

Understanding the installation process of youths in agriculture to better support it *Analysis grid and first results*



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SUMMARY

Surprisingly, given the significant issues, it was not until the end of the 2000 decade that greater development efforts were significantly focusing on agricultural training and that the challenge of the installation of young farmers were emerging at a global level as a public policy issue and development support. While training and support initiatives in agricultural and rural installation are thriving nowadays in many Southern countries, there is an urgent need to acquire a better understanding of the installation conditions of farmers, to discuss the forms and modalities of its support and to analyse the effects of the existing schemes.

In this context, the first part of this article provides an analysis grid that seeks to understand the installation process of youths in family farming and to analyse the effects of the training and support schemes on youths, their families and local environments. In a second part, this method is mobilised to analyse the process of installation in agriculture of youths trained by three integration training schemes: the Collèges Agricoles (Agricultural High schools) of FEKAMA in Madagascar, the AFOP national programme in Cameroon, the CIDAP in Togo.

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Preamble

The *integration* of youths in agriculture is nowadays recognised as a major challenge to development in many Southern countries. It is the condition for the renewal of family farming; it can be considered as a key to local environment development; it is a major challenge for the labour market, within a context of strong demographic growth and insufficient opportunities for employment in the industry and service sectors. As such, youths integration in agriculture is therefore central to the objectives of sustainable development (ODD).

Montpellier SupAgro/The Institut des Régions Chaudes (MSA/IRC), in cooperation with different stakeholders in supporting agricultural development¹, in particular, the agri-agency Fert and the FAR network have initiated a training-research-development project on the renewal of family farming and integration of youths into agriculture.

The topic on *training-integration* in agriculture – that is first addressed from the perspective of the diagnosis, development of a support plan, then from the perspective of the analysis of effects and conditions for the sustainability of these actions and schemes – have been the subject of studies and the focus of several experts' papers from MSA/IRC in different Northern and Southern contexts for several years. This topic is central to the education of IRC in support of agricultural development.

The materials² thus collected now generate knowledge, methodological reflections and contribution to strategic reflection on installation process of youths in agriculture, training and support schemes for youths integration and the changes they are ready to make.

This report presents two contributions from this work:

- **First part:** Understanding the installation process of youths in agriculture to better support it: an analysis grid. The result of many years of discussion - this methodological report has been developed and drafted by Betty Wampfler.
- **Second part:** Understanding the installation process of youths in agriculture to better support it: first results. *Short study to compare the effects of three training-integration schemes in Cameroon, Madagascar and Togo. Being carried out according to the same methodology, these three studies make a major contribution to the reflection on the effects of these schemes for training and integration support to youths in family farming in three contrasted contexts. This document is the result of a collective work, drafted by Louise Bergès with the support of Elsa Peter, Clara Limousin, Amandine Schlur and Betty Wampfler.*

¹ The agri-agency Fert and the collèges agricoles (agricultural high schools) in Madagascar, Iram, Afdi, Adear, the IMPACT network, the CIVAM, the chambers of agriculture in France; but also the Cirad Madagascar, AFD, Fida, ...

² All referenced studies are listed in the Appendix 1 to the Report.

First part: Methodological report

Understanding the installation process of youths in agriculture to better support it: an analysis grid

Betty Wampfler



This methodological report presents an analysis grid of the youths' integration process. This analytical framework can be mobilised for the initial diagnosis of the integration process, the understanding of support needs, the analysis of effects and impacts of these schemes, as well as for public policy discussions. With a focus on integration process in family farming in developing countries, this analysis grid appears to be relevant to understand the installation process in family farming in Northern countries (appendix I).

I. Installation of youths in family farming: a vital challenge for sustainable development in Southern countries

1. Installation of youths is central to family farming, local environment, economies and societies

The installation of young farmers is at the crossroads of two major challenges to development in developing countries: evolution of the labour market and the future of family farming.

In a recent survey carried out in Cameroon, a father told us that:

« When you have at home a young guy who doesn't work, just eat, listen his music, smoke, and has no chance to get married, it is worrying and can become dangerous... ».

On a global scale, the future-oriented studies are highlighting the serious demographic issues and its consequences - the changing work environment. Based on a population of 9 billion people in 2050, it is about **3 billion formal or informal jobs that would need to be created to include all workers in economy**. (Rouillé d'Orfeuil, 2012)³.

South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa will concentrate the demographic growth. In Sub-Saharan Africa, of the continent's 1.3 million inhabitants in 2013, 200 millions of them are between 15 and 24 years old. The completion of the ongoing demographic transition (6/7 children per woman in 1980, 5/1 children/woman in 2012) and the falling dependency rate (non-active/active ratio) may create a "demographic dividend" similar to the one East South Asia experienced in the 70s. But *"to prevent the demographic dividend from becoming a demographic disaster"* (Jacquemot, 2013), the labour market is decisive. In 2010, 17 million youths entered the labour market in Africa; in 2030, there will be 27 million per year. For the next 15 years, there will be 330 million youths who will be applying for a job, including 2/3 from the rural areas (Losch et al, 2012)⁴.

There is a growing part of these youths from rural areas who are leaving their villages due to the lack of work and future prospects, who go to the cities where they find only informal, poorly paid and insecure jobs, and end up joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor urban people. After a while, some of these unemployed youths go back to their village where work opportunities are poor and the household costs are high.

The hypothesis - that is still largely used in development economy considering agriculture as a pool of labour, in which secondary and tertiary sectors may tap into to develop themselves and to ensure growth⁵ - seems to be questioned nowadays (Rouillé d'Orfeuil, 2012). The secondary and tertiary sectors that are poorly developed in many Less Advanced Countries,

³ Rouillé d'Orfeuil H., 2012. Exclusions paysannes et marché international du travail. Review of sociology, April 2012.

⁴ Losch B., Freghin-Gresh S., White E., 2012, Structural transformation and Rural Change Revisited, Challenges for Late Developing Countries in a Globalizing World, Washington DC, AFD/World Bank.

⁵ It is in particular on the basis of the World Development Report 2008 on "development through agriculture"

and in Africa in particular, have not the capacity to absorb the labour « released » by agriculture and the rural sector. The strengths of the market, alone, do not appear to manage to « balance » the labour market, hampered both by the secondary and tertiary sector weakness and by a lack of professional qualification of the youths. This raises the question of the future of these groups of youths.

Agricultural stakeholders, policymakers, researchers, etc. make today several hypothesis that make it possible to consider a way out of this impasse: the ability of family farming to generate a great deal of employment.

As there are organic links between family and production unity, the family farming represents 70% of the world's farms: it produces most of the basic food product (cereals, legumes, roots and plantains) and thus plays a significant role in the sustainability of food systems. Mobilising 40% of the world's workers, they have a major social role to play in the provision of employment, in particular in the Southern countries. The development of the middle class where the demographic growth remains significant in an environment of increasingly rapid changes worldwide, the central role of agriculture has been recognised (ONU, FAO, CIRAD ... 2014). In Southern countries, these agricultures are rapidly changing and its professionalisation is becoming a major economic, social and environmental challenge. The development of a middle class who is able to improve its food consumption, the growth of subregional and national agricultural and food markets, the consolidation of value chains, the emergence of new forms of market coordination, fair trade and labelling, are strong development opportunities for family farming markets. If they are given the proper means, family farming can change and take advantage of these market opportunities by generating jobs – i.e., they can become “productive agricultures with high social and environmental value” (H.Rouillé d'Orfeuil, 2012). The installation of youths in family farming is central of this issue.

2. Installation of youths in agriculture: a long-neglected issue in developing countries

While installation of young farmers has been one of the major institutional leverage of the modernisation of family farming in Northern countries, little attention has been focused until recently on conditions of the renewal of family farming in Southern countries.

Since independence, the public policies of developing countries and official development assistance have dealt with these issues only sporadically. Experiments of installation in agriculture of populations representing a social threat (dismissed from the public service, young university graduates are deprived by structural adjustments of employment opportunities in the public sector, unemployed urban youths...) have been sporadically carried out in some countries, with most often mixed results. In the agricultural pioneer fronts areas, installation of new comers with de facto a high proportion of « youths », have been the subject of support public actions. Agricultural training centers have, historically or more recently, shown concern about integration of the youths they have trained, such as the centers of Songhaï in Benin and Nazareth in Cameroon or the agricultural high schools in Madagascar.

However, surprisingly, given the significant issues, it was not until the end of the 2000 decade that greater development efforts were significantly focusing on agricultural training and that the challenge of the installation of young farmers were emerging at a global level as a public policy issue and development support. Support projects for agricultural and rural installation are thriving rapidly nowadays, however they have been more often based on very narrow foundations of knowledge: development public actions have been slightly capitalised, research has not raised the issue, few civil society organisations – farm organisations in particular – have references in this matter.

Thus, there is an urgent need to acquire a better understanding of the conditions of farmers' installation, to discuss the forms and modalities of its support and to analyse the effects of the existing schemes.

In this context, the first part of this article provides an analysis grid aiming at i) understanding the installation process of youths in family farming and ii) analysing the effects of the support actions and systems on integration process.

II. Installation of youths in family farming: a first segment of the analysis grid

1. Presentation of the analysis grid

A. A SYSTEMIC AND INTERDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS GRID BASED ON EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS

While integration of youths in crafts or rural small businesses begins to be recorded, installation process of youths in family farming generally remains largely unknown.

This analysis grid is strongly systemic and interdisciplinary, as is the installation process in agriculture. We will return to this later in the conclusion of the first part.

B. USEFUL DEFINITIONS

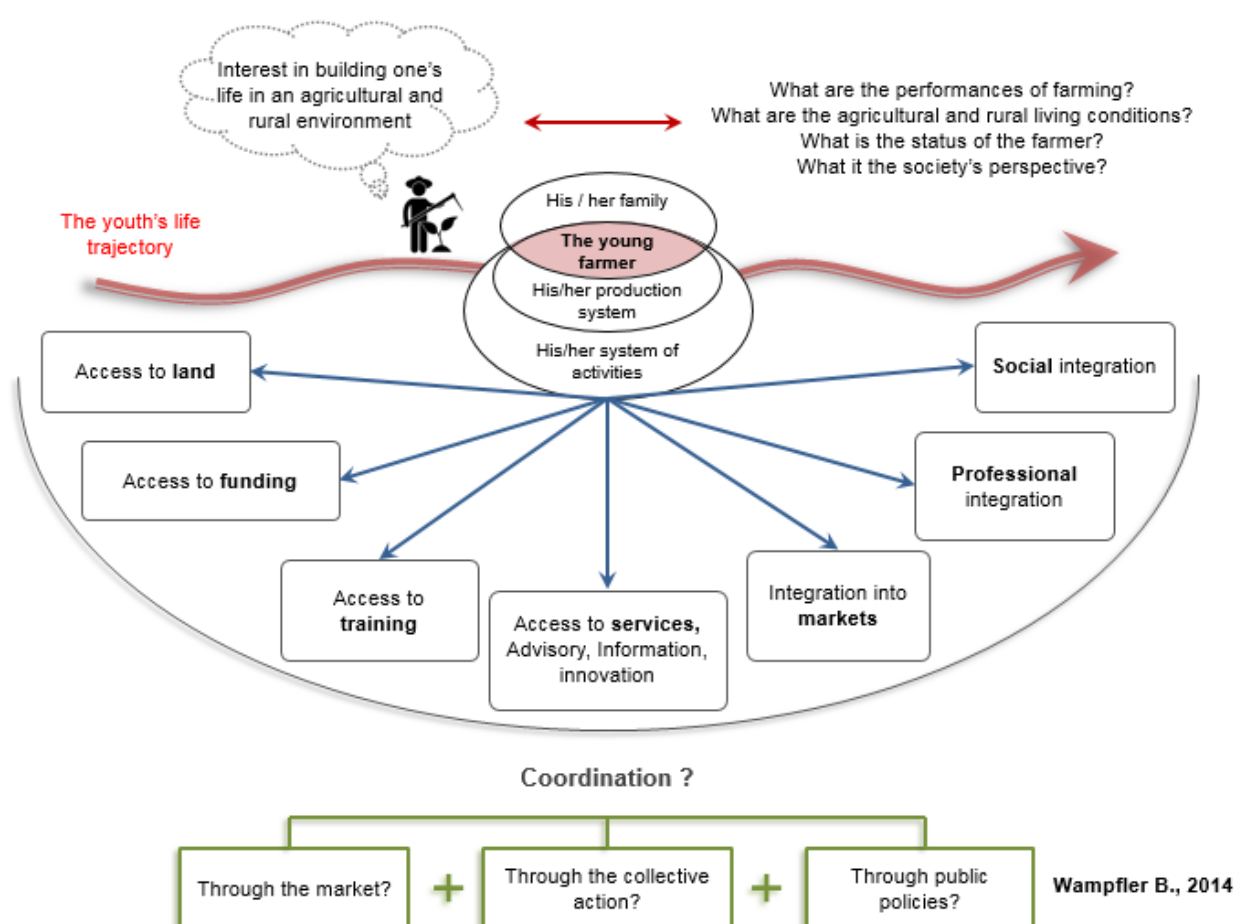
According to a definition that is now well known, the term « youth » - as a noun or adjective - refers to an adult, either man or woman, who is between the age of 18 and 35. In the practice of training and support schemes of youth's integration, this age bracket may considerably vary by integrating younger people (15 to 35 years old).

The integration of youths in agriculture is understood as a process over a long or less period of time and leading to create an autonomous farm. We use the term « *integration* » to describe the process and the term « *installation* » to define the moment when there is the creation of the farm in which the youth will take the decisions and autonomously makes a living from his/her agricultural activity. The installation may be institutionalised – in the contexts where the

farming business has a legal status – or remain informal. The autonomy gained with installation may be gradual, and links of different nature can be developed with the family and the youth's community of origin after installation.

C. A DIAGRAM SYNTHETISING THE FIRST SEGMENT OF THE ANALYSIS GRID

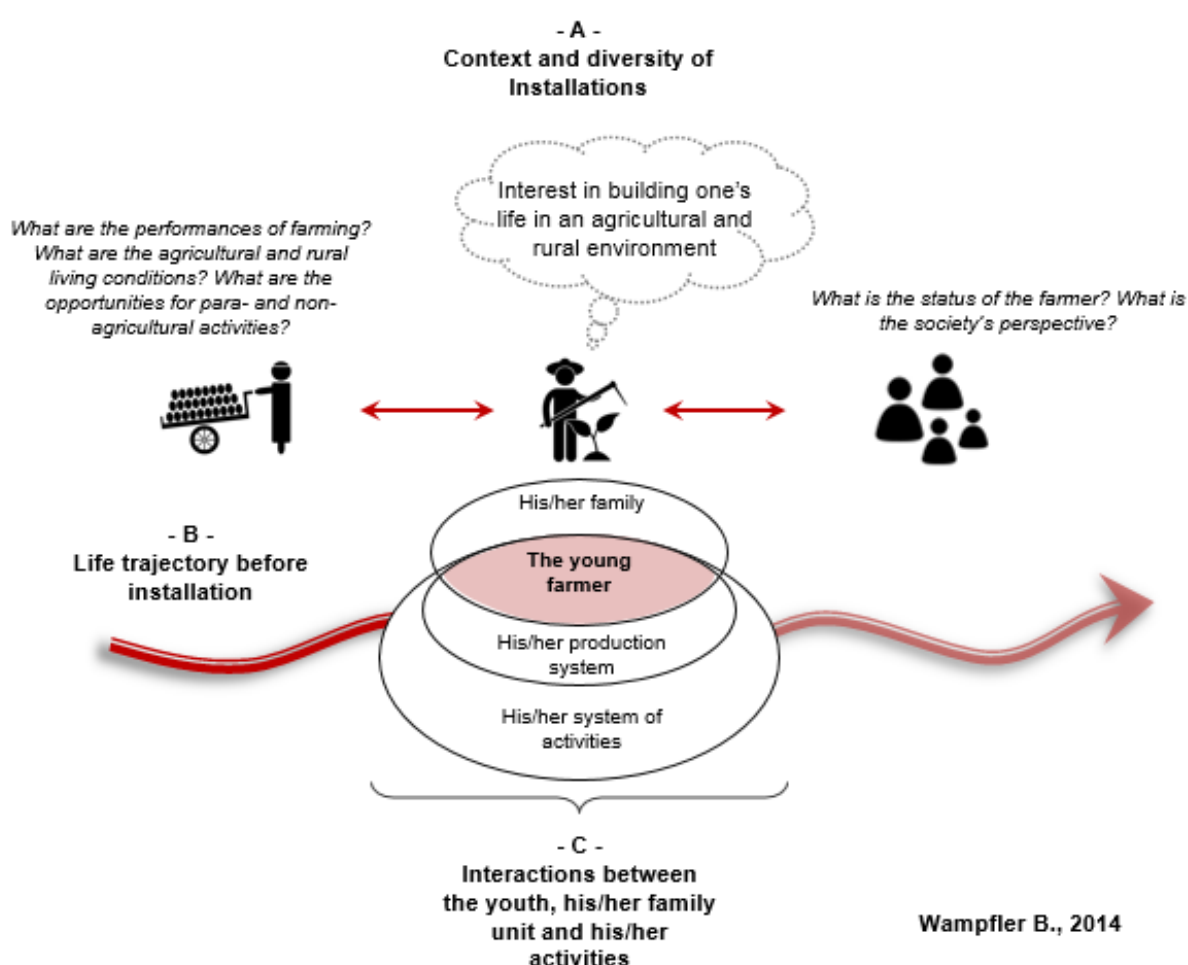
As a drawing is often more evocative than lots of words, we will start with a diagram addressing the conditions needed for a sustainable installation in agriculture:



2. Beyond diversities, the youth, his/her family and his/her activity systems are at the center of the installation project

A. UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT AND THE DIVERSITY OF INTEGRATION SITUATIONS

The integration of youths in agriculture is a highly contextualised process. The understanding of this global context from a historical, economic, social and political point of view is a vital prerequisite for the analysis.



There is a great diversity of integration situations. What does an eldest son of a « large family » of cotton producers in the Mossi plateau in Burkina who is in his forties heading up a family-owned farm after his father's death have in common with a young couple from Madagascar who is trying to develop an autonomous farm through patient and random sharecropping; and with a son of a plantation owner of Thai rubber trees who has been sent to school by his family and who sees no gain in coming back to family farming; or with a young Mauritanian migrant who left to Nouakchott to feed his family and who is regularly coming back to help with the wintering farming?

The variety of youths' integration or non-integration processes results from the diversity of the family farming itself, its development contexts, its modalities of access to resources and markets. The degree of family farming sustainability and its economic profitability will influence on the number of youths who will reasonably be able to install, but even more, on the motivation these youths will have to stay, come back or install. The degree of structuring / destructuring of family unities and local communities will also act as something which forges youths' installation or as something that would repel them. The intensity of alternatives apart from agriculture indeed finally influences a broad range of options for the youths. The potential of multiactivities in a given area – linked to the intensity of rural non agricultural activities or to the proximity to a city – will influence on the sustainability of the agricultural or non agricultural activities systems, which are often temporarily necessary to build a sustainable farm.

B. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE YOUTHS' TRAJECTORIES BEFORE INSTALLATION

Whatever their installation mode in agriculture, the youths have had a more or less complex life trajectory, which has shaped their way of understanding the world, has enabled them to acquire – with different intensities and different forms – competencies, resources, networks. It is therefore important to understand the youths' trajectory before installation.

Where do they come from, what have been the different stages in their life in their home areas, have they done one or several stays in town, what were their activities, what did they learn from it in terms of resources, knowledge, competencies, networks? What is the perception they have of agriculture and of the family farming in particular? How do they see their own integration in agriculture? How do they see their own integration into the local environment? If the farm the youth is developing comes from the transmission of a pre-existing farm, how is the transmission process done?

All these build the more or less complex trajectory of each youth and on which the training-integration process may have a significant impact.

C. THE INSTALLATION: A COMPLEX ALCHEMY BETWEEN A PERSON, A FAMILY UNITY AND A SYSTEM OF ACTIVITIES

At the basis of any installation, there is a complex equation involving an individual – either man or woman - his/her family unity, and a wide range of choices and possible combinations between the available resources and the possible agricultural and non agricultural activities in a given environment.

The interactions between the youth and his/her family will be discussed further on. At this stage, it should simply be noted that the youth comes from a family, who is very often playing a key role in his/her installation; and that, even at a very young age, s/he has already founded a family who can constitute a support and a resource for his/her installation (in particular as a workforce), but who is at the same time a burden s/he will have to handle, increasing as the number of his/her children grows.

- **Production systems and activities systems**

To grasp the analysis of the youth's productive activities, there is the need of using the systemic approach. The agricultural activities are carried out within a « **production system** [combining] *lands, workforce and work resources for crops and/or livestock production purposes* [...] » (Reboul, 1976). The agricultural and non agricultural activities are central to the **activity system** i.e. a « structured range of localised and interacting activities, implemented by a social entity by mobilising the resources available to satisfy with the objectives of the social entity and to guarantee its dynamic stability within an ecological, economic and given social environment » (Terrier, Gasselin, Le Blanc 2010). The choices made by the youth in these two systems are part of a varying domestic (addressing the family needs) and entrepreneurial (earning an income from employment and from invested capital) motivations.

The production system chosen by the young farmer fall to a greater or lesser extent within the local land structures (space planning, land characteristics, permanent and annual crops, farming infrastructures, etc.), which depends on the resources and assess the youth will have access to (land, work, plantations, livestock, buildings). It is also linked to his/her technical and management expertise. The opportunities to market access, but also the youth's level of access to innovation, may determine this choice.

The production system may be specialised and may combine several crops and livestock productions. In this system, a given production can be specifically intensified based on the market opportunities (vegetable production, short-cycle livestock farming) or the availability of family assets (such as permanent plantations). This production is consistent with the youth's farm in a logic of value chain. The current entrepreneurial logic may be strengthened by specific market schemes (contractual farming, vertical integration). However, driven by family concerns (food security, income, risk management), the youth rarely makes the choice of a complete specialisation. The implemented production systems are more often based on the systemic combination of food productions helping self-consumption and market-oriented productions.

The young farmer can also more or less durably combine agricultural and non agricultural activities and thus think in terms of activities system. The range of para- or non agricultural activities may be very large and contrasted: survival activities (sale of agricultural work, picking), activities requiring little investment (bricks manufacturing), more or less agricultural-oriented entrepreneurial activities (agricultural transformation, collection of agricultural products, trade) or also regular employed activities (manager of an other farm, non agricultural employment). This multi-activity may be also due to the household situation – one of the spouses is securing and supplementing the incomes with a non agricultural activity.

- **Developing knowledges on the systems: a major challenge**

The technical and economic features of these production systems and a fortiori those of activities systems are proper to each context. It is often poorly recorded and rarely assessed in quantified form: what amount of work requires such cocoa – banana – food – fish breeding production system? What is its environment impact?

The production of knowledge on these systems that might guide the discussion and decisions made by young farmers and the schemes accompanying it, thus become a major challenge. The necessary references are technical (what yield? What technical practices?), economic (what added value? What income?), social (what load of work?), but also environmental (while agroecological production orders internationally increase, the available references on this matter remain low).

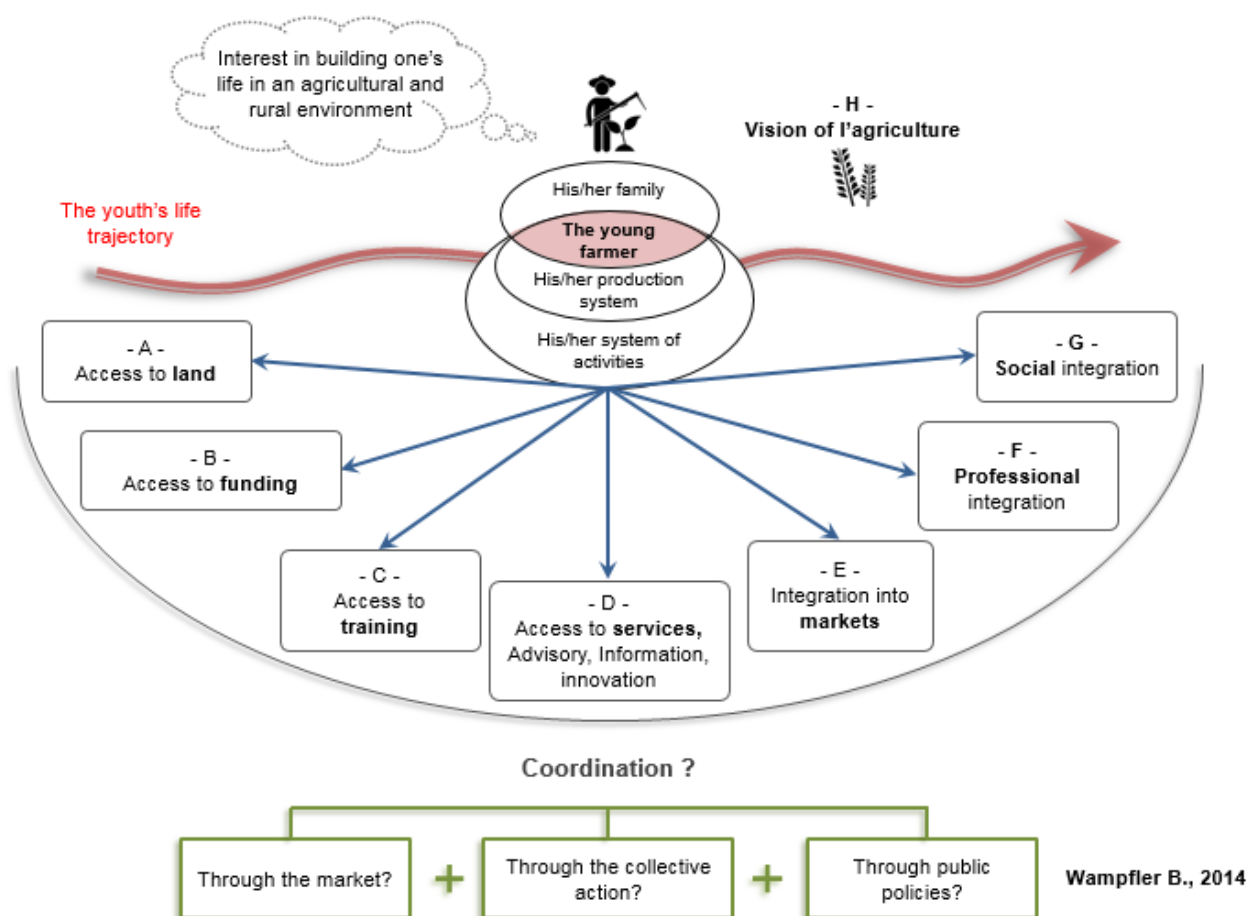
Lastly, a final essential question addresses here the assessment of the results of the production and activity systems that is necessary to discuss the possible sustainability. It is not reduced to economic performances of the central activity, but it results from the systemic combination of activities and resources of the production or activities systems. The assessment of the results and the analysis of the eventual sustainability of the youth's installation will be therefore carried out with this systemic perspective, by integrating the different activities, their technical, economic and social results (in particular, the control on labour).

The economic assessment may be based on the following indicators:

- **the added value produced by the system:** it is an economic indicator of the wealth produced. This wealth is then « redistributed » as an income from family labour, as a salary if there is employment of labour, as a land rent, as taxes, etc.;
- **the agricultural income:** indicates the labour remuneration of the family agricultural work;
- **the monetary income of the activities system:** produced by the combination of agricultural and non agricultural activities

The income indicators may be then compared to different contextualised standards (poverty line, survival threshold/reproduction threshold of the analysis of agrarian diagnosis) to assess the living conditions of the youth and the eventual economic sustainability of his/her installation. The economic sustainability will be then compared with other sustainability indicators (the control on labour in particular).

3. What are the conditions for a sustainable installation?



A. ACCESS TO LAND

The youths' access to land vary depending on the contexts. The availability of land resources at a national level is one of the factors influencing the mode of access: in areas where land is largely available – pioneer fronts, forest areas, access to agricultural land will highly depend on available means for land clearing (workforce, material), and therefore often on available financial means. In areas with high land saturation, it is through the parceling out of the family farm or through the market that youths can have access to land. The surface obtained will therefore be linked to the size of the family, to local sharing practices of familial workers, but also to the fact parents have to keep a part of these assets to ensure their own survival in contexts where there is no agricultural pension schemes.

The low land availability may be one of the factors influencing the choices of productive activities: thus, more or less intensive shorter season livestock farming and vegetable production can be done with little land; the combination of agricultural productions and transformation activities may strengthen the produced added value, and therefore find a solution to small areas. The use of para-agricultural (sale of agricultural work) or non agricultural activities may be caused by a too limited land.

In any case, the safety of the mobilised land will be a key issue to the farms' sustainability. The land insecurity creates uncertainty, limits motivation and capacity of youths to invest in their farm. Most of the land insecurity approaches have high costs and long or undetermined durations, they are also subject to uncertainties and are not easily accessible to youths.

B. ACCESS TO ADAPTED FINANCIAL RESOURCES: AT THE CENTER OF INSTALLATION IN AGRICULTURE

Access to funding remains a fundamental impediment to youths' installation in agriculture. The financing needs for installation are of different nature: access to land, livestock, buildings and equipments, funding of first agricultural season inputs, funding of family needs during this first agricultural season.

How do the youths gain access to this resource? If some of them enjoy family grant or manage to save some money through different economic activities prior to their installation (the herdsmen within breeders associations, small urban work for those who have migrated, a small rural business or even agricultural work), although few people have a significant cash flow.

The strategies are therefore diverse. The activities system may be a kind of answer, as the non agricultural activities may progressively generate resources necessary to agricultural investment. The progressive implementation of an agricultural productive system may be another one: the incomes of a first batch of chicken thus help to invest in increasing the size of the next batch. These strategies, which are sometimes combined, involve the management and saving capacity of the youth and his/her family. The savings may be formal with a bank or microfinance. More often, it will be informal – « under the mattress », buried in the garden or - more efficient and less risky - invested in a tontine.

The use of loan may be another form of answer. Loan may be informally granted by the family, a sponsor, or, much more rarely, by a trader or middle man. The loan may be formal through access to financial, microfinancing or banking systems; although this formal access remains very limited. Even more than an adult farmer, the youth are unprepared to approach a financial institution: identifying an institution, presenting a project, providing guarantees, fear of getting into too much debt... As many unsurmountable obstacles when nothing has prepared us for it. On the financial institutions' side, they are disconcerted by the complexity of agricultural production systems, by the double risk that a borrower - both young and farmer - represents for them, and more generally, by their lack of knowledge of the agricultural sector. Even the rural microfinance, though, closer to local reality than the banks, shares this perception of the risk of the « young farmer ». Thus, today, very few financial institutions accept to finance family farming, and even fewer provide services adapted to young farmers.

C. THE YOUTHS' ACCESS TO COMPETENCES

The competences required for farm installation are necessarily multidisciplinary, such as the farmer profession: agronomy, management, economy, financial competencies, markets competencies...

As farming is inserted in a web of relationships and networks, the skills the youth needs to have concerns relationships and social integration. More fundamentally, the young farmer is

also a citizen who must know his/her rights and duties to harmoniously be part of his/her community, to think and, if needs be, claim his/her recognition at a national level.

These skills may be acquired through different ways. The family and the community represent a learning environment from a very early age. The more or less diverse and complex stages prior to installation are as many opportunities to learn.

In an agriculture in process of intensification, access to competences through vocational or eventually graduate training may become a key asset for securing and understanding installation projects. It can contribute to acquire techniques and practices to improve crops and livestock production productivity (livestock management practices, animal health). It can open up choices of innovative production systems, in line with market opportunities. It can help managing a variety of risks that are threatening the farm's sustainability (technical risk, management risk, market risk). It can give some hints to access innovation, and promote it within one's own system and environment. It can build the young farmer's capacity to reflect, discuss and negotiate and thus guarantee a sustainable installation.

In developing countries, agricultural training have long been remaining in Universities, preparing the agronomist to supervise agriculture much more than farmers ready to implement an installation project. These training programmes, which have in many case an industrial agriculture frame of reference, have long ignored the reality of family farming.

Steps are taken today to provide agricultural professional training within an increasing number of both public and private training centers. This development of training services raises many questions. On what understanding of farming and what vision of agriculture are these training programmes based on? Are the approaches systemic or governed by a value chain framework of reference? What is the content of the training, what are the competences targeted? What are the links between theory and practice? What role can reflection on a professional project play in the training? Is there a link between training and integration support? What links between training and the local environment in which it is operating?

D. ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

The difficulty in accessing appropriate support services generally penalises family farming in developing countries, but much more young farmers. The low availability of inputs, their poor quality, little access to improved agricultural or livestock material, to agricultural equipment, to animal health services or locost control, poor access to information, the non-existent or weakness of farm advisory services, etc.; these are many obstacles that weaken the farm in progress. Even if the development of mobile telephony opens up some opportunities, the general weakness of agricultural support services impedes the installation of youths in agriculture. How does this access for youths to agricultural services operate in a given context? Do these services exist? Do they have an offer adapted to youths? Are the youths aware of this? Under which conditions do they have access to it?

E. ACCESS TO MARKET: A MAJOR CHALLENGE FOR THE YOUNG FARMERS

Access to market continues to be a problem for an important part of family farming. The young farmers have even greater awareness about it, as their productive base is narrow and as they are - often due to their more commercial and more specialised orientation - highly more depending on the market than the traditional family farming does.

Identifying these markets, getting information on their functioning, getting organised to provide an admissible quality production, obtaining remunerative prices, freeing oneself from traditional dependencies (oligopoly of local businesses, middle men) or further developing their negotiating scope, may be major difficulties for young farmers.

Today, there are challenges in terms of market infrastructures, access information but also in terms of learning (knowing, negotiating), of network (getting organised for better access to market) and innovation (identifying even creating new markets: new urban markets, fair trade, contractualisation with approval).

F. PROFESSIONAL INTEGRATION: A DETERMINING FACTOR FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF AGRICULTURAL INSTALLATIONS

Professional integration may take different forms – professional network, farm organisations, value chain organisations... It can facilitate greater access to services and markets, it can constitute for the youths an exceptional channel for access to information, training and innovation.

It may be a powerful learning factor and a basis for professional and personal stabilisation, participating in the resilience of the farm – household unity.

Through the mediation of these professional networks, a young farmer can become part of a more global movement than a farmers movement aiming at changing the conditions for carrying an agricultural profession, society's perspective on family farming and the youth's perception of him/herself and his/her business.

However, this really positive vision of professional integration implies that professional structures locally exist, and that they are recognised, active and efficient... So many conditions that exist in different ways depending on the contexts of the developing countries.

When such an organisational web exists, organisations still have to accept the arrival of the youth among them. The agricultural organisations, which are often established on a « patriarchal » mode are struggling to open up their activities and a fortiori their governance to young farmers. Imitating the official development assistance institutions, the agricultural organisations show a strong tendency to consider the youths in the global category of the "excluded" or the "vulnerable" - including women, youths, poors. Although women are progressively allowed in the governance of agricultural organisations, the youths struggle to be part of it. Nowadays, few agricultural organisations are really trying to deal with this issue of family farming renewal and of the installation of young farmers. This reality may lead the young farmers to create themselves their proper organisations.

G. SOCIAL INTEGRATION: KEY PRINCIPLE OF SUSTAINABILITY OF THE YOUTHS INSTALLATION IN AGRICULTURE

Probably even more than professional integration - it is the social integration of the young farmer that is a key factor to the sustainability of his/her installation. This sustainability is part of a web formed by the family, the local community and the local environment.

- **The family**

The family is more often the one who provides the initial land enabling installation. The access to land is generally temporarily given (owner-farming or sharecropping) until - sometimes a long way away – the inheritance will formalise the shared access to the family farm. The traditional rules of access to land often exclude the daughters depriving them of the opportunity to install in agriculture apart from a marital situation. The family still remains the essential solution to access to funding in the form of grants or informal loans with very deferred reimbursement, allowing an economic activity. Family workforce (brothers, sisters, younger ones, the family dependents) is a vital aid to start a business requiring an important labour inputs (clearing, plantations) as the youth is not able to pay a salary. The family can significantly contribute to installation resilience, by insuring smoothing consumption during lean periods. It can constitute for the youth an invaluable capital of experience, knowledge and advice.

In surveys on young farmers' installation trajectory carried out in Cameroon, it frequently appears the figure of an adult (either grand-father, uncle, big brother, mother or aunt) who plays a key role in the youths' choices. This "sponsor" supports, asks questions, orientates, supports the youths in his/her reflections and formalities, gives access to working network, and might even support him/her through loans or donations. All youths do not receive this kind of support, but this figure of "sponsor" always appears, it is generally positive, does not "take the youth's responsibilities away" but instead, enables him/her to build his/her own identity and progressively confirm his/her choices. However, the family may also be a source of problems for the installation of young farmers. It can refuse to grant the abovementioned facilities, or simply may not be able to provide them. The early grant of land to one child may lead to significant strifes between brothers and sisters; the daughters may harshly be excluded from this process.

Beyond material supports provided by the families, the image the family has of agriculture may have a powerful impact on the youth's installation project. The surveys carried out in different contexts in West Africa, Madagascar and Cambodia, show that families do not spontaneously believe that agriculture is able to provide their children with a decent future, and in this way, their own serenity in their later years. As soon as they have the financial resources they invest in education of one of their children, in the hope of building an alternative way out of dependence on agriculture for the entire family. However, studies on the effects of integration training schemes carried out in Togo, Cameroon and Madagascar also show that the perception of families may change when the youth's project comes to fruition, produces positive results and gives a professional legitimacy to the youth in their community (cf. second part of this technical report).

- **The community and the local environment**

The community, and more generally, the local environment in which it is integrated, are key elements in the social integration of young farmers. Being both a social and administrative entity, this community may take different forms depending on the contexts:

- hardly emerging on the pioneer fronts;
- being part of the traditions – “the village, the chiefdom, the elders” in the old settlement areas
- or already shaped by decentralisation – “the commune” - around its new tutelary figures: the mayor or the President of the Cooperative.

The communities and the local environments can be used to have access to land when families do not have any. They are the ones who often provide the first level of land tenure security - a land recognition signed by the traditional leader and the administrative authority, which can have at least a use value. The local environment may provide young farmers with opportunities for access to services and markets - such as the young Cameroonian producer from Ebolova who announced to the community at the end of the Sunday morning mass that his chickens are ready for sale. The community may, in one form or another, take up solidarity commitments alongside the youths who are installing - in a period of uncertainty in the youth's activity, or even within microfinance systems for instance.

However, communities may also be sources of difficulties or even exclusion. In surveys carried out in Cameroon, numerous testimonies has shown that jealousy within the host community and witchcraft are major risks faced by the youths installed. The hope that the installation of young farmers represent for a community may not be shared by all its members, and the prospect of seeing the youths or newcomers, succeeding where the former "stagnate" in the traditional activities, increases tensions and conflicts within families. The consequences are feared by all: human or animal disease, deaths... We will therefore focus here on the forms of integration or exclusion of young farmers in their community.

Just as the farm organisations, the communities and the local environment have not yet massively taken up the issue of the renewal of their family farming and the installation of young farmers. This issue is not central to the decentralisation policies that are spreading out with a contrasting vigor in many developing countries. Among the most active local environment in this area are those who have invested in an agricultural training center. When the training of youths ends, the problem of their integration is in fact imposed on the local environment, and confronts them with all the restraints to the installation, which have just been mentioned, with a perspicacity enhanced by the expectations aroused by the training.

H. THE VISION OF AGRICULTURE

Beyond the material conditions, it is the aspiration to be a farmer and to live in rural areas that will be decisive for the sustainability of the installations.

The young farmer will choose a system of agricultural production, which s/he will sometimes combine with non-agricultural activities into a system of activities. In order that his/her project become a sustainable activity, s/he will have to acquire a technical, economic and organisational expertise. But in the end, the decisive factor in the sustainability of his/her installation will probably be more fundamentally his/her motivation to be a farmer on the one hand and to live in rural areas on the other hand.

This motivation may evolve over time, and is always the result of a complex combination of factors. These factors may be related to:

- the person: *does-s/he love cows or not?*
- the performance of the agricultural production system in terms of the farmer's expectations: *does farm income allow the expected standard of living? Is the system livable in terms of work, constraint?*
- the living conditions in rural areas: difficulties in rural life, lack of health care or education services, and lack of recreation facilities can be a disincentive for the youths; in other environments, the stability of rural life, the quality of the social bond, proximity to nature may be attractive to them;

However, beyond these material elements, this motivation highly depends on the image that the youths have of themselves as a farmer and the image that the others – the society - send them back. Is agriculture seen as something we do when we have no other option, or is it a real job, a profession that offers rewarding opportunities and a place in society?

4. Coordination between these elements: a condition for the sustainability of the agricultural installation

In order to sustainably implement its production system, the youth needs access to land, equipment and appropriate financial resources; s/he will need skills, but also access to various services, to market and to professional networks. But in order to make the access to each of these elements successful, all the elements must be made available to the youth when required and must operate in a coherent and coordinated way, as a system. If, for example, s/he has an opportunity to buy land, it is necessary to have the appropriate financial resources; If s/he has a production opportunity for a quality market, it is necessary to combine expertise and inputs to produce according to the required standards, etc.

Coordination can be achieved by the market (the youth buys land, buys services, and sells his /her productions). But the market is "not perfect": in many agricultural contexts, markets for products and services do not exist, are incomplete, or do not work well. The market is therefore not sufficient, in most cases, to ensure the coexistence of these elements and their coordination.

There may be other forms of co-ordination, by combining with the market or by taking precedence over them, depending on the context. Collective action can be a powerful coordinating force: farm organisations can build and coordinate access to agricultural services, sector organisations can propose a highly coordinated vertical integration, social or religious organisations can coordinate the development of a territory.

Public policies may be another co-ordinating force that is likely producing rules, allocating resources in support of the youths' installation, and promoting or curbing innovation. Public policies may guide the choice of agricultural models, and therefore can define the place given to family farming. To a certain extent, policies may influence society's perceptions of agriculture.

Market, collective action and public policies are based on the installation in agriculture concomitantly in a given environment. Their respective coordination forces may be convergent or contradictory. Land is thus a good example of sometimes contradictory co-ordinations: therefore, in a growing number of contexts, the growing market logic may lead to the allocation of agricultural land to foreign investors who are able to mobilise a significant capital, where agricultural organisations claim a community management; the state and public policies then play an arbitration role.

These coordination strengths can be done at different levels, from the most local level (village) to the most global level (national, subregional, international). These different levels of coordination can also be convergent or divergent - for example, the National Agricultural Guidance Laws of West Africa promote the installation of youths in family farming, while the African continental policies widely open the door to international investors.

It is therefore essential, both for diagnosis and for action, to clearly identify the coordination strengths based on the facility in agriculture in a given context, to understand its meaning, scope and balance of power.

5. Different hypothesis to support the installation of youths in agriculture

The studies that have brought out this analysis grid provide reflection and hypothesis on the conditions required for a sustainable installation of the youths in agriculture in developing countries:

- The youths' installation can help to create productive family farming (generating wealth), high social value (creating jobs) and high environmental value (preserving and sustainably enhancing natural resources);
- The process of the youths' installation in family farming is confronted with a web of technical, economic, organisational and social constraints;
- Faced with these constraints, the only strengths of the market and of the liberal economic logic will not be sufficient to ensure the renewal of family farming, the creation of employment in agriculture and the installation of young farmers. Plural coordination

through the market, collective action and public action is needed to promote the installation of youths in family farming;

- A systemic approach, taking into account technical, economic, organisational and social aspects, is necessary to promote the installation of the youths in family farming;
- The local environment, as an economic and social area, is a relevant level integration of schemes to support the installation in family farming;
- Beyond technical, economic and social constraints, the installation of the youths in family farming faces a societal challenge: it can only be sustainable if the youths really want to install in agriculture, to live for a long time in rural areas, to start their families there. This "desire" will not emerge unless the economic performance of family farming improves and the living conditions in rural areas become decent. But even more fundamentally, it depends on the status and occupation of the farmer, and on the view that society, communities, families and the youths themselves are involved in family farming; it is therefore a change in the societal framework that is at stake.

These hypothesis may be the foundation of training and integration support schemes aiming at promoting a sustainable installation of the youths in family farming.

III. Interactions between schemes for training and agricultural integration and youths installation process: a second segment of the analysis grid

1. What are the schemes for training and support for the installation of the youths in agriculture?

To address the economic, social and political challenges of rural and agricultural employment, the training and support schemes for the integration of youths into agriculture are increasing in various forms. Implemented on more or less experimental scales by public, private or public-private partnerships, these schemes can focus on the agricultural professions or be more widely open to rural trades. Focusing on agriculture, they can emerge and remain linked to specific value chains or adopt a systemic approach that takes into account the complexity of family farming. They may rather choose training or combine training and integration support. They are designed in response to demands that are more or less clearly identified, with a perspective of more or less rational sustainability. In all cases, the question of their sustainability, even if it was not addressed at the initial stage, is imposed on them very quickly.

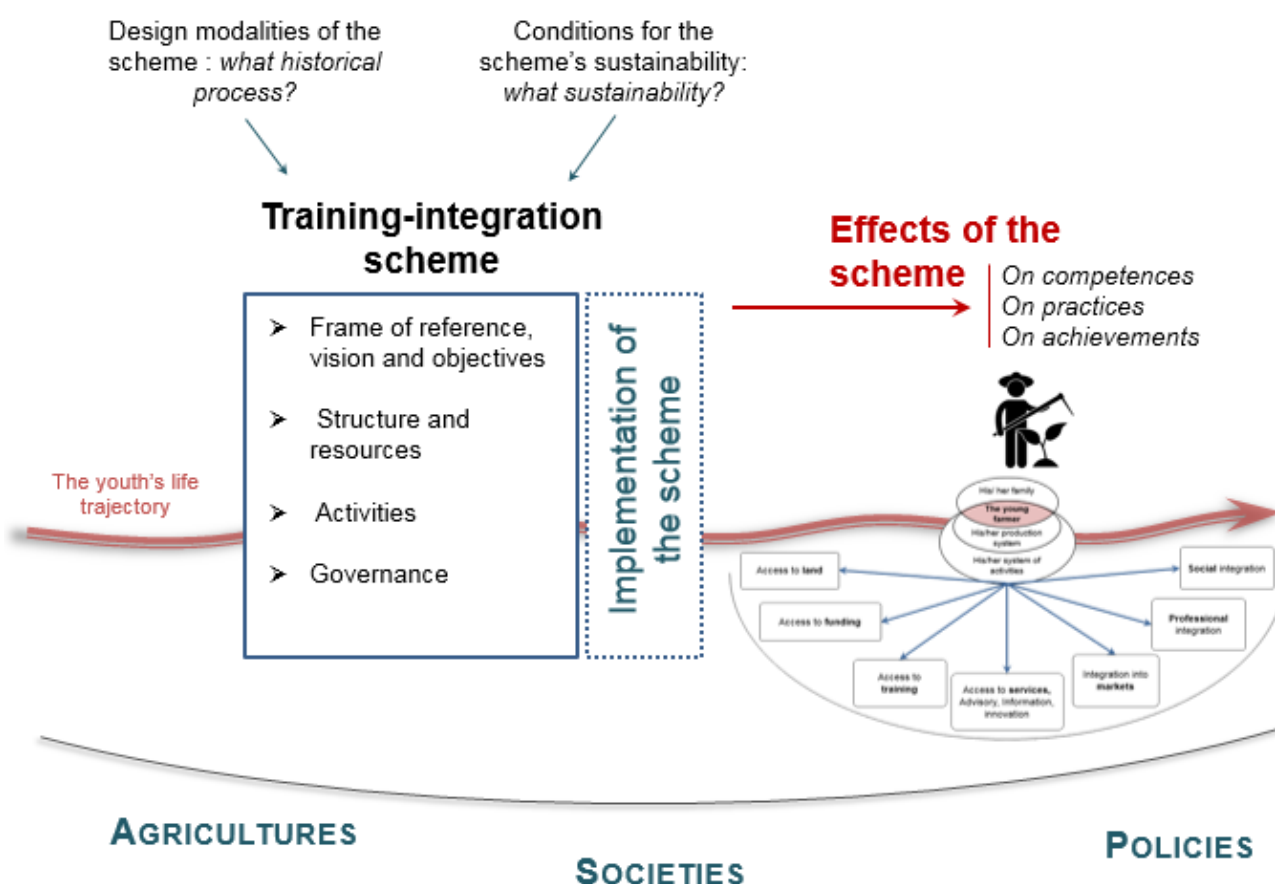
Choosing a specific scheme is a decision that has far-reaching consequences for the youths, their environment, but also for the public or private structures supporting them. Training-integration schemes often require a considerable mobilisation of human resources and financial resources over a relatively long period. Given the challenges involved in the youths

installation in agriculture, the choices made in these schemes, in terms of reference frameworks, training content and methods of support, become public policy issues. It is therefore essential to be able to evaluate the effects of these schemes and their adequacy to the youths' needs. Some of these schemes now have a sufficient hindsight to address this issue. This second part of the analysis grid provides a method for studying the effects of training-integration schemes.

2. An analysis grid based on the interactions between the scheme and the installation process of the youth

The analysis of the effects of a scheme is made in two steps:

- understanding the characteristics of the scheme itself;
- understanding the processes of change at work in the lives of the supported youths, but also in their family, community and territorial environment.



Wampfler B., 2014

A. ANALYSING THE TRAINING-INTEGRATION SCHEME

Every scheme is contextualised. It is part of a given agricultural and local environment, possibly of a sector, and of a society whose characteristics will influence its definition and its implementation. It results from a historical process that is useful to understand.

- **The effects of a training and integration scheme on youths are inseparable from the way in which the scheme was designed.**

Who is at the origin of the scheme? How has economic and social demand been taken into account? What analysis of trades and their evolution meets the system? What agricultural and rural development guidelines have been mobilised? How have the realities and practices of agricultural and rural trades been integrated to design the scheme?

- **A scheme carries a reference framework and values that are more or less shared by the stakeholders constituting it.**

Regarding agricultural vocational training schemes, the first question structuring the frame of reference is: what form of agriculture should be promoted and which farmers should be trained? This frame of reference is more or less explicit; it can be found in the stakeholders' speech, in the documents produced, in the contents of training. The values that are forming it will become concrete in the vision of the scheme: how does s/he see the future s/he wants to build (his/her mission); How will it work to achieve this (his/her objectives); what are the detailed purposes that the scheme wants to achieve?

The vision, the mission, the objectives are not set in stone and can evolve over the scheme's life cycle. They can also be understood differently according to the stakeholders involved: do the managers, the trainers, the advisors share the same reference framework? If differences in understanding are important, they may lead to serious governance problems, which can compromise the effectiveness and sustainability of the scheme.

- **The training design will influence the effects of the scheme.**

On what basis is the training built? What are the contents of the training? What are the pedagogical modalities? In particular, what place does it give to practice, to confrontation with professions? What are the recruitment procedures for the youths? What is the duration of the training? What are the methods of evaluation?

- **The scheme's structures, the resources it mobilises and its physical organisation can influence its effects.**

Is the scheme isolated or is it a member of a network? How is it organised? What resources does it have? Are these resources stable? How are human resources trained? Are their skills and motivation in line with the objectives of the scheme?

- **The link between training and integration support appears to be a major issue in terms of effects.**

How is this link done in the analysed scheme? What place is given to the construction of the youth's professional project? What are the technical, financial and / or intermediary support schemes for the environment of the youth trained? More generally, how does the scheme understand the different key factors in the integration of youths into agriculture (access to land, finance, market, information, professional networks and social networks)? Does it have a coordinating role for the youths' installation in agriculture?

- **The implementation of a training and integration scheme is the work of different stakeholders who will define the characteristics of the scheme in their position and professional practices.**

These positions and practices have a clear influence on the effects of the scheme and should be analysed in as much detail as possible. Are they homogeneous and coherent between the different stakeholders in the scheme or do they strongly diverge? How are they followed by the scheme? How do these practices impact youths' training and installation processes?

- **The effects of a training-integration scheme are also closely linked to the conditions of its sustainability.**

The needs for training and support of integration into agriculture are expressed, on a recurring basis over the medium or long term, in a given context. To meet these needs in a sustainable way, the schemes must therefore seek to be sustainable. The viability of a scheme is defined as the ability to run stably in the medium and long term, to develop on a significant scale in relation to the scale and diversity of the demand and to be resilient to shocks and crises.

It is based on a combination of six dimensions, all of which can influence the effects of the scheme: technical sustainability (adapted methods and tools), economic and financial sustainability (capacity to sustainably cover costs and investments), organisational (adapted governance) and institutional sustainability (a recognised role in the institutional fabric), social sustainability (stable social integration), environmental sustainability (environmental friendly externalities). The overall sustainability of a scheme is the result of the degree of sustainability achieved in each of these specific dimensions, but also the quality of their combination.

These dimensions are often of an adversarial nature (suitable methods and tools can be expensive, technical sustainability and governance can be opposed), the combination is difficult to balance, durability difficult to achieve, and each stage of the combination of sustainabilities can have an impact on the effects of the scheme. The difficulty of finding these balance takes on particular significance when there are changes in the scale of a scheme.

B. UNDERSTANDING THE EFFECTS OF A SCHEME ON YOUTHS TRAINED AND SUPPORTED

The effects of an integration training scheme can be assessed on the basis of quantitative results (number of youths trained and accompanied, number of youths actually developing a farm, number of youths being still present and active after a period of time, men/women ratio, resulting surfaces and productions). These quantified results are essential to support the political decision and the choices in terms of training and integration support. But beyond this first quantified level, a more qualitative analysis of the installation process and changes in the lives of the youths, their families and their communities can provide decisive insights on the effects of a scheme and its economic and social utility. The approach that is here proposed is based on change-oriented approaches to understand current processes and to integrate the perceptions of the stakeholders in the analysis.

The installation is seen as a **process**, a succession of steps enabling the young farmer to gradually consolidate his/her productive structure, his/her technical and management choices and his/her economic and social integration. Through surveys among youths who have undergone training-integration and among stakeholders in their environment, the analysis seeks to identify and characterise these steps and to question the influence of the training-integration scheme on each of these steps.

The first step to consider is prior to the entry into the training scheme: the youth has most often acquired in his/her **trajectory prior** to the training a life experience, skills, resources, networks that can participate strongly in the way s/he has lived the training and influence the process of his/her installation.

After the training, it will be necessary to **reconstitute the steps in the installation** based on the analysis grid of the conditions of a sustainable installation presented in I. The **system of production and the current system of activities of the young farmer will be analysed over a whole year**. What are the choices and combinations of the production selected, and why? What resources are mobilised (land, finance, labor)? This systemic analysis makes it possible to identify over a year the **technical, economic and financial results** and to analyse in depth the difficulties encountered and the solutions tested. The **practices** (technical, management, social) are identified and characterised. The **competences** mobilised by the young farmer appear through these practices and can be compared, on the one hand, with the objectives referred to in the training reference framework and, on the other hand, with the skills acquired in the trajectory before the training (Have these skills expanded, diversified?).

The **links between the young farmer and his/her family** are analysed in technical, economic and social terms. What are the connections between the farmer and his/her family (work, advice, income)? How does the youth see himself in his/her family? How do families see the youth and his/her installation?

In the same way, **the links with the integration community** will be analysed. How does the youth see his/her relationship with the community? Has s/he received support (land, labor, advice, protection)? Does s/he face social integration problems? How does the community see this facility?

Has the installation of the young farmer led to the emergence of a **social or professional collective dynamic**?

How does the young farmer see his/her job as a farmer? How does s/he see his/her place in society? What is his/her vision for the future? What is his/her project (agricultural, economic, social)? Have these perceptions evolved from the time s/he entered into training?

From this analysis, **the prospects for the sustainability of this installation** can be analysed: **in technical, economic, financial, organisational, social and environmental terms.**

At each stage of this analysis, **the links with the training-integration scheme** will be questioned. Have the training and support been adapted to the different stages of the installation? What are the gaps? How does the young farmer see the device? Does s/he maintain relationships after leaving the scheme (by welcoming youths during training, becoming a trainer, participating in the networks promoted by the scheme)?

IV. As a conclusion: an interdisciplinary analysis grid to develop knowledge dedicated to action

The analysis grid that is being proposed is necessarily interdisciplinary. The integration process of youths into agriculture and his/her accompaniment involve technical decisions (what production system, what technical productivity), economic choices and constraints (what combinations of resources, what factor productivity, what relation to the market), social relationships, choices and political measures. Analysing these processes from a single disciplinary point of view does not make it possible to understand neither their complexity nor the real constraints encountered, and even less the conditions of their sustainability.

This analysis grid, and more generally the approach that is being proposed, is part of a specific scientific position: action research, synthesised in the title "Understanding the installation process of the young farmer to better support them".

Interdisciplinarity and the link between research and action pose numerous and challenging scientific and implementation problems.

In the field of science, this analysis grid is part of the epistemological framework of the institutionalist approach that interprets change through the construction of social, economic and political rules. Instead of being the predominant epistemological framework, institutionalism is nonetheless progressing and attempting to create a framework for reflection at the interface between economics, socio-anthropology, political science and history⁶.

From a methodological point of view, this analysis grid raises the question of the scientific submission of the evidence. The scientific disciplines mobilised, and within some of them, different theories, are divided around this question: by simplifying, the advocates of the proof through the measurement and the mathematical process, which are aimed at demonstrating

⁶ Institutionalism is based on the assumption of a close link between economy and society (Polanyi, 1944): individuals make their decisions by combining different motivations (utility, profit, social and cultural rules,...); their behavior is influenced by history and collective contexts in which they evolve.

through the statistical and econometric process - are opposed to the advocates of qualitative, comprehensive and often multidisciplinary analysis aimed at understanding the complexity of the processes at work, in particular in order to improve action. This debate is neither insignificant nor confined to scientific groups, it is at the center of public policy and of the issue on how public resources⁷ are allocated.

The proposed analysis grid is clearly positioned on the qualitative side of these approaches in the sense that it seeks to understand the logics of the stakeholders and of the interactive, multidisciplinary and multilevel processes involved in the installation in agriculture.

However, it does not mean that it has chosen to overlook quantified approaches. The analysis of the productive unit of the youth installed must be based on quantified data to evaluate the productive and economic results, the conditions of the schemes' sustainability can not be understood without assessing the costs and benefits, etc. Moreover, at the schemes level, quantified analyses will be required: how many people are trained? How many are integrated? How many are still active after 3 or 5 years? What are the costs, what effects and even what impact of the actions?

It is therefore the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches that seems appropriate for the analysis of the installation processes. The evolution of the work on the impact of development actions showed that these combinations were possible and scientifically validated and strategic for action. However, their implementation requires specific means and skills (size of important survey samples, quantitative and qualitative analysis skills).

In terms of action, the mobilisation of this analysis grid raises many questions.

How to integrate such a grid in the various stages of strategic thinking and implementation of the accompanying schemes of the installation? Can it be mobilised without a research team? Under what conditions? What are the means necessary for such mobilisation? To what extent are the schemes and decision-makers ready to hear, take into account the results produced, even when they question the choices being made? How can we mobilise this knowledge produced for action, within the schemes themselves, but also within the territories welcoming the youths, and more widely in the different spheres of public policy (local, regional, national and international) where the frameworks for renewal of family farming are defined?

⁷ To go further on these debates: Gabas J.J., Ribier V., Vernières M., 2013. La mesure du développement. Comment science et politique se conjuguent. Revue Tiers Monde n°213. January-March 2013.

Second part: comparative study

Understanding the installation process of the youths in agriculture to better support it: the first results



Learner (in red) in the installation process and her family. Ndougé, Cameroon. 2015. Picture: Louise. Bergès

The comparative synthesis presented in this note is a contribution to the capitalisation undertaken on the effects of training-integration schemes. It is based on three studies carried out in 2015 at the request of Cameroon's AFOP programme, the Collèges agricoles (Agricultural High schools) of Fekama in Madagascar and CIDAP in Togo.

It is the result of a collective work written by Louise Bergès, with the support of Elsa Peter, Clara Limousin, Amandine Schlur and Betty Wampfler.

I. Introduction

In 2015, three agricultural agronomist students from the Institut des Régions Chaudes (IRC) of Montpellier SupAgro undertook a six-month internship with a rural agricultural training structure.

The purpose of the study was - in all three cases - the same: analysing the effects produced by the training and integration schemes on young farmers trained and supported in their professional integration, as well as on their families and their territory.

- In Togo, in the Kara region, Elsa Peter and Koffi Hilaire Allado worked with the International Center for Agropastoral Development (**CIDAP**), sponsored by the French association **APATAM**.
- In Madagascar, Clara Limousin and Princy Robert Ravelonanosy studied the **Fekama** network (Federation of Agricultural High schools of Madagascar), a partner of the French association **Fert**.
- In Cameroon, Louise Bergès worked with the **AFOP** programme, financed by the C2D-AFD fund and accompanied by a consortium of French training institutions coordinated by **Montpellier SupAgro**.

Regarding the three schemes studied, it was decided to combine training and accompaniment with integration:

- The 2 to 3 year agricultural training of the youth – i.e. "the learner", is carried out in a training center and includes a practical part within a farm school in the learners families or farms welcoming youths under apprenticeship;
- Support for the youth's installation in agriculture: the youth develops his/her own farm and receives: 1) **a financial aid to the installation** (grant or zero rate loan), whose amount and modalities of granting vary according to the schemes; 2) **a personalised support by an "advisor"** during the first months of the farm's development.

The term « installation » does not exactly refer to the same process within the three schemes:

In Madagascar, the Fekama network distinguishes the *installation* – a youth who is installed if s/he is autonomous and if s/he has left the family farm – from the *integration* – the youth who has completed training is implementing his/her agricultural activities within his/her parents' farm.

On the contrary, in Cameroon, the AFOP programme considers that the term *installation* is too restricted to summarise the youth's integration process in the social and professional web and rather uses the term *integration*.

For harmonisation purposes, we will use the term *installation* to designate the creation of the agricultural production activity by the youths who have completed the three training schemes.

The three studies were carried out with a very close methodology combining the analysis of the schemes with an observation of the youths installation processes.

This synthesis proposes to compare:

1 –First, the sequence of the three training-integration schemes:

- The agricultural training;
- The development of the youths' project of installation in agriculture;
- Support for the installation of youths in agriculture.

2 – Secondly, the effects of the scheme on the youths, their family and the local environment, through:

- The youths' installation trajectories;
- The assimilated knowledge and skills;
- The experienced difficulties;
- The acquisition of production factors;
- The positive effects on family;
- The effects on the local environment.

II. The training-integration programme

The three studied schemes do not cover the same scales:

- **The CIDAP, the only training center** in Kara (Togo), recruited **141 students** from the agro-pastoral sector between 2003 and 2016. The average was 6 youths per class per year until 2013. Today it is 23 students. There are currently **27 youths** in the process of installation in Togo. Its objective is to ensure "human and technical training of development stakeholders in the field of agropastoralism". The center promotes agroecology, which is considered to be a "nourishing and efficient agriculture". The CIDAP structure was created in 1984. The initial agricultural training began in 2003. The installation support, which is much more recent, was created in 2014.
- The **Fekama Federation** in Madagascar consists of four **active agricultural high schools and a 5th high school** being set up in the Aloatra-Mangoro region. Recruitment amounted to **1,440** students from 2003 to 2016, with an average of 35 students per college per year. Today, **381 graduates** are installed or in the installation process. The vision set by Fekama and Fifata, the umbrella farmers' organisation responsible for this initial vocational training system, is to "train the daughters and sons of farmers and prepare the succession of agricultural leaders". The five high schools have gradually been set up since 2002, under the initiative of Fifata, which was accompanied by Fert

association in collaboration with the National Council for Private Agricultural Education (Cneap).

Support for the youth's installation has been carried out since 2009.

- **The AFOP programme** consists in **90 training centers**, either private or public, located across Cameroon. Since 2010, **4,194 youths** have been recruited; on average, 35 learners are trained in every school every two years. **Approximately 1,400 youths** are installed or are in the installation process. The aim of the programme is to support growth and employment by "improving the professional qualification of stakeholders in agricultural and rural development and the professional integration of the youths trained" in agriculture. It is funded by the C2D-AFD fund, which is divided into two phases: the first (2008-2012) permitted the implementation of the training, and the second (2013-2017) the support of the installation.

Despite these differences, the CIDAP in Togo, the agricultural colleges in Madagascar and the AFPO centers in Cameroon, provide a similar process: 1) a period of agricultural training, 2) a time for the development of agricultural installation projects and 3) a time to accompany the implementation of the installation.

1. The agricultural training

The three schemes offer a **long agricultural training**. It is a 2 year training for AFOP and a 3 year training for CIDAP and Fekama.

The objective is to train young agricultural professionals who are:

- "performers and actors of their local environment" regarding Fekama;
- "experienced, business and job creators" for CIDAP
- "driving an agriculture of 2nd generation" for AFOP.

The CIDAP and the AFOP programme have chosen to recruit youths who are at least 18 years old, respectively holding at least the BEPC and CEPE. The Malagasy agricultural colleges train younger students, aged between 15 and 20 years, with a grade between the 6th and the 3rd.

The youths, who sometimes come from remote areas, live in boarding schools - except for CIDAP that does not offer accommodation on its site.

All provide in their training programmes a **general education** (French, mathematics ...), a **theoretical and practical training of agricultural production**, as well as a farm management learning programme and a learning programme to the development of a project of installation in agriculture.

Practical instruction is provided differently depending on the schemes:

- CIDAP has a **25 ha pedagogical farm**. One day a week, the learners receive practical workshop courses. In addition, they carry out practical workshops on the alumni's installation sites.

- The agricultural colleges of Fekama also have a **pedagogical farm**. The students work there half a day every day. They also carry out internships at the end of the year with active producers or with college alumni installed on their farm.
- AFOP learners **alternate** two weeks of theoretical courses at the center followed by two weeks of practice at a referring producer. Some private centers in partnership with the programme also have a pedagogical farm.

A **diploma or certificate** is given to the youths who have completed the training. These are internal degrees - not recognised by the State - for AFOP and Fekama; CIDAP prepares the third-year students for the entrance examination for the BTA and CAPAP state diplomas.

The centers are similarly organised in Cameroon, Madagascar and Togo. The strategic decisions are taken by a **board of directors** ("Farmers Committee" regarding Fekama) with or without the involvement of the director. The parents of the students of the agricultural colleges of Fekama are also represented by a specific committee ("Fram committee").

The **pedagogical team** of the centers usually consists in three to four fixed trainers, plus the person in charge of accompanying the youths in the installation process. Having completed for the most part higher education in agriculture, trainers are themselves trained after their recruitment ("recycling").

All three schemes have very different **tuition policies**:

- The students of CIDAP and their families have to pay a tuition of 13,500 CFAF (20 €) per year. The APATAM partner takes care of the rest of the training costs. Many youths take credits they must repay at the end of the programme.
- The students' families of the Fekama colleges give a monthly contribution of 3,000 ariary (1 €) and a contribution in kind of 60 kapoaka of rice.
- The youths in AFOP centers do not have to pay any tuition fees. They receive, on the contrary, an allowance of 1000 CFAF (1.50 €) per day spent at the training center, enabling them to meet their food needs.

2. Development of the youths installation project in agriculture

In all three countries, students formalise in writing their project of installation at the end of their schooling. Then, they present it to a jury:

- In **Togo**, the students have to write a "**business plan**" they present to the **pedagogical team** for the end-of-year exams. In addition, a credit application is submitted to the CIDAP microfinance unit. This file is then examined by APATAM's board of directors, a Northern financial partner, who accepts whether or not to grant a zero interest rate loan. 300 000 CFAF (457 €). This loan has so far been requested nine times and has always been repaid. It is used by graduates to make investments in the means of production or as input credit.
- In **Madagascar**, students develop a "**project proposal**" that is analysed by a "**Granting Committee**". This committee includes a part of the training center team, two

professionals representing the Farmers Committee, the farm advisor (the person accompanying the installation) and the young farmers facilitator (who accompanies the high school farm advisor). If completed, the young person receives a 800 000 Ariary (275 €) « boost » in one tranche, to acquire the means of production necessary to the launch of his/her agricultural activity. This allocation relates only to fixed assets.

- In **Cameroon**, the students have to write a "**project document**" that is double examined. 1) The "**Territorial Commission**", comprising the center's management and local stakeholders, analyses the technical aspects of the installation and its overall sustainability. 2) The "**Financial Commission**" then studies more precisely the economic sustainability of the projects. A grant for the installation of 1.5 million CFAF (€ 2,280) is then awarded to the youth in several installment disbursements.

The frames of the "business plan", "project proposal" and "project document" are very similar: they present the project in a "**global**" or "**systemic**" way - all the dimensions of the installation are detailed.

The pedagogical team supports the youths in the design and writing of projects. In all three countries, it emphasises the importance of the youth to become an **expert in written formalisation**: in the future, it may be necessary to submit applications for grants to development programmes.

The AFOP and Fekama installation projects are designed around a main activity that is principally intended for sale (poultry or pig raising, cocoa, rice growing...), in addition to food production. This financing application mainly concerns this main production. The CIDAP installation projects are more diversified in terms of agricultural production.

3. Supporting the installation of youths in agriculture

Regarding the three schemes, the young graduates are supervised and guided by the person accompanying them. This support is, in each case, individual and degressive:

- **Regarding CIDAP, it is a trainer**, also responsible for the microfinance unit, who monitors the 27 graduates installed in Togo. Due to the lack of time, he can do only provide the youths with remote monitoring by telephone. He also accompanies the development of the business plan. The youths who have benefited from the zero interest loan are also monitored by APATAM during occasional visits.
- In Madagascar, four "**farm advisors**" - one for each high school - are in charge of accompanying the installation. They simultaneously attend 60 to 90 young graduates for three years in their operational management and provide them with comprehensive technical advice. They are also responsible for purchasing the equipment for which the allocation has been awarded. Finally, they have a networking mission among all the graduates from the agricultural high schools and with the local environment's stakeholders: to do so, they are helped by the young farmers facilitator.

- In Cameroon, the "**integration advisors**", assigned to each AFOP pedagogical team, provide monitoring. They are carrying out the technical and economic support of the farm for two years; their objective is also to facilitate the youths' access to local professional agricultural networks. They combine this function of *advisor* with an *auditor* function: the integration advisors make sure that the grant is well used for the agricultural project. This dual role, which internalises the monitoring, raises many questions within the program, including the position of the advisor to the youth s/he accompanies.

In all three cases, the persons accompanying the youths face the same difficulties in ensuring the proper monitoring of all the youths installed they are responsible for: geographical dispersion of the youths' farms, lack of time to carry out all the visits, overwork at the center...

The youths will then tend to organise themselves to provide each other advice and support. Fekama supports this dynamic through a "collective accompaniment": the regional federations of Fifata intervene with the graduates to strengthen the links with the local environments' stakeholders. Similarly, the training of leaders targets young Malagasy graduates who want to take responsibility in an existing producer organisation or create their own FO.

III. Scheme's effects on the youths, their families and their local environments

The three studies were conducted using the same methodology. Using a sample of 27 to 60 youths installed, the life and installation trajectories of these youths were examined. Their sites - systematically visited - and their installation project were analysed through the systemic approach. The objective was to comprehend the diversity of situations and agricultural installation projects.

The following seven points constitute the main effects highlighted in the three training-integration schemes studied.

1. The graduates' installation trajectories

The young graduates are aged between 18 and 35 years old. In the three schemes, women are in the minority (**26% for AFOP, 25% for Fekama, 7% for CIDAP**). Women are indeed struggling to complete training as they often have to cope with family tasks: they are therefore more likely to give up.

Similar installation trajectories are observed in Togo, Madagascar and Cameroon:

- **At CIDAP, 70% of the graduates** immediately start their farming, maintaining para and extra-agricultural activities. The remaining 30% find paid work within CIDAP or within other centers: they have no land and / or financial resources to start their farm or must

first reimburse their debts contracted during the training. This job is perceived by these youths as a transitional job: they all aspire to be farmers.

- The graduated from the **Fekama high schools** are the youngest ones: either they join the family farm - by developing their own production - or they install their own farm. Several development strategies have been observed as follows:
 - o Some youths start their project quickly (**between 8 and 17 months**) after graduation. This is the case when families support their child's project by providing him/her with land and, when possible, with either material or financial resources. It is also the case of some students who had anticipated their installation, and had saved with the purchase of zebu or piglets. They can quickly provide the necessary input to the grant request.
 - o Other youths save before starting their project by doing remunerative extra-agricultural work. These are the ones who want to install independently of their parents, or whose family can not support them. They provide the beneficial contribution and install on average **13 months** after they have completed the training.
 - o Finally, the remaining graduates wait for more than **2 years** before applying for submitting their allowance request either because of lack of motivation or because their families are in difficulty and they have to support them.
- **The AFOP students**, once their project document is validated, receive the grant. All of them immediately implement their installation according to the pre-established plan. In the first two generations of the youths trained who were not able to benefit immediately from the grant, trajectories are the same as those of the Malagasy youths: some youths have gradually started their installation without waiting for help amounting 1.5 million CFAF, while others managed to save thanks to small activities.

In all cases observed, the youths who are in the installation process diversify their activities: 1) by facing many agricultural products in addition to those described in the project documents, 2) by conducting para-agricultural activities or 3) extra-agricultural activities. The sum of these activities constitutes **the system of activities**:

- **Regarding CIDAP**, this system of activities is necessary because it reduces the risk of failure of the installation.
- **The policy of Fifata and Fekama** has evolved on this issue: these complementary activities are now considered beneficial because they consolidate the youth's economic situation. When the latter provides veterinary services, for example, it is a way to share his/her knowledge within the local environment and to receive remuneration.
- **The AFOP programme** promotes a variety of agricultural activities to meet the different needs of the youths, but accepts that extra-farm diversification can secure the facility for a transitional period.

2. The knowledge and skills

There are **numerous** techniques, knowledge and know-how acquired through training such as: "Improved" crops and livestock production and / or agro-ecological techniques; keeping a management, techniques and strategies book for storing and selling agricultural products; conducting market studies, self-construction...

Regarding the three schemes, the evolution of the changes in practices is significant for **livestock farming**: compliance with hygiene rules, application of building standards, development of food composition for livestock. The new veterinary knowledge acquired is highly appreciated in all three cases. Knowing how to "make a diagnosis", injecting a vaccine, administering "first aid" is helpful and rewarding.

Another valuable competence acquired, in all three cases, thanks to the training: the ability to hold a "**management book**" of the farm. This collection of information helps daily management and accounting monitoring. All these are valuable elements that provide the farm with a "memory" and enable us to consider the future (strategic management, anticipation of investments, project design, market research studies, etc.). It is also a key tool for the monitoring and evaluation of structures: the management book helps to calculate the added value produced by the farm and therefore the wealth produced by the installations on the local environment.

In all cases, long-term agricultural training, thanks to its theoretical contributions, gives learners the satisfaction of *understanding the utility* of the techniques they learned.

The three studies also show that the practice adopted by the youth depends mainly on: 1) the youth being convinced of its utility; 2) that it has the production factors necessary for its implementation (land, savings, workforce...). The image of modernity that trainers and technicians associate with one technique - such as "*improved*" productions - is also in favor of its adoption.

3. Facing the difficulties with the installation

In Cameroon, the youths are unanimous: "The difficulties?! There are plenty!" And we can assume that the same applies in Togo and Madagascar.

The first constraint faced by the youths is **access to land**. Families are usually involved in their children's projects. However, especially in regions where land pressure is high, it is sometimes complicated to provide them with more than half a hectare. In Cameroon, pedagogical teams sometimes solicit village leaders to enable the learner to install on communal land. In the southern and eastern regions, the forest is still a source of land perceived as inexhaustible - provided that s/he has the means to clear it.

Many youths then face problems of **market access**, both regarding the purchase of inputs and the disposal of their products. The development of the project in its early stages, which includes a detailed study of the market, takes on its full meaning here. Similarly, youths often can not

be sure of the quality of the products offered by the suppliers - medicines, food - or breeding subjects - vaccinated day-old chicks, high quality breeding piglets, etc. They also face problems with the family or salaried workforce, who is less qualified than them or more expensive or more difficult to mobilise than expected...

In some cases, the youths face difficulties caused by the gaps between the training project designed during the training and the reality of its implementation in the field. The difference may be due to late access to financing (in the case of early promotions in Cameroon), or to an incompatibility between the training and the agricultural specificities of certain locations (some cases in Madagascar).

The youths must finally handle unexpected events during installation: technical errors, epidemic on livestock, weather hazards, theft, family withdrawal ... and find ways to overcome them.

It is up to the **person supporting installation** to discuss with the youth on the best way to overcome these obstacles. Sometimes, s/he provides technical advice, connects the youth with other stakeholders of their local environment. But sometimes his role is simply to encourage the youth to continue his/her project.

However, in the three countries, some youths – those who live far from the centers in particular - find themselves little accompanied in view of their needs. Other forms of accompaniment then take over:

- In Madagascar, the graduates benefit from **collective support**. Several times a year, meetings of former students in the district are organised: those who are installed present their case and consider the problem together. Also, the formation of leaders can lead to a consortium of interest of the graduates who are taking part in it, sometimes being institutionalising in the creation of a producers' organisation.
- In Cameroon, the youths turn either to their classmates, whom they trust in, or to referring producers they have kept contact with. Thus, **cores of groups** emerge in certain locations and can be strengthened by collective actions for orders and / or bundle sales to reduce the farm costs.

4. Acquisition of production factors

Although in each of the three schemes the procedures for granting and the amounts differ, it appears that the existence of the financial support for the installation is decisive in order to remove the constraint represented by the investment.

The youths generally have little resources: if their families have no resources, they will not be able to acquire the buildings and equipment for their farm before a period of one or several years.

The surveys of young pilot farmers in Togo and Madagascar show that they can access to their inputs only very gradually.

- At CIDAP, the **zero-rate loan** was granted nine times - and to date, has always been repaid on time. It was used for investment in livestock buildings, as well as for restarting agricultural production after a fire.
- Fekama's **"boost" allowance** gives students the opportunity to implement directly improved production systems (e.g.: Improved rice-growing system (SRA) or intensive rice-growing system (SRI)), which provide them with better incomes than traditional techniques. For others, it helps them to install their own farm, outside of the parental farm. However, the 800,000 ariary currently only concerns capital assets. Consideration is currently being given so that the allocation also finance the cash needs (especially the inputs).
- In Cameroon, the **grant** of CFAF 1.5 million, which is considerably higher than in the other two cases, makes it possible to quickly acquire the first production factors. The youths in need can access equipment that they would never have had otherwise. However, side effects have been noted:
 - o The community sometimes looks unfavorably on the fact a youth suddenly becomes "rich". Little understanding regarding the investment logic, it demands that the graduate redistributes immediately a part of the grant and can react violently if s/he refuses - several cases of "sabotage" of agricultural activities and witchcraft were mentioned in the surveys.
 - o With the amount of money involved, some families are pushing their child, sometimes with little motivation, to enroll in training. Some youths for example, have gradually developed a taste for agriculture whereas they were initially more interested in other activities.

The use of credit is, for now, weak in all three situations. Banks such as microfinance are still hard to access for youths who are currently being installed, as the required guarantees are too demanding and the interest rates perceived is too high. Distrust of rural financial institutions persists, although the youths, particularly in Cameroon and Togo, are beginning to appreciate the value of financial services.

5. Change of vision

In Madagascar as in Cameroon, surveys show youths who later become "big farmers". This vision, which may at first appear slightly naive, reflects a profound change in the way youths perceive agriculture: it is no longer a default job when one has failed elsewhere, but rather an activity that can be profitable, and on which one can build a future.

The pedagogical teams have this "entrepreneurial spirit", the learners are gradually becoming aware of it, the representation they have of agriculture, their vision of the future and of themselves are changing. At the end of the training, they see themselves as "professional farmers", and as their "own boss". In Cameroon, many youths, who were not motivated by agriculture at the beginning of the training, ended up enthusiastic about it, by developing a **"dream"** of the future, to think big, even if the reality is much harsher.

If the training's ambition is to shape young agricultural professionals through the teaching of agricultural techniques and management, it is clear that it also shapes minds, which are more open and more confident in their ability to learn and to become an entrepreneur.

6. Positive effects on family

Enrolling one's child for two to three years in agricultural training is first an **investment** for the families, even if the training is free in the case of AFOP. Families thus deprive themselves throughout the training of the workforce and of the informal work carried out by their youths.

During the youth's installation phase, families - who often provide their land and make their resources available – are often waiting for a "return on investment". Apart from the knowledge they can benefit from the youths, they also want to take advantage of the financial assistance provided – which can, in Cameroon, where the amount of the grant is high, sometimes result in a demand of redistribution.

Similarly, surveys show that in Madagascar and Cameroon, **farm equipment are generally shared**; physical and financial flows link the youth's farm to the one of the family. This is even more striking in the case of the young daughters who get married: the livestock buildings remain on the parental farm, while the livestock "follows" the young woman installed in her husband's house. When the youths join farming groups (Madagascar), the family also benefits from the services offered by these groups.

But regardless of the sharing and distribution system adopted in families, the three studies clearly show that the youths are identified as **drivers of innovation** in their environment. They are doing experiments based on what they have learned (Madagascar). Successful innovations are then transmitted by imitation to other producers. Thus, they transmit to their families and neighborhoods the knowledge, techniques and know-how taught. For example, newly acquired veterinary skills are, in each case, solicited. This para-agricultural activity helps the youth to reinforce his / her professional image and to integrate into the communities.

It is true that in all three cases, families are enriched by the inputs of the youth's training, in particular the techniques and new knowledge transmitted.

7. Effects on the local environment

In order to assess on a wider scale the scope of the training and integration of the youths, it is necessary to evaluate the impact that the implantation of the training centers have on the local environment.

The "Local environment", as it is used here, is understood as an agrarian, economic, community and institutional space in which the youth work and socially integrate.

The three training schemes studied have the same objective of sustainability and sustainable integration within the local environment.

In all three cases, the links with the local environment are sought both through the governance of the training center and economic partnerships:

- the local authorities are involved in the governance of training centers and the validation processes of installation projects;
- the family farmers of the territory are consulted as referring producers and internship supervisors. Partnerships are established with companies or development structures in the territory.

Beyond the fact that wealth is generated through the youths' projects, the three studies show that the establishment of a new training center has an economic impact on the local community (new outlets to supply the canteen, rentals, supply of transport, creation of small informal businesses linked to the activities of the center, etc.).

Thus, in all three cases, after some years of operation, the stakeholders of the local environment associate a positive image with the establishment of a training center.

IV. Conclusion

The results of the analysis on the effects of the three schemes are surprisingly converging.

While the schemes have a very different origin (on a private initiative in Togo, on the initiative of the State in Cameroon and of a farm organisation in Madagascar), the fundamental principles are very similar.

In all three cases, family farming is viewed as a model of production that can have a future, and in which the youths can win to install. The training and support of the installation are designed according to the systemic realities of this agriculture, an important place given to professional practice. Similarly, the stakeholders who are at the origin of the schemes considered that the assimilation of knowledge and the construction of skills necessary for this agricultural practice require time - leading to the establishment of long-term training (2 to 3 years). In addition, the training and the support of the installation are resolutely combined in all three cases. Last but not least, support is provided by financial assistance (grant or zero-rate loan) and farm advisory during the implementation of the youth's project.

Even at very different scales, the results observed also show great similarities.

The youths actually install in agriculture at the end of these trainings. These installations are often progressive, heavily conditioned by access to production factors, and in particular access to land. The financial support provided to the youths is therefore decisive in the installation process.

The projects implemented are mostly systemic, combining one or more commercial productions with food crops securing family food. In many cases, at least in the initial

installation phase, diversification can integrate non-agricultural activities that will consolidate incomes of young households for a while.

Similarly, in all three contexts, the youths face the same difficulties regarding installation: access to land, to funding, to market and agricultural hazards. The achievements of the youths are reflected in an expertise in agricultural and management techniques, an ability to anticipate, anticipate and reflect as an "entrepreneur".

But beyond these shared difficulties and achievements, the youths' trajectories are really characterised by both the change in their vision of agriculture and their position in the local society. Sometimes the youths surveyed, who are unconvinced of the interest of agriculture at the beginning of their training – give a new faith in the ability to live decently from this activity and to become full actors of their economy and their local society. After having made fun of them for a while, today the communities seem to change their vision of these youths, recognising them as economic actors and drivers of innovation.

The studies have clearly shown the positive effects of the three training and integration schemes on the youths, their families and their local environment.

Regarding each scheme, crucial questions are now being asked: the sustainability of their action, how to reconcile training and support on a permanent basis with installation, and their contribution to a "massification" of training that must be compatible with the demographic issues the African countries have to face.

Integration into the territories is partly a response to the uncertainties of these issues. The territories revitalised by the installation of the youths are strongly requested to ensure the sustainability of the support schemes. However, the capacity of these local environments to fulfill this role within the framework of decentralisation is still to be developed.

Appendix

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What is AFD?

What is AFD? Agence Française de Développement (AFD), a public financial institution that implements the policy defined by the French Government, works to combat poverty and promote sustainable development. AFD operates on four continents via a network of 75 offices and finances and supports projects that improve living conditions for populations, boost economic growth and protect the planet. In 2015, AFD earmarked EUR 8.3bn to finance projects in developing countries and for overseas France. Agence Française de Développement 5

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