



RAPID FOOD SECURITY ASSESSMENT IN THE WEST OF COTE D'IVOIRE

8-19 August 2011

I. INTRODUCTION

In anticipation of the upcoming budget revision for the WFP's emergency response following the electoral violence in Cote d'Ivoire, a rapid food security evaluation¹ was requested from the country office in order to adjust or orientate the WFP response in the upcoming months through the transition period. On this premise a joint mission in conjunction with the Emergency Preparedness and Response team was deployed from the regional bureau in Dakar.

a. POST ELECTION CONTEXT

The announcement of the results of the presidential election on November 28, 2011 marked the beginning of the recent crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. The country was divided between two declared presidential winners: Laurent Gbagbo, the outgoing president and Alassane Ouattara, and this division exacerbated tensions between different communities notably in the West. These tensions quickly turned into local conflicts where ten of thousands people fled their homes to neighboring Liberia and in host communities from areas of tension. Towards the end of March, the New Forces (now FRCI, Republican Forces of Côte d'Ivoire supporting Alassane Ouattara) conducted an offensive from the north towards Abidjan with the goal of ousting former President Laurent Gbagbo. The offensive was accompanied by conflict, in addition to civilian abuses targeting specific communities, looting and destruction of houses and businesses. The number of refugees and internally displaced quickly rose to 186 057 internally displaced and over accounted for 150,000 refugees in Liberia. The most recent figures indicate there are a total of 29 219² total IDPs registered nationally in official sites, out of which 23 418 are in the Moyen-Cavally and Dix-Huit Montagnes Regions. In addition to IPDs in sites, WFP is presently assisting approximately 21 000 host families, 185 000 returned IDPs and 300 000 returned refugees in the West.

The crisis comes at a time when the international economic situation is marked by high raw material prices, including some food commodities. During the political stalemate following presidential elections, an embargo was put on the country, not only hampering imports, but most importantly the country's economic lifeline- cash crops. Though drastically hindered, WFP's June market assessment found unofficial cross border trade was continued in spite of the embargo. In normal times, Côte d'Ivoire relies on the international cash crop markets that employ millions of Ivoirians. An estimated 6 million Ivoirians live from the cocoa industry and 2 million from the cashew industry. Cocoa prices have recovered and are climbing as business and exports resume and the main cocoa harvest season begins.

In the western regions of Moyen Cavally and Dix-Huit Montagnes, the present situation is different depending on the area. The level of present vulnerability in these areas depends on a number of factors such as: how long the communities were displaced, when did they return and gain access to their fields, do they have access now, and what alternative income sources do they have presently. A detailed zoning is outlined below in section III.

¹ This rapid food assessment has been conducted by Margie Rehm and Moustapha Toure

² "Qui fait Quoi dans Quel site de PDI" CCCM August 30, 2011

Facing many challenges, the new government does not yet have the capacity to fully address the numerous problems and ongoing humanitarian needs. Efforts are underway to assist in the return of refugees and IDPs to their place of origin, but the tensions and distrust that existed prior to this conflict will take time to dissolve and humanitarian actors must be aware of these sensitivities as rehabilitation projects are developed and targeting gets underway.

b. MISSION OBJECTIVES

- Conduct a food security analysis for each conflict affected group of in the West of Cote d'Ivoire.
- Outline the variation in the degrees of vulnerability across the different affected population groups (i.e. in-camp IDPs, IDPs in host families, host families, host communities, external returnees, etc.) and differences based on different other factors such as protection, geographic location, type and/or length of displacement and type of assets, etc.
- Forecast needs relative to each group for the coming next six months taking into account seasonal implications
- Analyze appropriate response modalities according to geographic zones and identified needs.

c. METHODOLOGY

- Consolidation and analyze existing secondary reports and data from partners, forming initial hypothesis of scenario, affected groups and needs
- Consultation with main stakeholders in Man
- Triangulation of analysis through focus group discussions and key informant interviews with various groups of affected people

II PARTICULARITY OF WESTERN COTE D'IVOIRE³

The west of Côte d'Ivoire constitutes the commercial heart for cocoa, coffee and wood production, due to its fertile soil that favors agro-industry. Encouraged by a systematic national policy to promote the fertile west, migrant workers from other regions of Côte d'Ivoire and neighboring countries have settled in this part of the country since the 1960s and 1970s. The Regions of Moyen Cavally and Dix-Huit Montagnes constituted two of the main arrival points for these migrants. With the aim of maximizing profit, the forest zone was progressively occupied, not only the plots of land that were already available, but also forest reserve land protected by the government against any form of exploitation. Since the western forest area is primary land for export agriculture, the issue of access to this land and its management has caused many tensions.

The return of young city-dwellers to the villages increased the demand on the land and created inter-generational conflicts as they have contested the transfer of property to migrants in their absence. This intra-community tension has in turn soured relations between indigenous inhabitants and migrants

³ Excerpt from 'Whose land is this? Land disputes and forced displacement in the western forest area of Côte d'Ivoire' IDMC and NRC, 2009

when, under pressure from the young people, the older generation have sometimes been led to question the sales that they had made with migrants. This is particularly true where the death of the seller has provided an opportunity for indigenous “guardians” who sold them the rights (tuteurs) to call into question the terms of exploitation agreements or the limits of the plots of land concerned. During the 2002 crisis, Moyen Cavally and Dix-Huit Montagnes experienced vast population displacements. Some 80,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) were recorded by humanitarian agencies in the Moyen Cavally region alone, following fighting between armed groups in 2002 and 2003 and growing insecurity due to the presence of pro-government militias and self-defense groups. This situation caused serial displacements, where groups caused others to flee and were then forced to flee in turn. On the one hand, the north-south conflict provoked massive displacements of part of the population along the Duékoué-Guiglo-Bloléquin axis and to the north, and on the other hand, inter-community conflicts caused groups of allochtones (citizens of Côte d’Ivoire) and allogènes (non-nationals) to seek refuge near the city of Guiglo. One of the underlying causes of the crisis that hit Côte d’Ivoire in 2002 was the resentment against access to the land by migrants, whether citizens or not. The importance placed on the concept of “Ivoirité” – which was used to deny non-Ivorians access to land ownership – is one of the manifestations of this resentment, which has equally affected migrants who are citizens of Côte d’Ivoire. This has had a particularly strong impact in the west of the country, with its economic potential connected to export agriculture and its many citizen and non-Ivorian migrants. The armed conflict exacerbated existing land ownership disputes due to the displacement and to the increase in deaths and inter-communal disputes relating to succession. In terms of displacement, disputes generally break out when the displaced individuals attempt to reclaim their plantations and realize that their plots have been occupied in their absence: either given to new migrants for exploitation without taking into account previous agreements or contracts or without the authorization of the rightful owners.

Even prior to this conflict, the persistence of tensions relating to land represented a considerable barrier to the return of displaced people and to their achievement of other durable solutions. The present day situation has flared up hostilities between the two groups of populations however because of the change in President and the perceived “under-dog”, who has access to the coveted agricultural land has changed again. Previously, when the allogènes fled, the autochthones ‘reclaimed’ land they felt was rightfully theirs. In 2008 the Bloléquin agreement and access to land was approved under profit sharing conditions (30 percent autochthones and 70 percent allogènes). Currently, in most areas it is now primarily the autochthones who are displaced and do not have access to their fields leaving them in a more vulnerable situation.

b. LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN THE WESTERN REGION

Rice: Rice is the predominant staple crop that is grown. The majority of households plant rainfed or upland rice between June and August each year and harvest in December or towards the beginning of the year. This year, as rains have started later than usual, many households planted as late as August because of their displacement and have said that if rains continue until the end of September they can anticipate some sort of harvest. Nevertheless, if rains come to an end in mid-September as they normally do, there is a very little chance that those who were able to plant something will be able to harvest anything.

A smaller percentage of people (22 percent⁴) can cultivate and have access to low-land rice (bas fond). In areas where there is more access to lowland rice cultivation (between Bin Houye and Toulépleu), farmers can produce two harvests per year, however this year the availability of seeds as well as displacement has greatly hindered planting in June-August, but efforts are currently underway to provide assistance for low land rice seeds before it is too late to plant for this season (end of August). Though upland rice is the most commonly grown in the area, it is also typically the only cereal crop grown by the autochtones and as prolonged displacement has impeded people's ability to plant, this may further emphasize vulnerability amongst this population. In normal years, the average household will harvest enough rice for 6-9 months of domestic consumption as well as a seed reserve for the next year. This year, the harvest will be affected depending on who has been able to plant, when did they plant and how successful were the rains in that area.

Other crops: A number of other cereal and tuber crops are grown throughout the area. Maize, cassava, yam, groundnuts, plantains are grown in varying importance according to the area and makeup of the population. Cassava is the most widely grown and largely consumed during the lean season with a portion of the crop sold other times of year. In normal years, it is the principal food consumed by the poorest households. This year cassava is playing a very important role in filling the gap for more than just the poor as looting was wide spread and host communities have shared remaining stocks with the displaced. Many people are presently consuming cassava that was planted more than a year ago and never eaten. This is not necessarily harmful for a short period of time as cassava is not nutritiously rich, but it is clear from discussions that most people prefer rice as well as more diversity in their staple food.

Though prices have increased for most commodities, fresh cassava prices have doubled since August last 2010. Contrary to most years, cassava prices will serve as an important indicator to household food security and the success of those years harvest.

Cash crops: Cocoa is the dominate cash crop in the west. In the past, coffee was extensively cultivated, but global market prices have discouraged farmers from exploiting their plantations and many farmers are destroying the areas under coffee cultivation to replace with rubber trees. In Cote d'Ivoire, there are two cocoa harvests per year. The largest one runs from September to March. Whether a household has been able to clean and exploit their plantations this year is a large determining factor to the health of a household's food security in a period where not everyone has been able to plant a rice field. Traditionally, the poorest households exploit a small field that is often not owned but rented or sharecropped and then takes advantage of the peak cultivation periods to work in other peoples fields. This lack of casual labor not only represents a source of vulnerability to those who own the plantations, but also for those households that rely on agriculture labor for an important part of their livelihood, most often the poorest.

Though not commonly planted as a plantation in the Dix-Huit Montagnes and Moyen Cavally, oil palm is an important income generating activity for many households and will play an important role this year as the situation returns to normal and families seek additional income to replace lost assets or revenue

⁴ Côte d'Ivoire : Evaluation approfondie de la sécurité alimentaire Septembre/Octobre 2006-FAO, WFP

Vegetable gardening												
Planting												
Harvest												
Palm oil												
Harvest												
Processing												

** In the Toulépleu region

III. PRESENT SITUATION

Description of identified zones:

Zone 1: The prefectures of Danane, Teapleau, Banneu and Mahapleu are where during the conflict the population fled preemptively to safe areas to the east of their villages and very few went into Liberia. There was little to no destruction of infrastructure, however almost everything of value was pillaged from homes and businesses. The population was displaced for a few weeks, but returned in time to clean their fields and plant upland rice despite finding no food or seed stocks upon their return. This year's lean season is particularly long and replacing productive assets has created additional stress on households. That said, 'la grande traite' or cocoa harvest starts in September and continues through February where many families will have access to income and other cash crops. In September/ October the upland rice is harvested.

Commercial activities have resumed and appear to be normalized. Prices of imported goods such as rice and vegetable oil are 14 and 30 percent higher than last year however cassava prices have doubled due to its importance as a staple lean season crop in normal times and this year it is the main food that has sustained people since the crisis and stocks are running lower than normal. Upcoming rice crops will greatly ease any pressure on the cassava supplies.

Zone 2: The prefectures of Zouan Houye and Bin Houye have similar characteristics as those above, however the populations in these areas fled to Liberia and a smaller percentage of returnees were able to plant rice, upland and lowland, due to a later return or complete lack of rice seeds. Nevertheless the population has had access to cash crop plantations for months and income and harvest, though smaller than normal, is expected in the next two months.

Markets are functioning, yet either because this region is a bit more isolated due to the road conditions or the progress of return has been slower, commerce activities are resuming at a slower rate than zone Some partners are planning cash transfer projects that exceed the going daily wage and may create additional labor market distortion should this continue. All market monitoring should also include daily agriculture labor wages.

Zone 3: Starting from Toulépleu and continuing through to Tiobly, Bacobly, Meho, through to Pehe, these prefectures fled during the fighting and have been more apprehensive in their return as this zone

is not as ethnically homogenous as the two previous zones. Though despite having some tension between the autochthones and allogènes communities, land tenure disputes are less inflammatory as in other areas and though they normally live and work better together, presently there is still some hesitation of returning to the fields or campements.

In these areas, the population fled primarily to Liberia and only an estimated 50 percent had returned in August. Almost no one planted upland rice, but those who have returned hope to find lowland rice seeds that are in high demands and virtually impossible to find. Unlike other areas visited during this assessment, the Toulépleu area is suitable for two lowland rice harvests a year. The planting period for one has just passed at the end of August and the next planting season is in December with subsequent harvests next April 2012.

The commercial environment is still very quiet not only because most of the businesses were looted, but because almost all traders, the largest to the smallest, operate by procuring all goods on loan and repaying after a portion of borrowed goods are sold. Because many of these traders do not have the capacity to pay back the loan for the goods that were looted, businesses have not resumed and the markets are operating at a lower capacity. On the contrary, one trader interviewed mentioned that because security has improved and the numbers of roadblocks have reduced, more traders from Guinea and Liberia are in the market and pushing out local small traders struggling to revive their business after the crisis.

Zone 4: The largest of the identified zones, zone four is the most affected by the most recent conflict, but has a long history of strife between autochthones and allogènes communities stemming from the land tenure issues described above. Zone 4 starts in Bolequin and carries all the way over to Guiglo and then Bangolo. In these areas returnees are coming back very slowly and tentatively, but the majority of people are still too concerned for their safety to access their fields and therefore have much less cultivating or income generating capacity. Interventions and targeting in these areas must be implemented with tremendous sensitivity as intercommunal tensions are still very high and any imbalance may provoke unrest.

Markets are functioning to a degree, but as many people have still not returned, trade is still quite limited. Assistance after the initial return package should be reevaluated in the coming months. A large number of people will not have their annual harvest rice or cash crop harvest so assistance will likely be needed after December. School feeding and nutritional support activities carry the lowest risk of exacerbating underlying tensions.

Zone 4a: This zone has the same political and cultural problematic as zone 4, however urban based (Guiglo and Duekoue). The two cities experienced extensive destruction of houses and businesses. A large number of people are still displaced and staying in host families as well as IDPs sites. Though markets have been disrupted and trade between autochthones and allogènes is either nonexistent or apprehensive, the general commerce/trading situation are very dynamic despite the separation of commercial relationships.

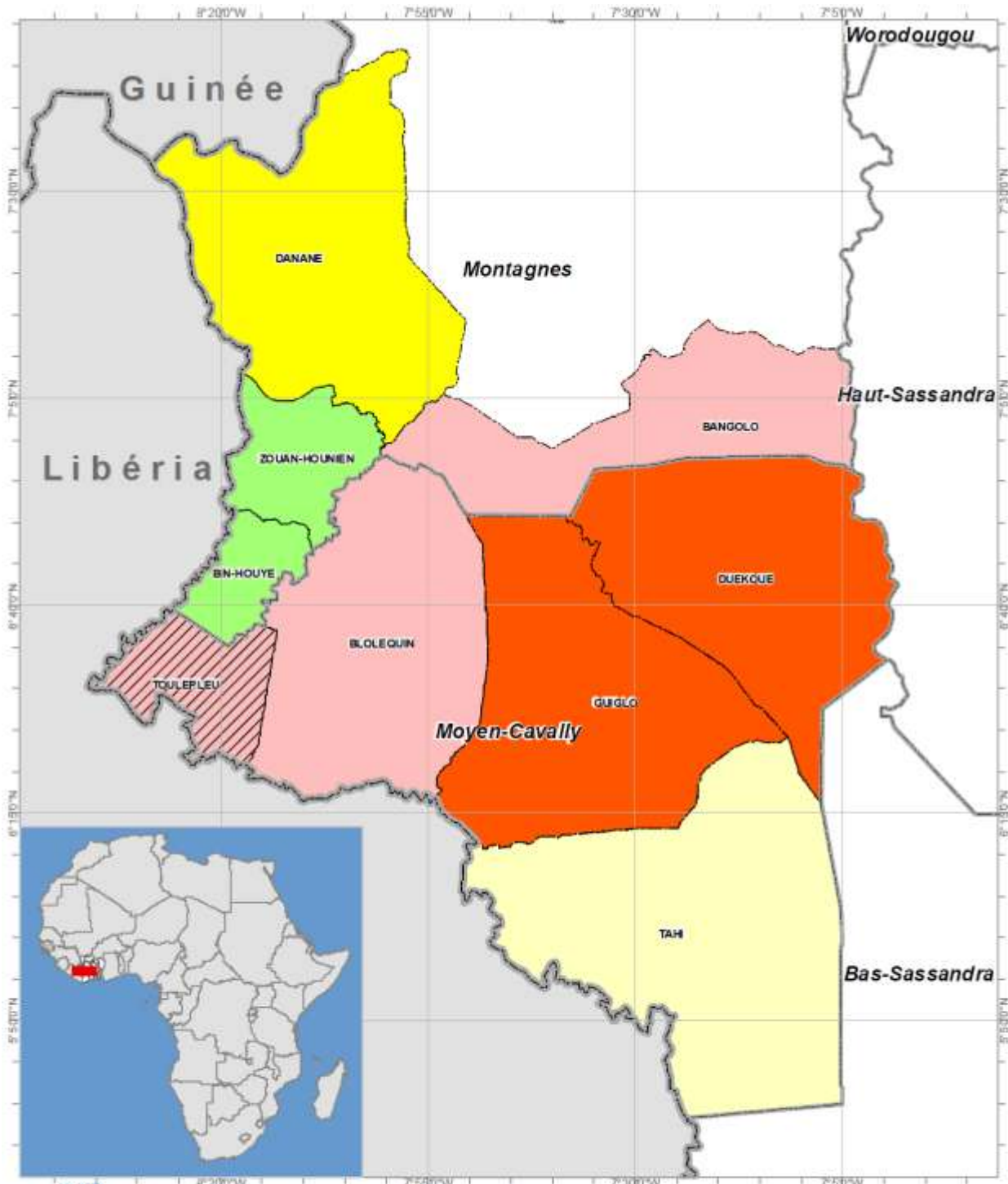
Though this is an urban area, peri-urban agriculture is quite important for many people's livelihoods. Access to the outskirts of town is still limited and has reduced the coping capacity of many families who rely on agricultural based activities. The households who earn a living through commerce or other service based activities (carpentry/taxi) may have lost some productive assets or presently have fewer clients, but if the economic environment continues to recover at the present pace, they will not need to be further assisted.

Presently the most affected quarters have extensive numbers of burned houses, but there are no plans for the displaced to return and many are waiting to see how legislative elections will influence the security situation before initiating reconstruction activities.

The vibrant commercial environment makes urban centers such as Duekoue and Guiglo well placed to integrate potential cash transfer components to the recovery process. The extensive infrastructural damage, such as common markets, will require rebuilding that may be a valuable occasion for cash for work. A large number of individual houses and businesses were destroyed, though not appropriate as 'for work', cash transfers may be looked into as a possible response.

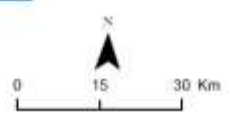
Zone 5: The axe south of Guiglo through Tai has had clashes and displacement as recent as July. Before the latest fighting, the vast majority of those who fled in March and April had returned home within a month of their departure and started cultivating. The most recent clashes prompted the population that customarily lives in campements to seek refuge in town, however they still have access to their fields during the day but chose to sleep in more populated areas. Throughout this zone, rice, maize, yams, plantains and cocoa fields were being harvested or very close to maturity. This area has a greater number of productive rubber plantations than other areas visited, offering a steady revenue.

Though there is a significant amount of anxiety regarding safety and risk of retribution amongst the communities visited, agricultural activities or access to income has not be substantially affected as a result of the displacement. The situation should be closely monitored to ensure this continues and markets function normally.



COTE D'IVOIRE : zones d'intervention
OD_Dakar, Food Security Unit, 2011

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations



- Zone 1
- Zone 2
- Zone 3
- Zone 4
- Zone 4a
- Zone 5

Zone	Region	Problematic	Types of population	Return	Constraints	Opportunities	Recommendations
1	Teapleu, Danané Banneu Mahapleu	Precautionary Displacement	Internal returnees Displaced External returnees	90% of people returned	-Harvest and assets looted -Late planting -Lack of diversified diet (primarily cassava) -Longer than normal lean season -Lack of manual labor for field work as everyone is occupied in their own field	-Rains started late -Brief displacement (1month) -Availability of lowland rice fields -Cash crop (cocoa) fields cleaned -The majority of households have planted upland rice -Population does not have problems with social cohesion. (homogeneous ethnicity) -No security problems -Access to alternative income sources (Processing and sale of palm oil) -Markets functioning -Sale of cocoa starting in September -Rice harvests between October and December	For the most vulnerable, complimentary ration (50%) during 2 months (August-September) Return packages of 3 months assistance for returnees still present in the Danane camp Rehabilitation (Nov->) Very little identified needs, however if desired cash intervention would be suitable.
2	Bin Houyé, Zouan Houyé	Precautionary Displacement	External returnees Internal Returnees	90% of people returned	-Harvest and assets looted -Late planting -Lack of seeds from looting and none in market -Lack of diversified diet (primarily cassava) -Longer than normal lean season -Lack of manual labor for field work as everyone is occupied in their own field	-Brief displacement (1 to 2 month) -Access to low lying rice fields (bas- fonds) -Half of the households have planted upland rice fields -Alternative income sources (processing and sale of palm oil, and fishing) -Commerce of cross border products (plantain) -Markets functioning -Cleaning of cash crop fields (cocoa and some coffee) -No security problems -sale and income from cocoa from December -No problems related to social cohesion (homogenous)	For those who have returned between May and July- complimentary ration (50%) assistance until end of October Returnees who arrived after August to be assisted with a return package of 3 months Rehabilitation FFW/CFW assistance for most vulnerable

Zone	Region	Problematic	Types of population	Return	Constraints	Opportunities	Recommendations
3	Toulepleu Tiobly Bacobly Meho Nézobly Péhé	Displacement after clashes	External returnees Internal Returnees	50% of people returned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Harvest and assets looted - Extensive destruction of houses -Looting of stores and businesses -Scarcity of rice seeds in market -Population does not feel the environment is secure -Market is not yet fully recovered and is inadequately supplied -Untended cocoa fields due to <u>sense</u> of insecurity -Limited access to credit - Inadequate diet diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Possibility of a second harvest for low land rice between January and March -Stable security -Access to cocoa plantations -Fewer social cohesion problems as a result land tenure -Market recovery has started but progress is much more timid than in previous zones 	<p>Assistance of a full monthly ration until end of October for those who have returned between May and June.</p> <p>For returnees that have arrived from July, support of a full monthly ration until the end of December</p> <p>Rehabilitation Analyze cash feasibility post Nov. FFW may be more appropriate, school feeding and nutrition support carries lowest risk</p>
4	Bloléquin Zéaglo Tinhou Dioboké Doké Bangolo Bagohouo Zou Kahin – Zarabahon Gohouo- Zagna Diouzon Zeo Kaadé	Land tenure tension and displacement	External returnees Internal Returnees Displaced Host families	Less than 50% of people returned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Severe social cohesion problems rooted in long running issues of land tenure -Insecurity - Lack of access to fields, for the majority of “autochtones” (land conflict) -The majority of households in the villages have not planted their rice fields this year. - Lack of a diversified diet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some external remittance assistance --Market recovery has started but not yet suitable for any market/cash based intervention 	<p>Assistance of a full monthly ration until December for those who do not have access to rice or cash crop plantations</p> <p>Those who have access to their fields should receive aid until the end of October</p> <p>Other vulnerable displaced people should get assistance until the end of December</p> <p>Rehabilitation Cash not feasible, FFW may be more appropriate, school feeding and nutrition support carries lowest risk</p>

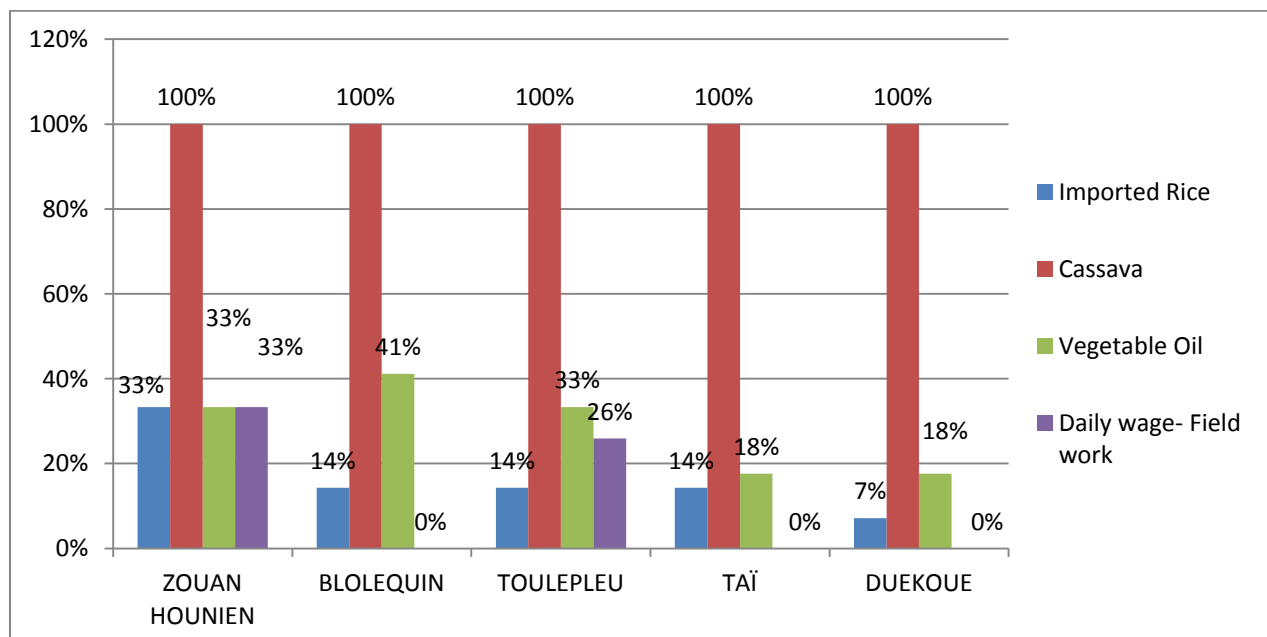
Zone	Region	Problematic	Types of population	Return	Constraints	Opportunities	Recommendations
4a	Duékoué Guiglo	Land tenure tension and displacement (urban problematic)	Internal Returnees Displaced Host families	50% of people returned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No access to fields or plantations -Long or sustained displacement -Severe social cohesion problems -Markets destroyed -Great number of houses destroyed -Limited access of markets for some communities -Security issues -Breakdown of commercial networks -Deterioration of living conditions due to crowding in camp 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Market and commerce context recovering rapidly (urban areas, providing alternative income options) -Creation of new camp with better living conditions - Concentrated presence of humanitarian actors 	<p>Assistance in camps until December for vulnerable displaced, returnees, and host families in Carrefour quartier</p> <p>Support to vulnerable households in Toguéhi quartier until the end of September.</p> <p>Rehabilitation</p> <p>School feeding and nutrition support and FFW when reconstruction in quartier carries lowers risk. The market context is suitable for possible Cash transfer</p>
5	Tai Zagné Zro Petit-Guiglo Kehibly	Displacement in April, subsequent return and more recent displacement	External returnees Internal Returnees Displaced Host families	<p>Return of people who sought refuge in Liberia in March and April (95%)</p> <p>No return for displaced from events in July 2011</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Issues of social cohesion -Insecurity -Recurring armed attacks -Destruction of encampments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The displaced still have access to their plantations during the day and sleep in the village at night. -Region hosts a number of cash crops (rubber, cocoa, coffee) -Staple crops grown very diversifies (yam, rice, maize, plantain) 	<p>Support to vulnerable displaced and host families with 50% rations until the end of October</p> <p>Rehabilitation</p> <p>No identified need for reconstruction activities</p>

Markets

As people return to their homes and resume economic activities, the markets are becoming more animated as more commodities and traders increase with each week. In spite of this, the areas where the heaviest fighting took place with more houses and businesses destroyed, there are not only fewer returnees but the commercial environment is also returning more reluctantly, principally along the Guilgo- Touleplue axis. The vast majority of all retail businesses survive on credit: all goods are advanced loans and either sold or re-loaned to other smaller businesses. This long chain of creditors lost all of their merchandise during the conflict and is in debt, unable to take more supplies on loan to restart their business. A number of people interviewed in the market indicated a growing number of foreigners, notably from Guinea and Mali, who have recently arrived not only because there is a gap to fill but also there are fewer barrages or road blocks demanding informal tax.

A rapid sampling of market prices suggest that prices for rice and vegetable oil are between 7-33 percent higher for imported rice and 18-41 percent higher for vegetable oil. These increased costs follow a similar trend not linked only to the internal conflict in Cote d'Ivoire, but the inflation of global food commodities such as all types of oil, wheat and sugar. On the other hand, the variation in the prices of fresh cassava needs to be monitored as cassava is being used as a stop gap food for a large cross section of people to cope with the longer than average lean season. As discussed in previous sections, cassava is typically consumed during the lean season and this year as rice stocks have been looted and economic activities affected, it's being eaten for a longer period of time and fewer households are selling the normal quantities.

Graph 1- Percentage of price increase between August 2010 and August 2011



Source: Market interviews

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Return of displaced populations along the Danane –Zouan Houye – Bin Houye axis is almost fully complete with more northern communities gaining access to their fields and seeds early enough to plant rainfed rice this year. Communities further south had less of an opportunity to plant rainfed but are in dire need of low land rice seeds. Cocoa fields are being cleaned and revenue from this and other cash crops such as palm oil and plantain sales are bridging the gap.

The sentiment along the Toulepleu- Guiglo axis is still unsettled while the population is returning very slowly. Access to fields and livelihoods range from village to village and reflects how land tenure has been managed in the past. Due to the particularity of this zone and the sensitivities implied in assistance, support to recovery must integrate the “do no harm” principles to not exacerbate existing tensions within the communities.

Though still fluid, the situation on the axis Guiglo – Tai is hopeful as residents have access to cash fields and rice fields were planted as usual. The situation should continue to be monitored and assessed in the case of additional displacement. Same “do no harm” principles to be applied.

The recovery of markets is reassuring and the beginning of the cocoa and other cash crop season will further drive the process. The increased prices of cassava and daily waged labor indicate the stretched supply and increased demand of both commodities. The evolution of such prices and other coping activities such as firewood, palm oil and vegetable crops will signify how well communities are coping during the recovery process.

Recommendations:

1. WFP should continue assistance to returnees and displaced with half or full rations depending on the identified zones explained above.
2. Wide scale ‘for work’ rehabilitation program should take into account the usual seasonal activities, post crisis household priorities and recovering markets to ensure *organic* rehabilitation is not disrupted.
3. Reactivate bi-monthly market analysis in main markets in Moyen-Cavally and 18 Mountains. Include WFP food basket items as well as other cash crops (cassava, firewood, vegetables) to gain a better understanding of how people are coping.
4. Include a qualitative component in the market surveys that examines the shift of market actors, origin of goods and discussions with transporters regarding road blocks and other market barriers.
5. Advocate to Cash Transfer group to streamline interventions and establish critical indicators to be monitored that can flag negative changes in market.
6. Harmonize monitoring with other actors so data can be compared across Western region.
7. Initiate regular consultation with Liberia field office to compare evolution of context and response preparedness.
8. Encourage a joint crop assessment with FAO to examine the impacts of the crisis on this year rice harvest and what proportion of people have reinitiated other agricultural and cash crop activities.

