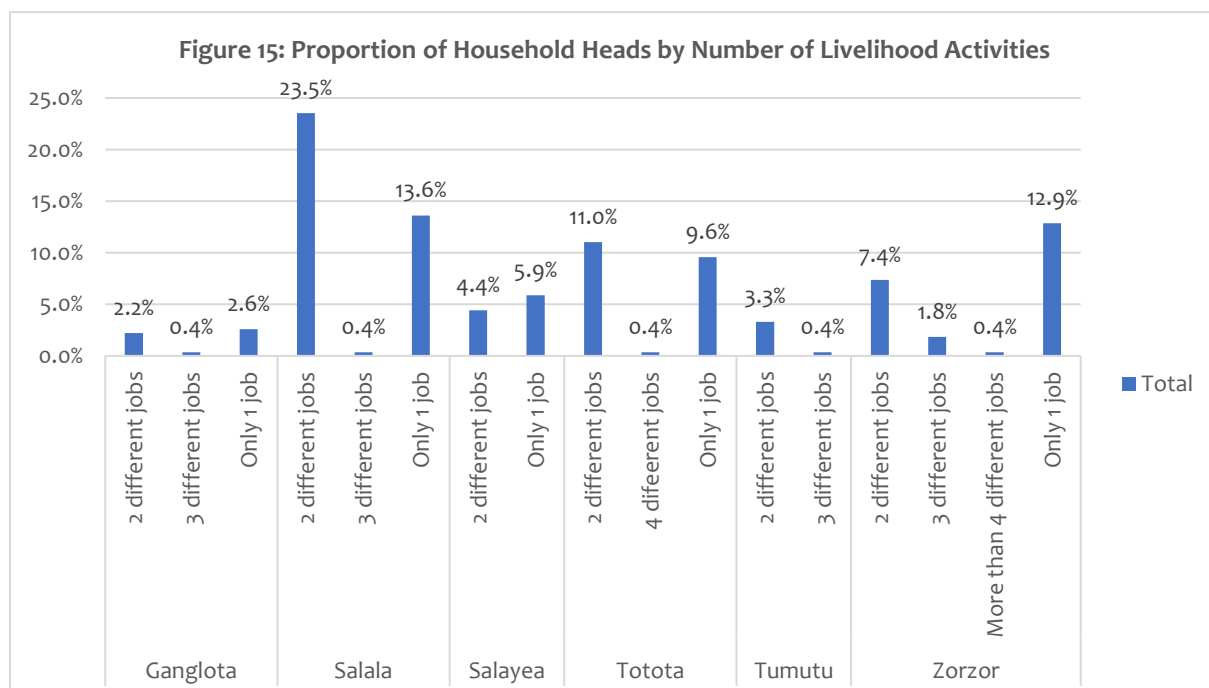
received training regarding the respective crops they grow. Figure 14 depicts the proportion of farmers with (out) training in their areas of crop production.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

The dominance, or heavy dependence, on crop production speaks to the critical question of livelihood diversification in the project locations. There is little placeholder, in the socio-economic lives of the communities, for other important income generating activities such as poultry and livestock. The dependence on seasonal crop production has implications on “labour smoothing” and “consumption smoothing;” farmers and household labour is under- or not utilized in the lean season and food security is negatively affected (Ellis, 1999).

From Figure 15, in all project communities, majority of household heads rely much on only one (44.49%) or two activities (51.84%) for their livelihoods.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019





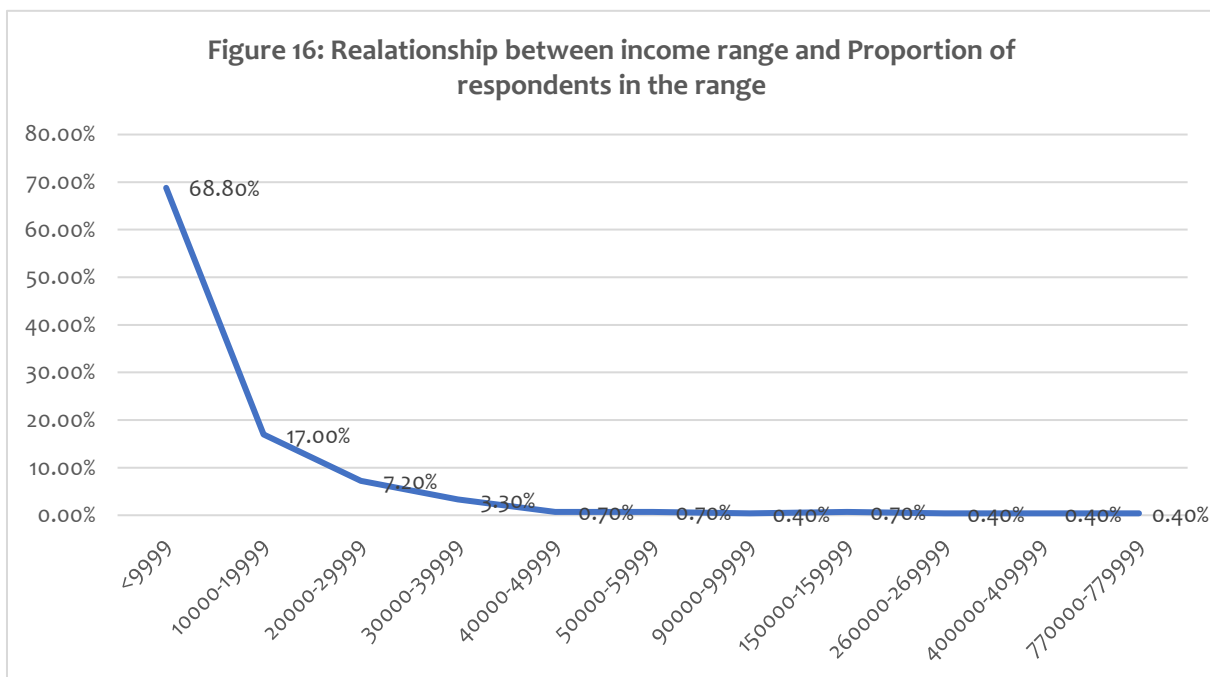
**b. Income**

Income, though not sufficient, is a necessary determinant of the range of choices farmers have and their access to important services, inputs and other productive assets that are critical for their productive agricultural and other related activities. Based on the employment and other livelihood activities in the project communities, respondents’ average monthly income is Liberian dollar 14,783.47. In Table 4, more than two third of respondents earn less than LDR10,000 a month. As represented in Figure 16, income level is negatively related to the proportion of respondents. That is, as income rises, the number of people in the income group decreases. Thus, income wise, there is limited social mobility and income inequality among residents in project communities.

Table 4: Income Range and Proportionate Earners

Income Range (LRD)	Percentage of Respondents
<9999	68.8%
10000-19999	17.0%
20000-29999	7.2%
30000-39999	3.3%
40000-49999	0.7%
50000-59999	0.7%
90000-99999	0.4%
150000-159999	0.7%
260000-269999	0.4%
400000-409999	0.4%
770000-779999	0.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019



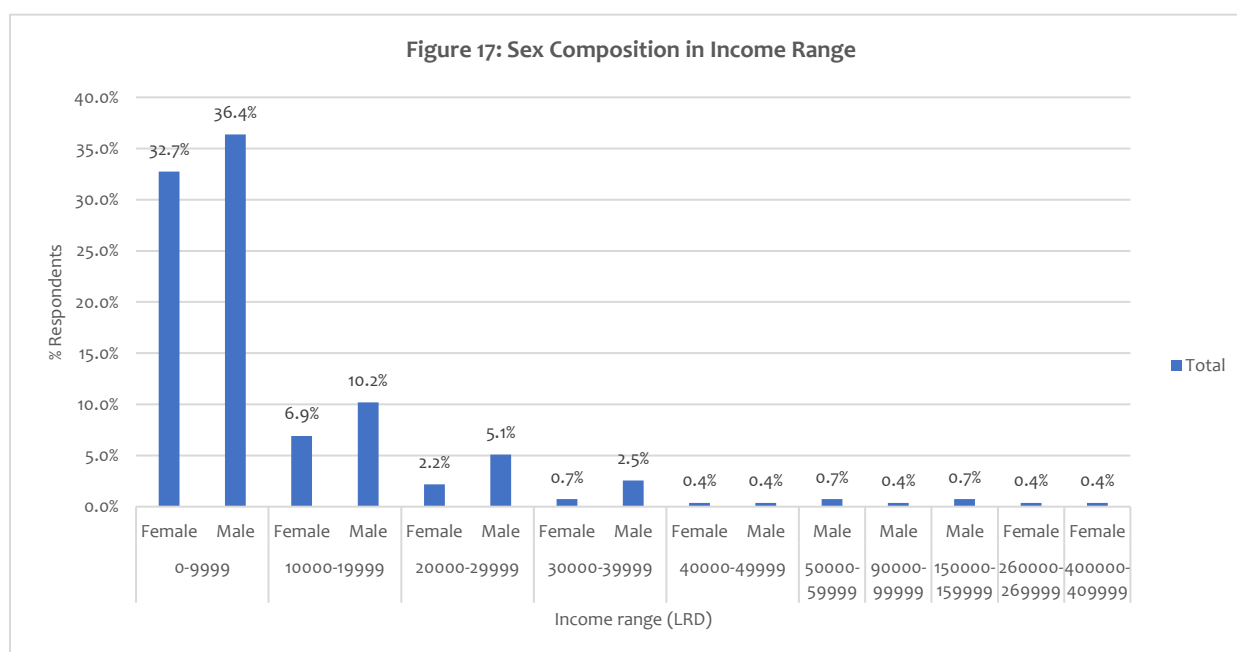
Source: Author’s construct using field data, January, 2019

Table 5: Communities' Mean Monthly and Daily Income

Community	Mean Monthly Income(LDR)	Mean Daily Income (LDR)
Ganglota	16,726.67	557.56
Salala	14,509.83	483.66
Salayea	13,275	442.50
Totota	15,720.09	524.00
Tumutu	15,365.07	512.17
Zorzor	14,571.07	485.70
<b>Overall</b>	<b>14,783.47</b>	<b>492.78</b>

Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

An interesting dimension of the pattern of income in the project communities is gender. Not only that fewer people in the agricultural sector move up the income ladder in general, but men have dominated in most of the income groups. Women come close to men in terms of proportion the lower the income range. As income rises, women disappear or are stuck in the lower level of the income ladder. Males are more in the middle-income ranges. Figure 17 depicts the sex composition in each income range.

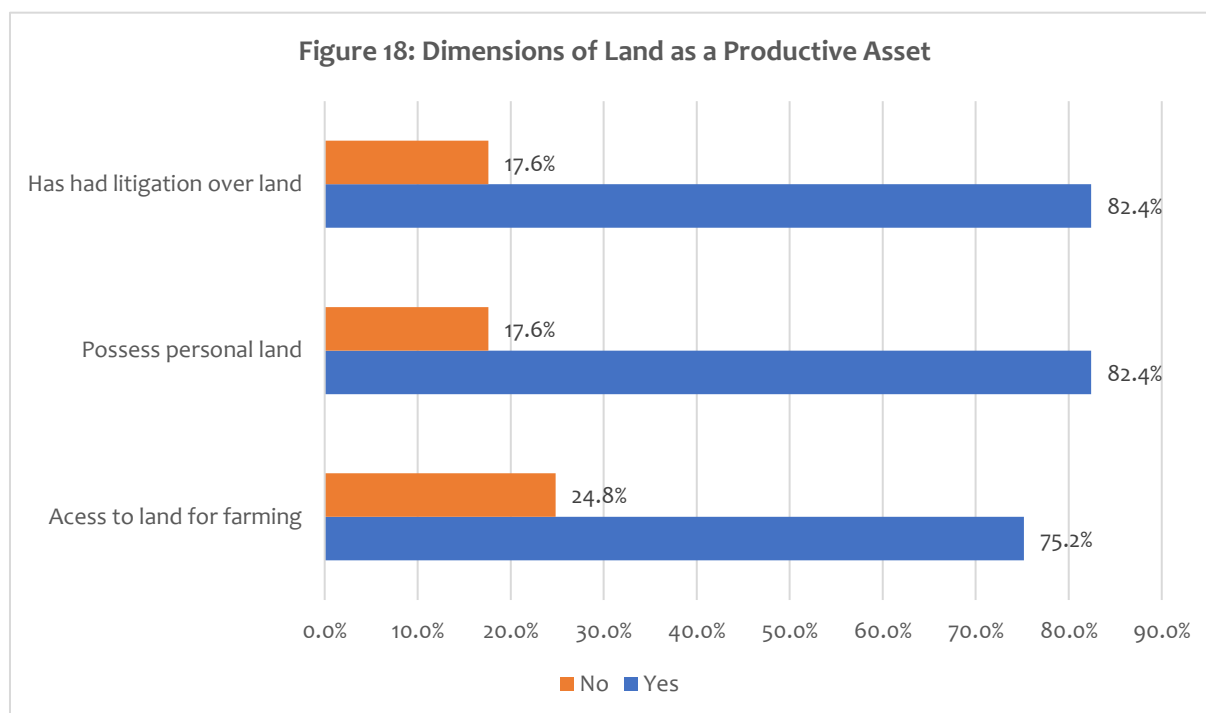


Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

### (3) Productive Assets

Productive assets include natural (e.g. land, water), human (e.g. educated people, trained/skilled labour), economic (e.g. credit/finance) among others (see Winters et al., 2009). In the last sections, educational levels and training is already analysed. In this section productive assets, given that the communities are set in the rural areas, the analyses will focus on land and credit. Since the project targets youth, focus on access to land is necessary for Bezu and Holden (2014) has empirically ascertained that lack of access to agricultural land forces youth in rural Africa to abandon agriculture for other livelihoods. Thus, land, access to water/irrigation, farm inputs and credit are used as proxy measures

of access to productive assets. Figure 18 represents the dimension of land in project communities while Table 6 looks at the registration pattern.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

Overall, majority of farmers indicated that they have land (75.2%) for farming activities, and 82.4% of the lands were personal assets. However, over 82% of landowners have had issues over land. Contestations over properties such as land affects their transferability such as their use as collateral and for productive activities.

Table 6: Registration of Land

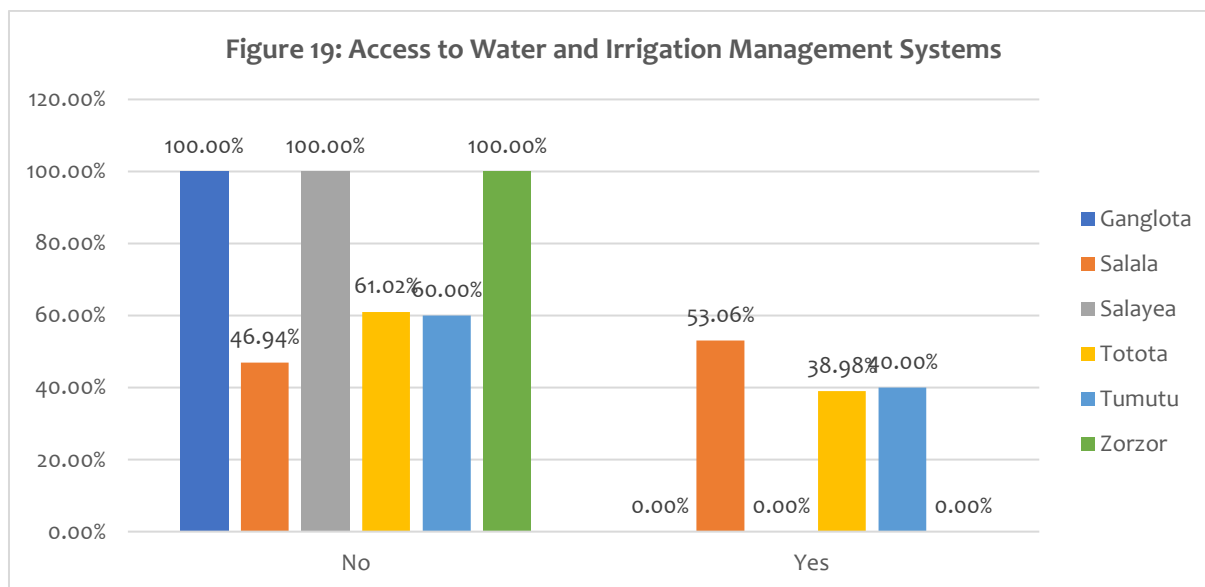
Community	Unregistered	Registered	Grand Total
Ganglota	50.00%	50.00%	100.0%
Salala	33.33%	66.67%	100.0%
Salayea	61.54%	38.46%	100.0%
Totota	36.00%	64.00%	100.0%
Tumutu	30.00%	70.00%	100.0%
Zorzor	61.67%	38.33%	100.0%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>44.53%</b>	<b>55.47%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

This is made more problematic given that, overall, close to half (44.5%) of owners have not registered their lands. As Winters et al. (2009) noted, the value of rural land and its use as a productive asset is not solely dependent on size but more importantly on the nature of ownership and transferability of titles. In short, a contested land might not permit its use for farming by the parties involved nor would credit provider accept it as collateral. It is no surprise that, project beneficiaries, revealed through focus group discussions, a guarantor

is more acceptable to potential ‘supporter’<sup>1</sup> instead of land as collateral for farming loans (See Box 1 for more details).

Infrastructure as water and irrigation systems are important productive assets in rural, rain-fed agricultural production. In Figure 19 details respondents’ physical access to water management and irrigation systems for agricultural activities.



Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

Overall, 69.38% of the respondents indicated they do not while 30.62% reported they do have access to water control and management systems for farming. Thus, majority of farmers rely on rain for agricultural activities especially crop production. This suggests two things: first, seasonally people are unemployed in the off-raining season, and, second, labour and land underutilization are occasioned by limited access to water systems for all-year farming. However, focus groups discussion with direct beneficiaries revealed interesting issues regarding land. Box 1 examines the issue of land among direct beneficiaries.

<sup>1</sup> Support is a concept used to describe local, informal and often market sellers who provide credit to farmers at an interest. See details under credit section.

### **Box 1: How Beneficiaries Access Inputs (Tools, Finance and Labour): A Rural Inputs Acquisition System (RIAS)**

In agricultural production, the farmer (i.e. his or her labour power) is the foremost input. Once a farmer makes the decision to make a farm, he or she is committing his or her labour power in the bargain to combine the power with land. Before thinking about getting tools and other fixed asset, land must be secured. However, access to inputs like land after a resolution to do farming is a challenge. Young farmers in the project communities have found themselves in a fascinating system to assure that that access to land does not exclude them from agricultural livelihoods.

In what is here described as Rural Inputs Acquisition System (RIAS), is a local community arrangement that serves as market for exchange of inputs among agriculture inputs owners and farmers. RIAS works with three means of exchange: the use of money, labour power and barter. Farmers adopt any of these means of exchange depending on what is available to them.

#### **A. How Beneficiaries Acquire Land for Farming**

As noted in an Ethiopian case by Bezu and Holden (2014), land has been the deterring factor to youth's effective choice of agriculture as a livelihood. Amidst challenges, young farmers in the project communities obtain land by rent, hire utilization. For example, Salala and Tumutu, land went for 1500 Liberian dollars in 2018 farming season, this increased to 2000 Liberian dollars in the present farming season. In lieu of cash payment, a potential renter makes a post-harvest payment of 2 bags of, say, cassava in 2018, now increased to 3 bags this season. Landowners argue that rent suffers inflationary reduction in value. To make the value stable, owners input inflation rate in the rent calculus, and then land prices increase.

The other issue is that at the beginning of the farming season, young farmers noted they have neither the required money nor bags of produce. So, where do they get money? First, young farmers intimated that labour begets money for renting land. For example, young women farmers undertake charcoal picking (the act of exhuming charcoal into bags) for commercial charcoal burners. Commercial charcoal burners burn more than they can timely process. Additional labour force is hired for that. Young female farmers take this opportunity heartily, pick for a commission. For every 21 bags of charcoal, a picker is entitled to 1 bag, which the owner often buys, ultimately paying in cash to the concerned picker. This money is multipurpose: it goes into renting land and buying other inputs such as tools. Who provides this kind of rural financial services? And this leads to how financial resources are obtained for farming (see Box 3).

Source: Focus Group Discussion and Key Informant Interviews, November, 2019



### Box 2: How Beneficiaries Acquire Labour and Tools

In the RIAs, labour begets labour. Labour is an input women are much concerned about in the project communities. They noted their lack of physique that is needed to do the drudgery farming. So, women acquire labour by hiring men with cash obtained from other activities such as charcoal picking. Sometimes the money is borrowed from *susu*. With no machinery for farm activities as tilling and brushing, farm work is a matter of physical strength. Young female farmers complain that they are unable to do this compared to their male counterparts, thus putting them at a disadvantage. To get free labour, they sometimes must take their children to farm, where the women have children. Or join a labour-based self-help group (*kuu*). *Kuus* are used for both land preparation and crop harvesting. Beneficiaries are not cooperatives but mainly operate in *kuus in lieu*.

Farming is predominantly by hand and simple tools. But these tools are not readily accessible both physically and economically. Farmers who need tools for farming but have no money to buy, turn to the community metal smith who manufactures these simple tools as cutlasses and hoes. The marginal substitution rate for a cutlass or hoe is three (3) days labour on the smith's farm. After the 3 days and if the smith is satisfied, you get a cutlass or hoe. In cases where the smith is dissatisfied with the work, conflict arises. You either work for additional day(s), get her/his blessing, and then obtain your tool. Or you opt out, that is refuse working for additional day(s), without your needed tools.

Inputs such as seeds (not certified seeds) are acquired through barter or labour, too. Those who have seed stock at the start of the season offer at a value. By either exchanging for seeds or varieties they want but do not have. Or seed owners 'sell' excess seeds to other farmers who pay through the equivalent of labour work on the seed provider's farm. Alternatively, an amount of rice seeds could earn an amount of sesame seeds. For what may be called varietal exchanges, a given number of sticks of one variety of cassava could fetch equivalent number of sticks of another variety from another farmer. For seeds, there are no exact number of days one must labour on seed provider's farm, it depends on the quantity of seeds at stake. That is, the larger the quantity of seeds, the more the days of labour on the seed owner's farm. Thus, beneficiaries labour power begets them almost all farm inputs.

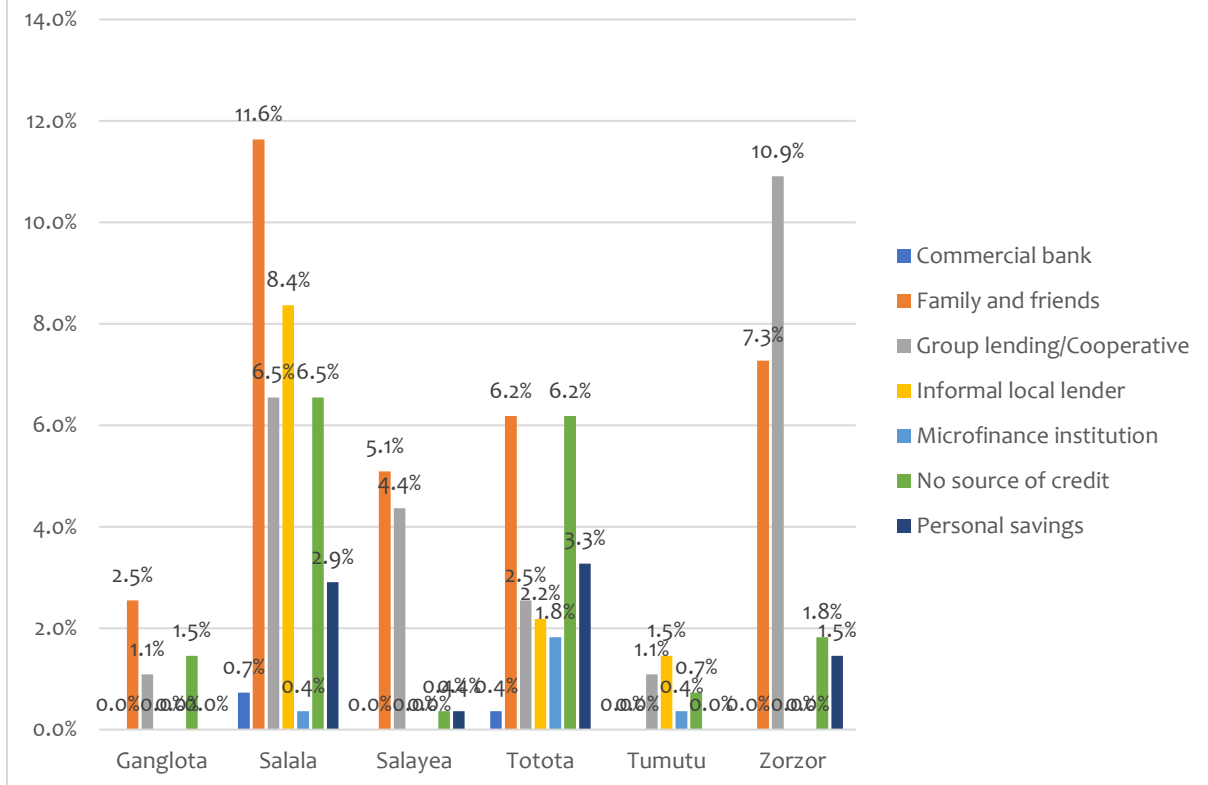
Source: Focus Group Discussion and Key Informant Interviews, November, 2019

#### (4) Credit, Markets and Inputs

Access to credit is a major challenge in the project communities. Mainly, farmers rely on family and friends, saving associations and informal individual lenders. Banks and micro-finance institutions are the least common source of credit for farmers. These are common among 1.09% and 2.55% respectively of respondents. In order of prominence, family and friends, *susu*, informal individual lenders and savings are sources of credit for 32.73%, 26.55% and 8.00% respectively of respondents. Moreover, 17.09% reported having no access to credit for farming. However, focus group discussion ascertained that respondents are not satisfied with current avenues open to them. They argue that such credit stifles their growth and traps them in spiralling micro-debts. See Figure 20 for sources of credit in the project communities.



Figure 20: Common Sources of Credit



Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

From Figure 20, in Ganglota respondents rely most on family and friends likewise Salala, Salayea and Totota. In Tumutu and Zorzor, informal lenders and susus are the major sources of credit respectively. Box 2 details how direct beneficiaries access finance for farming.



### Box 3: Accessing Finance through RIAS

It is the rural credit and savings association known as susu who fill in the abyss left by the absence of rural banks and MFIs. Susu groups are closed groups, their services should be restricted to only members. This has made it difficult sometimes for non-members to get their credit services especially loan. But young farmers in project communities have devised a solution to get around the problem. For young farmers who need credit for farming from susu groups, a guarantor who is a member of the susu concerned and is in good standing is required. This is for security reasons: should the debtor default, the susu member will repay the loan. Or the young farmers undersign that should he/she default his/her property such as house or future farm be confiscated in lieu. Though properties as a rural thatch house might not sell in the housing market, its seizure serves two purposes: to penalize and to deter. Accounts exist of young farmers suffering this fate.

In this arrangement, susu's give loans to young farmers at interest rate of 40% (beneficiaries noted) e.g. if a farmer borrows 10 Liberian dollars, as the principal, he/she repays 14 dollars. Note that this rate of interest is way higher than the real interest rate in Liberia of 15.8 in 2017. Even if inflation is not considered, susu's interest rate is still higher. But susu's do not play with the interest, it is deducted at source. So, for 10 dollars, 6 dollars will be disbursed, and the borrower pays 10 dollars in the end. This means that in RIAS financing, farmers lose the opportunity to work with the entire amount borrowed (principal). All the project beneficiaries who participated in the focus group discussion did acquire and still acquire finance for agriculture especially crop production this way.

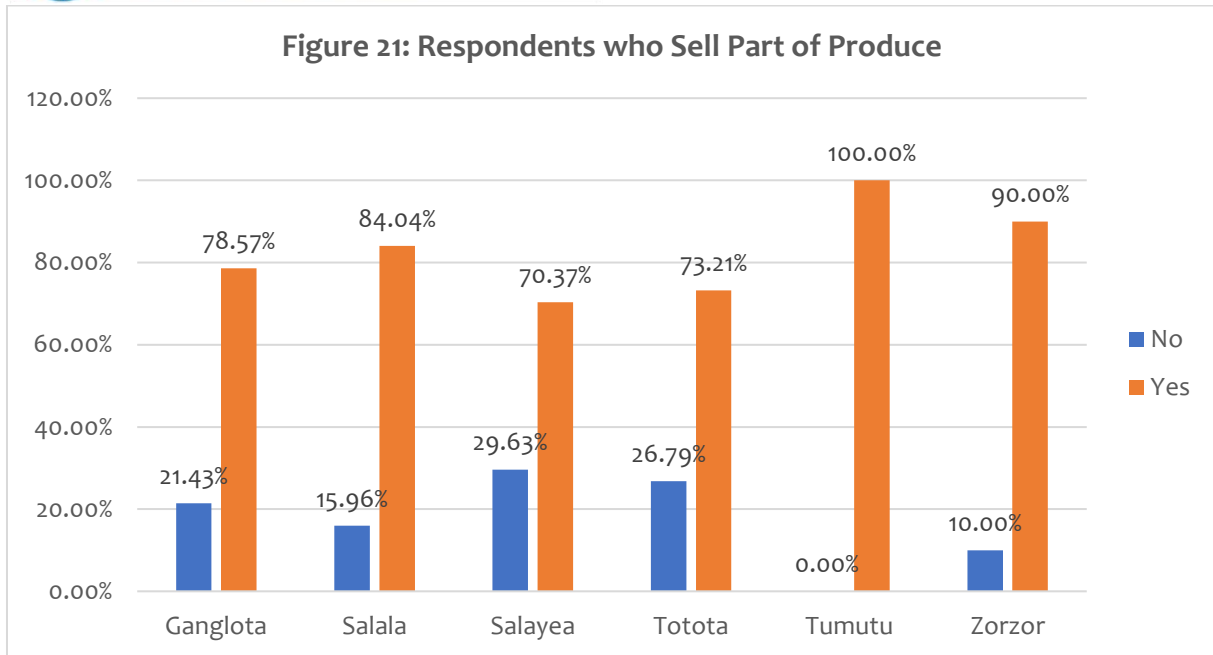
Alternative to susu cash disbursement to potential young-farmer borrowers, individuals called "supporters" are sometimes the financiers. Supporters are usually freelance people who sometimes lend money to farmers under some terms. Commonly, they are market women who deal in the sale of farm products in community markets. Supporters provided farm financing under the terms that the financed farmer would sell to the produce to the supporter, mostly at what discussants called "suppressed price."

This arrangement has subjected young farmers to the status of price takers after harvest. Supporters determine how much to pay for the produce the supported farmers present for sale after harvest. Beneficiaries are fully aware of the negative effect on their progress as young farmers. They describe this as 'price suppression'. Price suppression involves supporters placing prices on farm produce far below the going market price, accounting the difference as interest and then count suppressed price toward the principal payment. It is not only price that is suppressed in this system, the young farmers growth is stunted. Young farmers admit they are trapped in a spiral of micro-debts. You borrow from on supporter, the farm fails, the next year you borrow from another, with the hope to make it and pay both, it also fails and before you know it you are trapped. In this micro-debt trap, farmers then wok every year, unfortunately not for themselves, for harvest is charted to supporters' homes leaving them with barely little to survive the period. This leaves the development of their farms, potential to wean themselves off this system and other aspects of live, dependent on hope that the next season things will be better.

Source: Focus Group Discussion and Key Informant Interviews, November, 2019

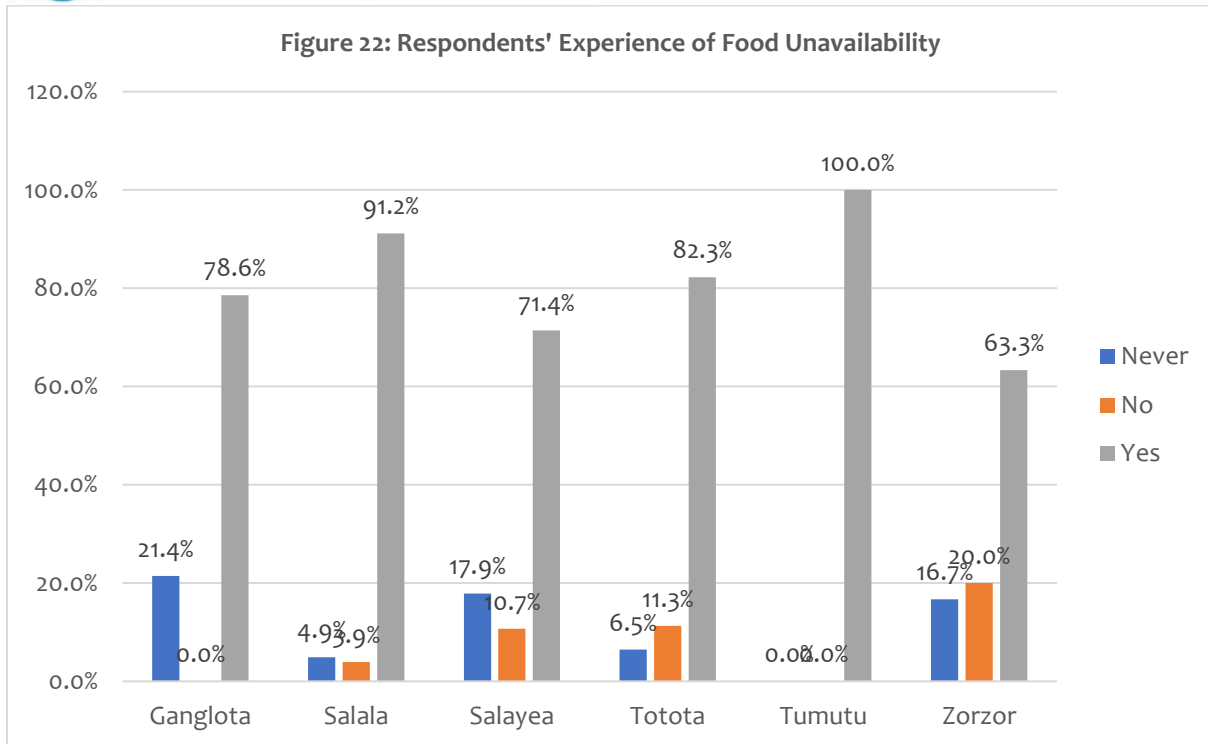
As farmers, respondents indicated they sell part of their produce especially during the time of the harvest and even especially perishable products as fruits and vegetables for there are no storage for perishables. So, perishables become from-farm-to-market product whether prevailing prices are good. Non-food items are acquired through income gained from the sale of farm produce. Figure 21 depicts the number of beneficiaries who sell part of their farm produce for other live needs.





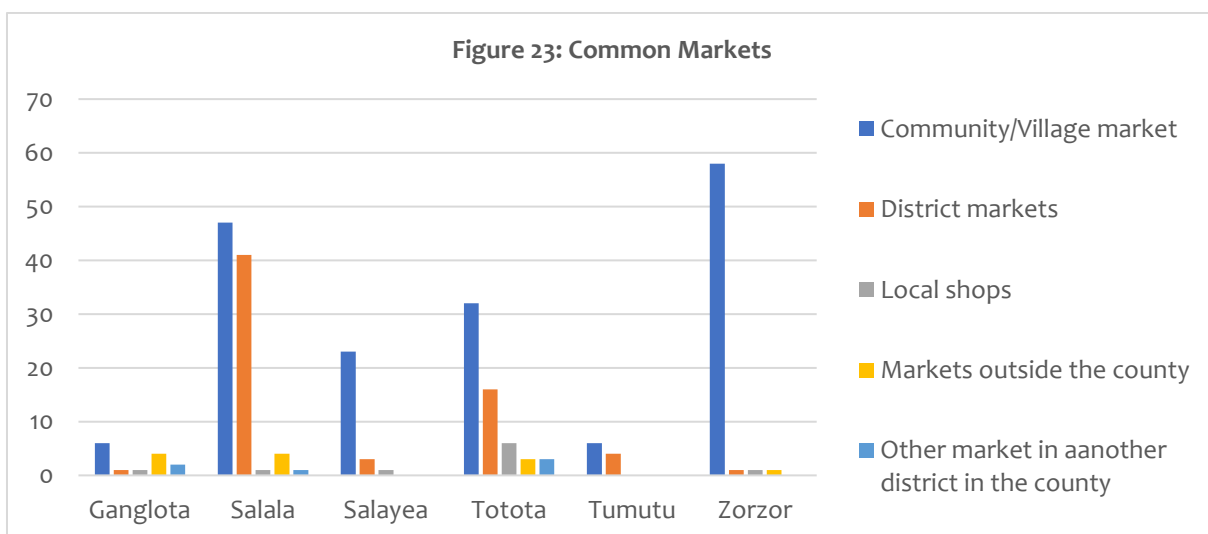
Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

Though many sell parts of their produce for income to serve other purposes, it does not mean that respondents have enough to meet their food needs throughout the year. Out of discussions, it emerged that because farming is the major if not sole source of income for the respondents, all other expenditure is financed through the sale of produce to finance healthcare, education, shelter and clothing. This over reliance on sole source of income through farming, sometimes compels farmers to sell their produce leaving them with little to nothing to eat. Thus, it has always not been long after harvest and farmers and their households have nothing to eat. Moreover, discussants indicated that the lack of diversified food culture (i.e. over/sole reliance on rice) makes farmers abandon other food stuff as plantain and cocoyam to supplement rice. For this reason, rice runs quickly out of stock meanwhile other food stuffs are considered unworthy. This, which authorities described as poor food management, accounts for the food unavailability in the period between harvest and next planting season. It is thus no surprise that 80.8 per cent of respondents acknowledge times they had to go without food, and 19.2 per cent did not experience times without food in the last few months of which 9.8 per cent never had food shortage. Figure 22 presents the proportion of respondents who experienced food unavailability. And see Annex 1 for the various coping strategies and their use among respondents.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019

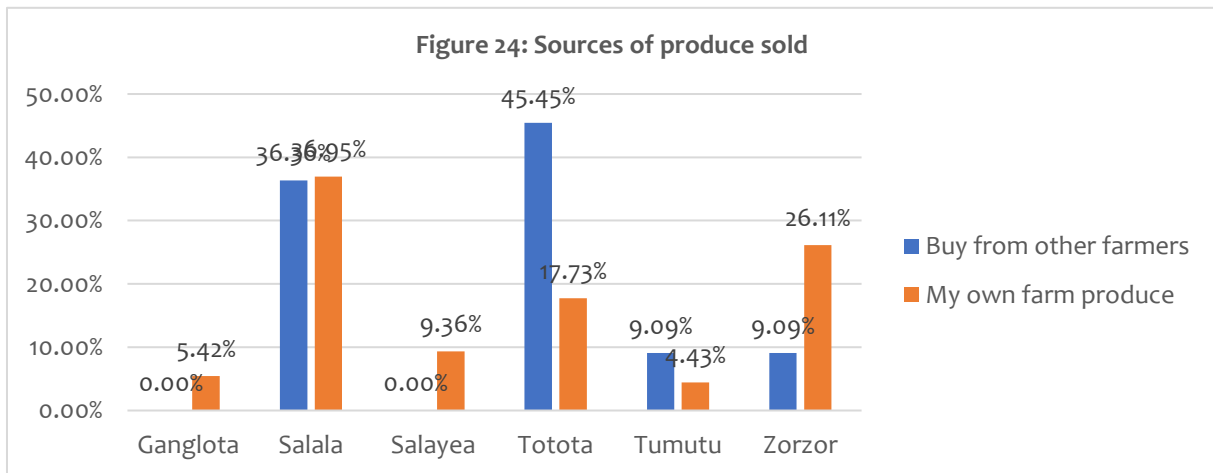
Among farmers who sell farm produce, majority (see Figure 23) of respondents sell their produce in village/community markets. It seems from the data that choice of market is driven by proximity. The poor condition of the existing rural farm-to-market roads coupled with the scarcity of means of transport and the relative cost to small-scale rural farmers in the project communities makes it unprofitable to choose a distant market. Moreover, for perishables, they are severely damaged.



Source: Author's construct using field data, November, 2019



In more accessible communities as Tumutu, Salala and Totota, trade in agricultural produce is more common. This is because people can easily buy, transport to and sell in other markets, explaining the almost paralleling of respondents who sell their own farm produce and those who buy from other farmers and sell compared to other communities. In difficult-to-access communities as Ganglota, Salayea and Zorzor, majority of respondents basically sell their own farm produce especially during the time following harvest. Figure 24 represents the sources of agricultural produce respondents do sell.



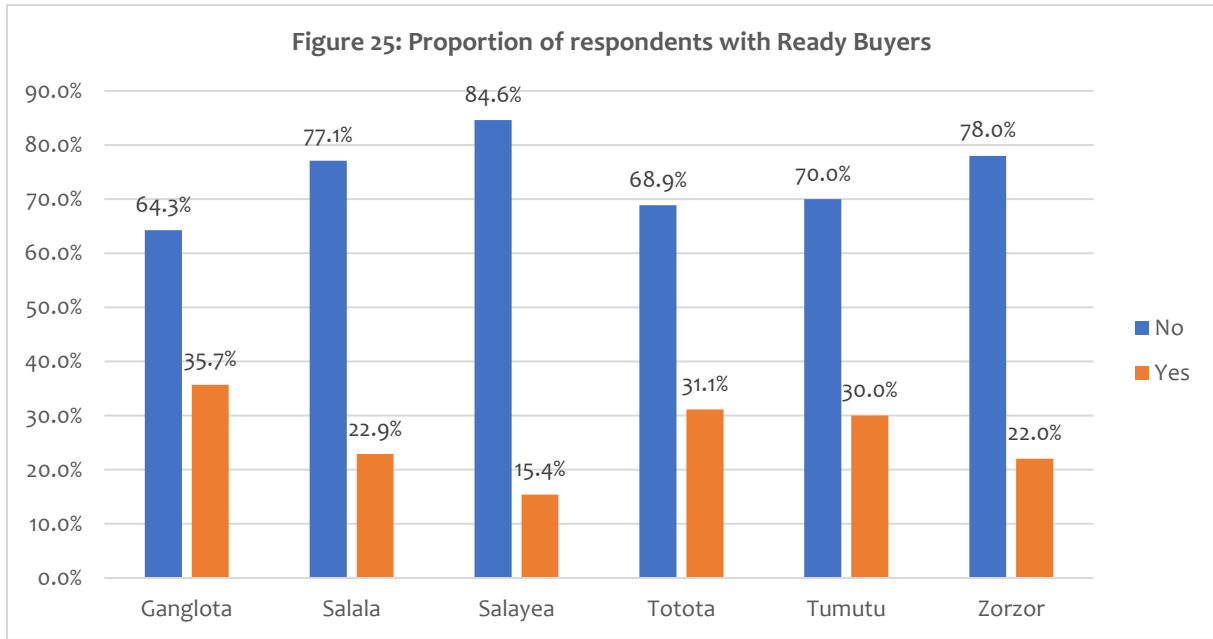
Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

Through focus groups discussions, beneficiaries lamented the difficulty in transporting goods: both from the farm to the house and to the market. Farms, they noted, are miles away from home connected with footpaths, making it difficult to bring produce home and to the markets. They either bring produce home or resort to the idea of ‘farm rice kitchen’. With this, farmers do not have to worry about bringing home their produce. A farm rice kitchen, otherwise known as a barn, is made with rafters and palm-frawns formed into a hut-like structure, a wattle and daub hut. The cone of the structure is transformed into a storage space using sticks to deck the lower part of the coned top. Rice and other farm produce are then packed in the storage space formed by the decked-cone top, and wood fire is often prepared underneath to provide warm for preservation through the deterrence of rodents, insects and pests’ attack and infestation.

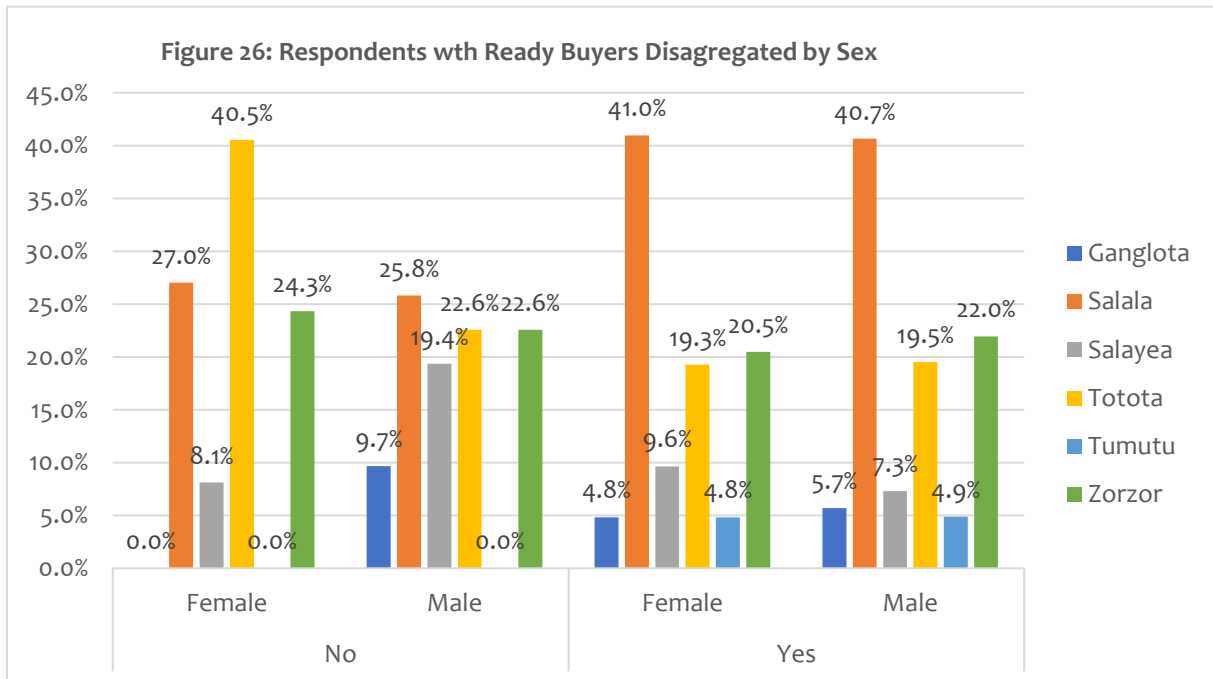
In all project communities, majority [(75.63%) (see Figures 25 & 26)] of respondents do not have established market linkages in the proxy of an off takers/ready buyers. In all communities, at least 64 per cent (mx 35.7% have) of respondents do not have ready



buyers. The proportions which stated they have ready buyers are referring to the ‘supporters’ who provide credit in return for goods payments after harvest. These buyers, as stated earlier, were described as ‘price suppressors’ during focus groups discussions, implying that with better market linkages supporters as off-takers will be severed.



Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019



Source: Author’s construct using field data, November, 2019

## **(5) Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **a. Conclusions**

Beneficiaries and project communities at large very well appreciate the critical role of agriculture in their lives. However, several challenges inhibit the practical realization of this understanding of the importance of agriculture. These hindrances include access to and control over productive assets including land, water and irrigation systems, advisory services, marketing, skills and techniques and practices improvement through training, finance and other inputs such as seeds, tools and equipment.

Despite the challenges, youth are still engaged in agricultural activities and improvising local solutions to the challenges they face. One thing is that the organization of farming is ineffective: farming groups are limited to labour-based service provision, finance is based on family and friends and individual lenders. This means that farming activities are limited to subsistence scale thereby contributing to the limited income generation from agriculture. As a corollary, agriculture is seen as not a gainful business, but activity done for lack of “better” alternatives. This notion, perhaps, is fuelled by the little or debts and losses farmers have suffered in the cause of farming which has shaped their minds that farming, if you are to make profit, is less of an employment to participate in.

### **b. Recommendations**

First, the results framework and indicators of the project outcome and relevant outputs be updated to reflect the baseline, and perhaps some of the indicators be modified to clarify them more (See the next section).

Second, project implementation should place more emphasis on the issue of finance especially the establishment of sustainable savings associations to resolve the perennial financial difficulties young farmers face in their effort to engage in agricultural activities.

Third, the difficulty of transporting produce from farm to home and the quantity involved, the fact that produces are for consumption and less for storage and sale when markets currents are good, construction of storage facilities is not relatively, for now, an important

challenge. There is need to re-balance resources from storages' construction to, say, establishing sustainable agricultural financing systems and providing more inputs and tools. Simple storage advice, techniques and methods such as woven polypropylene sacks could be of immense impact.

Five, young farmers seem full of zeal but little strategy and know-how, if possible, mentorship or provision of appropriate advisory services be made easily accessible to beneficiaries by, for example, assigning technical support to them.

Six, though this overboard, it is worth stating. The provision of public goods such as farm-to-market roads is essential.

Seven, there is need for critical project communication both to effectively manage beneficiaries' expectations and to send simple conscientizing and educative messages that could potentially change farmers attitudes and practices.

### c. Updated Indicators and Targets

Based on the survey results, the indicators of the outputs under outcome 2 are updated as follow:

#### Output 2.1 Indicator Targets

Indicator	Baseline (2019)	Target (2021)
Percentage of youth having more than two livelihood activities increased	51.84%	72%
% of beneficiaries trained	13.04%	50%
# of training manuals adapted to local context	0	2
# of TOT workshops conducted	0	1
% of youth provided with business training	13.04%	50%
# of mentorship and business management training conducted	0	2



# of capacity building training conducted	0	2
# of financial organizations technically supported by the project	0	2
Percentage of farmers linked to buyers	24.37%	50%
# of agro-processing centers established	0	1
% of farmers who reported selling produce at fair price	81.99% sell produce but 0% think price is fair	50%

### Output 2.2 Indicator Targets

Indicator	Baseline (2019)	Target (2020)
# of local partners engaged in developing/supporting youth agricultural cooperatives identified	0	2
# of beneficiaries' groups linked to financial institutions for agriculture finance	0	6
% reporting satisfactory access to finance	With access to finance 17.09% Satisfied with finance: 0%	With access to finance 50% Satisfaction with finance: 50%
#My.COOP training package adapted and available in the local language	0	2
# of TOT workshops conducted	0	2
#Number of youth groups trained in the formation of cooperatives using the My.COOP training package	0	6

### Output 2.3: Indicator Targets

Indicators	Baseline (2019)	Target (2021)
------------	-----------------	---------------



# of hectares identified and selected	0	30
# of youth cooperative farming groups established	0	10
# of youth groups supported with assorted agro inputs and machinery (seeds, tools, rain boots, processors)	0	10
# of post-harvest facilities constructed	0	2
% of youth (# of groups) trained on improved methods of rice and vegetable production	19.21%	50%
# of irrigation schemes rehabilitated and developed	0	8
Beneficiaries access to irrigation/irrigable water	30.62%	75%
% of beneficiaries with access to irrigation water for production	30.62%	50%
Number of vegetable and rice production training	0	0

#### Output 2.4: Indicator Targets

Indicators	Baseline (2019)	Target (2020)
# of equipped poultry production facilities constructed	0	4
# of birds stocked in poultry facilities	0	5000
Quantity (mt) of feed supplied to poultry facilities	0	16.5mt
% of beneficiaries trained on poultry production	3.8%	50%





## Annex 1: Coping Mechanisms among Respondents

Community/Response	Relied on less preferred food	Borrowed from others	Sold more assets	Reduced Meal Portions	Consumed seed stock	Migrated for jobs	Resorted to alternative transport means	Resorted to alternative healthcare	Resorted to alternative energy source	Relied on others support
Ganglota	5.09%	5.11%	5.15%	5.09%	5.13%	5.13%	5.11%	5.09%	5.11%	5.11%
Never	0.73%	0.73%	0.74%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%
Rarely (every 3 weeks)	0.73%	0.73%	0.74%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	3.64%	3.65%	3.68%	3.64%	3.66%	3.66%	3.65%	3.64%	3.65%	3.65%
Salala	36.73%	36.50%	36.76%	36.73%	37.00%	36.26%	36.50%	36.73%	36.86%	36.86%
Always (everyday)	8.73%	8.76%	8.82%	8.73%	8.79%	8.79%	8.39%	8.73%	8.76%	8.76%
Never	1.45%	1.46%	1.47%	1.45%	1.47%	1.47%	1.46%	1.45%	1.46%	1.46%
Often (every weeks)	7.64%	7.66%	7.35%	7.64%	7.69%	7.69%	7.66%	7.64%	7.66%	7.66%
Rarely (every 3 weeks)	1.09%	1.09%	1.10%	1.09%	1.10%	1.10%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	17.82%	17.52%	18.01%	17.82%	17.95%	17.22%	17.88%	17.82%	17.88%	17.88%
Salayea	9.82%	9.85%	9.93%	9.82%	9.89%	9.89%	9.85%	9.82%	9.85%	9.85%
Never	1.45%	1.46%	1.47%	1.45%	1.47%	1.47%	1.46%	1.45%	1.46%	1.46%
Rarely (every 3 weeks)	2.18%	2.19%	2.21%	2.18%	2.20%	2.20%	2.19%	2.18%	2.19%	2.19%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	6.18%	6.20%	6.25%	6.18%	6.23%	6.23%	6.20%	6.18%	6.20%	6.20%
Totota	22.55%	22.63%	22.43%	22.55%	22.34%	22.71%	22.63%	22.55%	22.63%	22.26%
Always (everyday)	1.82%	1.82%	1.84%	1.82%	1.83%	1.83%	1.82%	1.82%	1.82%	1.82%
Never	1.09%	1.09%	1.10%	1.09%	1.10%	1.10%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%
Often (every weeks)	5.82%	5.84%	5.51%	5.82%	5.49%	5.86%	5.84%	5.82%	5.84%	5.84%
Rarely (every 3 weeks)	2.55%	2.55%	2.57%	2.55%	2.56%	2.56%	2.55%	2.55%	2.55%	2.55%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	11.27%	11.31%	11.40%	11.27%	11.36%	11.36%	11.31%	11.27%	11.31%	10.95%
Tumutu	3.64%	3.65%	3.68%	3.64%	3.66%	3.66%	3.65%	3.64%	3.28%	3.65%
Always (everyday)	0.73%	0.73%	0.74%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%	0.73%
Often (every weeks)	1.09%	1.09%	1.10%	1.09%	1.10%	1.10%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	1.82%	1.82%	1.84%	1.82%	1.83%	1.83%	1.82%	1.82%	1.46%	1.82%



Zorzor	22.18%	22.26%	22.06%	22.18%	21.98%	22.34%	22.26%	22.18%	22.26%	22.26%
Never	5.09%	5.11%	5.15%	5.09%	5.13%	5.13%	5.11%	5.09%	5.11%	5.11%
Rarely (every 3 weeks)	1.09%	1.09%	1.10%	1.09%	1.10%	1.10%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%	1.09%
Sometimes (every 2 week)	16.00%	16.06%	15.81%	16.00%	15.75%	16.12%	16.06%	16.00%	16.06%	16.06%
Grand Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Author's calculations using field data, November 2019



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