

Alternative Development: Providing viable alternatives to illicit drug cultivation





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ABOUT US

EURAD is a European Drug Policy Network of around 50 non-governmental organisations. Our mission is to reduce the burden on individuals, families and society at large by promoting comprehensive, balanced and integrated policies.

We respect the fact that internationally there are important historic, cultural and social differences that impacts on how we talk about drugs and drug policy.

We respect that people come into this policy field with very different backgrounds, motifs, experiences and perspectives. Our overarching purpose is not ideological, religious or cultural but rather the welfare, health and dignity of both individual and society.

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Preface

EURAD has long been concerned with the entire drug trajectory – from the factors which influence illicit drug production and trafficking, right the way through to the factors which influence dependence and recovery. Whilst there has been ample evidence on the social factors underpinning drug use and consumption in Western countries, there has been relatively little on the social factors which underpin illicit drug production, apart from the usual demand and supply rhetoric.

EURAD believes that any sustainable solution to the drug problem must incorporate a valid and effective response to the issue of drug supply. Such an approach must also address the social challenges facing communities in drug producing regions as well as vital macro level issues such as international market structures, inequality, poverty and governance. This is where Alternative Development has so much untapped potential. That is not to say that all Alternative Development strategies succeed in facing these challenges, indeed some approaches certainly appear to work better than others. In writing this report, the aim was to provide a very honest reflection of alternative development programmes across the globe today and I hope that we have achieved that goal.

I am extremely grateful to Jack Grounds of Aalborg University (Denmark), who produced this report with a great deal of diligence and enthusiasm on behalf of EURAD and who made this report possible. I would also like to thank everyone who offered their time throughout the editing process and to those experts who shared their practical experiences from the field with us. Lastly, I would like to thank our member organisation, San Patrignano (Italy), for designing and printing the report.

Enjoy!



Fay Watson
Secretary General, EURAD

The San Patrignano Community



San Patrignano welcomes all men and women who have serious drug abuse problems, regardless of ideology, social background, or religion, and completely free of charge, accepting no payment or funding from their families or the government.

Since 1978, San Patrignano has taken in over 20,000 people, offering them a home, healthcare, legal assistance, and the opportunity to study, learn a job, change their lives, and regain their status as full members of society.

San Patrignano's rehabilitation program has a success rate of 72%. The success rate was measured by a study conducted by the University of Bologna who monitored resident guests up to five years after reintegration into society.

www.sanpatrignano.org

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the main challenges for policy makers' working on drug supply issues is to ensure that there is an agreed and coordinated long term plan for the eradication of illicit drugs. Alternative Development is now widely becoming seen as one part of a comprehensive approach to help achieve that aim. Alternative Development (AD) approaches are quite attractive because unlike straight-forward crop eradication or interdiction, AD attempts to confront underlying issues such as rural poverty and economic factors which are often rooted in the drug supply trade. As AD approaches typically attempt to support the rural poor in drug producing zones, they also naturally focus on long-term outcomes of communities and are more invested in issues such as reducing environmental harm, enhancing sustainable livelihoods and strengthening the basic human rights of local people, in terms of access to healthcare and education.

In this paper, we attempt to show in an unbiased way, the opportunities and challenges that alternative development approaches face. We will touch on examples where there has been significant investment in AD, such as in Thailand, as well as look at areas such as Colombia and Afghanistan, where political strife and conflict stands in the way of development. We will also look at the vital role of international collaboration in containing or reducing the often labelled 'balloon effect', where production simply moves from one region or country to another.

Finally, we will go further and consider the opportunities for successful alternative development strategies to prosper within a framework of wider development strategies and make recommendations for policy makers within the field.

2. DEFINITION

For the purpose of creating distinct and achievable policy recommendations, a clear definition of Alternative development is required. The definition provided by the UNODC is the most effective as it has been agreed internationally and it is very specific about what alternative development targets. The full definition is as follows:

"a process to prevent and eliminate the illicit cultivation of plants containing narcotics and psychotropic substances through specifically designed rural development measures in the context of sustained national growth and sustainable development efforts in countries taking action against drugs, recognizing the particular socio-economic characteristics of the target communities and groups, within the framework of a comprehensive and permanent solution to the problem of illicit drugs" (UNODC, 2014)

It should also be noted that in some literature AD can also be referred to as alternative economic livelihoods and sustainable rural development. This is because the term 'Alternative Development' is fairly ambiguous by its self and the context of its use needs to be very clear.



3. HISTORY

A number of different Alternative development strategies have been attempted from the 1970s onwards, with varying success. For example, in the Andes region, USAID promoted crop substitution projects but unfortunately failed to address market and infrastructure barriers (Stokes, 2005). At the same time in Thailand a much more multifaceted approach was being developed which approached the problem of illicit drug cultivation as an issue of rural poverty. In order to counteract the illicit drug trade Thailand went further than just crop substitution through providing roads, infrastructure and access to schools and hospitals. The multifaceted approach used in Thailand has since been replicated in certain regions of Peru (UNODC, 2005). In other parts of the Andes and Afghanistan, a US security- led alternative development approach has been used, which forced out criminal and terrorist organisations first before providing alternative economic livelihoods.

3.1 Successful case studies

A number of the policy recommendations made in this paper are based on the successes in Peru and Thailand, such as the work carried out by organisations such as the Mae Fah Luang Foundation. That is because, in these examples, we saw evidence of the programmes having tackled the underlying causes of drug production and having supported local farmers to move into the formal economy.

3.1.1 Thailand: Long-term strategy

The long term plan that was implemented in Thailand is often used as the blue print for how a successful Alternative development strategy could be instigated and for good reason (UNODC, 2005). The project started as a Royal initiative in 1969 and had the target of eliminating Opium production entirely. By 2013 the number of hectares used for Opium culti-

vation had been reduced to 265 hectares down from 17,920 hectares in 1968 (UNODC, 2005).

Part of the success of the project lies in the fact that there was a long term political will for the initiative to succeed and development was prioritised over law enforcement. The process was enhanced by the creation of the Mae Fah Luang Foundation who created the Doi Tung Project in 1987. Another crucial factor to its success lies in the way it engaged with the local people and acknowledged what they needed help with. The Opium cultivators in Thailand had a particular problem that they were not Thai citizens, as they had immigrated into the highland areas of Thailand from China in the 19th century. Without citizenship they were unable to access services provided by the state such as healthcare and education. There was also a lack of infrastructure in the area so they completely cut off from the Thai state and had very little choice but to grow Opium in order to survive. The Process of providing citizenship and credit in order for them to be integrated into the Thai society and market was one of the first steps to be taken. By 2012, 76% of the population in Doi Tung had obtained Thai citizenship (Khuprasert, 2012).

A sustainable process was then created in order for the highland people to live self-sufficiently through licit means. This was done through a three stage process moving from survival to sufficiency to sustainability (Khuprasert, 2012). This process differs from the traditional aid process where a pre-determined programme is implemented without consulting local people and often remains stuck in the survival or dependency stage. The first stage was providing the workers with paid labour in order to reforest the region and this accompanied by medical training and the construction of schools and infrastructure.

The key sustainable business element came in where the locals were assisted in adding value to their products. The farmers and the whole community were encouraged to not only grow the coffee beans but to



(World Coffee Press, 2014)

be involved in the whole chain from bean to cup as can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

The ten step to coffee

- 1• Planting
- 2• Harvesting the cherries
- 3• Processing the cherries
- 4• Drying
- 5• Sorting and quality control
- 6• Exporting the beans
- 7• Roasting
- 8• Grinding the coffee
- 9• Brewing the coffee
- 10• Drinking

The Doi Tung Brand was created as the main channel of income for the development project and encompassed the food, horticulture, tourism and handicrafts. The per capita income in Doi Tung has risen from \$90 per annum in 1988 to \$1500 per annum in 2012 (Khuprasert, 2012).

Another distinction that makes this project stand out from other more traditional development and aid projects is the market and consumer driven approach it has taken. The emphasis has been on providing quality products that are demanded by consumers and are profitable. This has made the Doi Tung project entirely self-sufficient and no longer need dependent on receiving aid.

From the experiences gained in Doi Tung, The Mae Fah Lung foundation created the Sustainable Alternative Livelihood Development (SALD) model, which aimed to place *“the local community at the center of their own development, promoting economic, environmental, and social growth by building a strong community driven by local wisdom”* (Mae Fah Luang, 2014).



With this people-centred approach the healthcare, livelihood and educational needs are addressed effectively with local ownership and leadership put in place for them to live sustainably without external assistance. The SALD model follows four stages and is outlined below in Figure 2.

Figure 2. **The SALD model**

1. Initial Preparation of the Development Team:

- Gain support from all the parties of interest—government officials, the private sector and the community—ensuring that they agree on the goals, and are committed.
- Build a facilitation team that will coordinate the resources, such as funding, among relevant parties, as well as make sure that the ideas generated will be the basis for discussions with the communities.

2. Preparation of the Community

- This step is geared toward building trust through communication and implementation of programs addressing immediate needs, known as the “Quick Hit”, usually concerning healthcare and food.
- The foundation seeks to ensure that the community members are prepared and eager to get involved with the projects by getting them to understand their own problems and needs, how to address them, and the benefits of doing so.

3. Implementation

- The implementation process continues building confidence and motivating people by working hand-in-hand with them, often times creating incentives (such as improved livestock, access to irrigation and value added products) for them. Here, the ideas are carried out through a learning-by-doing process and incorporating local wisdom.
- In the next phase, the foundation aims to create market driven value-chains by employing practices used in professional business, building on local capacity.

4. Exit

This stage focuses on the following objectives to make sure that the community is self-sufficient and can continue with their own development:

(Khuprasert, 2012)

3.1.2 Peru: San Martin Integrated Development Model

The San Martin Integrated Model in Peru shares a number of the same ideals that were used in Doi Tung and has been successful but on a slightly smaller scale. The project in San Martin came about after an aerial interdiction strategy in the border areas of Peru and Colombia, pushed cultivation towards Colombia. As a result of this decreased demand in Peru, Coca farmers had to look for alternative sources of income and whilst there was a political will from within the community for a change, external assistance

was needed for it to be effective.

Organisations such as DEVIDA, USAID and Macroconsult were able to provide assistance in helping in infrastructure projects, education and healthcare as well training in business and improved cultivation. An agreement between the government and the farmers was reached where the farmers would accept assistance from external actors in return for the voluntary eradication of illicit crops. The amount of Coca being produced in San Martin fell from 22,000 hectares in 1996 to 1,725 hectares in 2010 (Macroconsult, 2012). In the same period of time poverty rates in the region fell from 70% down to 31%. The success of the San Martin project is further highlighted by

the fact that in years where overall Coca production has increased in Peru, due to the results of the Balloon effect, It still remained very low in San Martin. This shows that when AD projects are carried out in an effective and holistic manner it can be resistant to the illicit drug trade (Macroconsult, 2012). This model along with the Doi Tung project demonstrates that wealth creation can occur with alternative development.

The similarities with the Doi Tung project are based on the holistic approach to improving basic services to communities such as infrastructure, healthcare and education in order to reduce poverty. This gave them a platform to produce licit goods in a sustainable manner and give them access to local and international markets. This process was further strengthened by the creation of farming cooperatives which enhanced community cohesion and allowed for improved competitiveness through a coordinated marketing and sales strategy. The cooperative works by making the workers become shareholders in the processing plant which they sell the crop to, so not only are they assured of a market for their production, but when they sell to a company they also receive a dividend of their earnings. The four key products identified by the region as being the most commercially viable were coffee, cacao, palm oil and palm hearts. The farmers were first trained first in production as well as in commercialisation of the products.

The other areas that were strengthened in the programme were the role of the local government which was made more accountable and reformed for more efficiency. This began with management training courses for local officials and supporting the already strong civil society and free press.

Macroconsult, the private company, involved in the San Martin project, came up with a number of variables which determine the success of an Alternative development project. The variables are:

- Strategies and actions of productive development
- The will of the local populations and institutions to change
- The direct promotion of farming cooperatives
- The coca bush eradication efforts

- Productive investment to give greater added value to agricultural products
- Social and economic infrastructure projects
- Favourable market conditions for cacao, coffee, oil palm and palm heart
- The increases in social capital
- The decreasing incentives for cultivating coca

It can be seen that the basic frameworks for both the San Martin and Doi Tung projects are very similar and form the basis for the success of future alternative development projects. It should be noted that although these projects have been very successful in removing illicit drug cultivation from their respective regions it has made little impact on the overall global supply of drugs as the cultivation is moved to another region. For alternative development strategies of the future to be successful these projects need to be carried out on larger scale with regional and international cooperation to reduce the opportunities for illicit drug cultivation before it can begin.

3.2 Failed case studies

The two most high profile cases of failed alternative development strategies have been in Colombia and Afghanistan, with each sharing some of the same problems. Notably, in both regions there has been an overwhelming military approach to overcome armed insurgents and this has overshadowed any economic and social development strategies.

Both the FARC in Colombia and the Taliban in Afghanistan have used the sale of illicit drugs to fuel conflicts causing a loss of territorial control. The challenging geographical conditions of the two countries have made it difficult to combat the armed insurgents so the governments and their western allies have attempted to defeat them by destroying the drug trade and therefore restricting the funds of the armed insurgents.

This strategy has been challenged by the fact that insurgents heavily guard illicit drug cultivation sites and by damage to local infrastructure and international trade.



3.2.1 Colombia: Militarised Strategy

The Alternative Development strategy in Colombia was largely orchestrated by the US as part of Plan Colombia and accounted for approximately 20% of the budget allocated (Grounds et al, 2013). The US used a crop substitution strategy where they offered Coca farmers 980 US dollars in order to stop growing Coca within 12 Months. This strategy has a number of immediately obvious flaws including the fact that it did not address the lack of roads and the lack of a local market for goods to be sold. It did at least acknowledge the need for it to take time change from illicit to licit goods but the money provided was barely enough for a family to survive for 12 months. The other problem it failed to address was that a number of the farmers who lived in inaccessible parts of Colombia did not have citizenship and did not have bank accounts so could not access the funds (Calvani, 2004). It turned out that most of the families who received the funds from the US government returned to Coca

cultivation after 12 months as they had no other option.

A further issue was that a main part of the US drug strategy in Colombia was the use of aerial fumigation to destroy crops. However, more often than not legal crops were destroyed which further encouraged rural farmers to cultivate illicit drugs (Stokes, 2005). This has the added effect of bringing the farmers closer to the FARC and the drug cartels that pay for the coca leaves and provided them with an easy market. This exacerbated the conflict as the coca funded their activities.

Other hindrances to the success of Alternative development in Colombia have centred on the corruption and the lack of state presence in the countryside. Due to the conflict and the long term struggles with large criminal organisations Colombia has struggled with corruption where policeman, judges and politicians either accept bribes or die. This has led to a deep level of mistrust from farmers towards anyone from the Colombian government and has been unwilling to accept help. Added to this is the role of the parami-

ilitary organisations who were once allies of the Colombian government and the US in fighting the FARC and the criminal cartels are now part of the drug trade but also have been involved in the killing of Trade union leaders, other leading civil society members and journalists due to potential sympathy towards the left wing insurgents (Stokes, 2005). There has been a breakdown the functioning of the Colombian society which has left many unwilling to attempt to participate in Alternative development projects.

3.2.2 Afghanistan: Insecurity

The problems faced in Afghanistan have been very similar to Colombia due to a similar strategy to eradicate illicit drugs. However, due to the more difficult geographical landscape, there was a reduction in the use of aerial fumigation in Afghanistan, compared to Colombia. Moreover, due to a lack of infrastructure

and a desperate economic situation, crop substitution was even more difficult than in Colombia.

The focus on military victory rather than on poverty and food security has done little to incentivise poor farmers to grow licit crops. The weakness of the state and of rule of law is so weak cannot establish a presence or provide basic services in rural and mountainous areas. Due to the weakness of the state and the precarious security situation there has been very little political will and no finance available in order to carry out an Alternative development strategy in the majority of the country.

The Mae Fah Luang foundation, responsible for the success in Doi Tung, has recently begun a project in the north of Afghanistan and it is beginning to have some success (Watson, 2014).



4. ROLE AND ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The international community including the main consumer states, international organisations, multi-lateral financing institutions and International NGOs all have a role and a responsibility to actively engage and support Alternative Development. In order to reduce the global supply and not merely shift production from one region to another, further international cooperation is required. This includes providing effective logistical support and adjusting the rules of global trade in order to allow farmers in the drug producing regions to have a fair opportunity to trade.

4.1 EU

The EU has already played a positive role supporting alternative development strategies, even in Colombia, opposed to the US strategies. The EU through the EEAS and DEVCO have followed far more sustainable, eco-friendly and human rights based approach than we have seen in some other areas and this is outlined in their most recent drug strategy:

When providing financial and technical support to source countries, the EU and Member States shall ensure, in particular, that alternative development programmes:

- are non-conditional, non-discriminating and, if eradication is scheduled, properly sequenced,
- set realistic rural development-related objectives and indicators for success, ensuring ownership among target communities and
- support local development, while considering interactions with factors such as human security, governance, violence, human rights, development and food security.

(EU Drug Strategy 2013 -2020)

The exact year on year funding of EU aid for AD is sometimes unclear, as is the how successful the

projects have been to date. Complete accountability and transparency is required not only to be able to evaluate the success of a project but also to be able to ensure the delivery of aid has not been impacted by corrupt practices (Congress Research Service, 2011). The EU has played an increasingly positive role with Latin America in particular as it fostered strong ties through EU-LAC and COPOLAD and has provided funds for Alternative Development through this. As part of this relationship COPOLAD is currently carrying out its own report into what makes an effective alternative development programme.

European Cooperation with Latin America with regards to capacity building on counter-drug strategy date back to the early 2000s and has a number of ongoing projects in the Andean region. This includes the Peace laboratory in Magdalena Medio (I, II and III), Colombia where the EU provided 34 million Euros over an 8 year period from 2002 to 2010 (AFET/ EURO-LAT, 2012). This mission was focused on capacity building from the local population through a number of small scale projects to develop community trust and cohesion.

More specifically on Alternative development projects in the Andean region the EU provided has provided funding for a number of projects. This includes 12 million Euros for APEMIN I and II which was focused on retraining for employment in the mining sector in Bolivia, 19 Million Euros for PRAEDAC which supported land ownership in the Chapare region of Bolivia and 22.6 million Euros for POZUZO—PALCAZU in Peru which focused on state building (CICAD, 2007; Castenada, 2011)

Furthermore, The EU has addressed the issues of trade imbalances with Latin American drug producer countries through something called Drugs GSP (generalised system of preferences) or GSP+ (AFET/ EUROLAT, 2012). This has been in place since 2005 and has boosted exports from Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. “barring some exceptions, 90 % of agricultural products from the countries in question have had access to the European market under preferential conditions, thanks to the Drugs GSP.” (AFET/ EUROLAT, 2012).

The growth in these projects and the strength of the cooperation between the EU and the Andean region demonstrates that AD is becoming more and more of a priority in EU development funding. This document will go on to show the ways in which the EU and other major donor countries and institutions can improve the implementation of projects as well ways of monitoring and measuring the success or failure of projects.

4.2 Consumer states

The states that have a high consumption of illicit drugs are particularly accountable for having an active role in alternative development strategies in order to reduce the supply of illicit drugs. Germany has already provided an example of how this can work by working in partnership with the Thai government to create a development programme which lasted for approximately 10 years and had similar results to the Doi Tung Project (Bonn, 1993). The UNODC has the capacity to act as the best practice sharing platform and also as a platform for member states to actively fund individual alternative development projects with combined levels of expertise and funding. The majority of consumer states already have large aid budgets and much of that goes to towards projects that don't necessarily target the drugs problem directly but to provide support for infrastructure, healthcare and education which support the rural poor in drug-producing countries. For example, the British are providing funding for the Helmand and Arghandab Valley Authority (HAVA) to improve irrigation throughout the region which may allow farmers, who were growing opium before, to have the opportunity to grow licit crops (Stabilisation Unit, 2010).

4.3 UN and the UNODC

The UN and the more specifically the UNODC have a role in facilitating and coordinating international co-operation. As previously mentioned the UNODC can use its position to act as a platform for best practice sharing and can take the knowledge and experience from project such as Doi Tung and San Martin and implement it in other areas. It also has the potential to act as a coordinator in terms of intelligence and can predict where cultivation could potentially move to and recommend an alternative development project be implemented in those areas. Further to this, it is within the remit of the UNODC to monitor wider areas which affect the success of Alternative Development projects such as corruption. The UNODC can provide proper training and oversight to ensure that there is adherence to the UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC).

Currently the UNODC has assisted in projects in Afghanistan, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Laos and Myanmar. The UNODC has worked by facilitating partnerships with the affected countries, other UN agencies such as UNIDO and UNICEF, the European Commission, the Government of Germany (BMZ/GIZ) and the Government of Thailand. This demonstrates the capacity that the UNODC has to create and facilitate a global alternative development strategy which can decrease the global production of illicit drugs and decrease levels of poverty and food insecurity.

It appears from the UNODC strategy that the UN is focussed more on the type of sustainable livelihood model that we have seen operating in the Doi Tung example, rather than from crop eradication and substitution models. In this regard, the UNODC highlights its priorities as:

- Basic Infrastructure
- Community Development
 - Education
- Agricultural Development
 - Improved Markets
- Environmental Protection
 - Gender Equality
- Security & Rule of Law
 - Health

However, from an environmental point of view, it is not altogether clear how exactly this particular priorities is being protected through their programmes, as the cultivation of palm oil is being noted as part of their alternative development strategy, as is mining in forest areas¹. This is in spite of controversy over the environmental impact which palm oil production is reported to cause.

Moving towards the United Nations Special Session on Drug Policy in 2016, member states and the UNODC because of their vast involvement in the area, have a responsibility to shape a more holistic supply side approach to the global drug problem which should reflect honestly on the negative impact of aerial fumigation, the need for further information sharing in order to counter the balloon effect and the formulation of a framework on how to effectively implement and maintain a sustainable alternative development strategy.

4.4 World Bank

To date the World Bank and other international financial organisation have refused to directly support Alternative Development efforts as they see them as economically unviable (Youngers, 2012). However with the success of projects such as Doi Tung as well as the poor economic and vulnerable situation which drug-producing farmers find themselves in, the potential for sustainable economic productivity can no longer be ignored. In terms of logistical capability, particularly in terms of investment and technical assistance for infrastructure, very few organisations can match the World Bank. This is particularly the case now, where a number of rural farmers wish to switch to palm oil cultivation and this is an area the World Bank has already made a lot of investment (UNODC, 2005). The World Bank already invests in large scale infrastructure projects in rural areas particularly for water dams for improved irrigation and roads and railways. It would not take too much effort on their part to ensure that some of these projects make a positive impact in regions affected by illicit drug cultivation.



4.5 Global Civil Society

In order to re-establish community cohesion, to rebuild social capital and to reduce corruption global civil society has an important role and obligation to help local civil society groups to organise at grass roots level. A large part of how global civil society can have an impact is through the boomerang effect where difficulties that domestic civil society groups face can be brought to a transnational level (ODI, 2006). This can be things such as human rights abuses or corruption which otherwise may be blocked or ignored if it stays in the region or country. Global civil society organisations can provide international exposure whilst at the same time provide technical assistance in findings funds and to navigate international processes and institutions. This can be through a global media campaign and provide access to international institutions such as the UN, the ICC or the ICJ. There has been some success of this in the past where for example global civil society groups have helped local groups against multinational companies who have been causing environmental damage in their community (ODI, 2006). It also has the added effect of potentially by passing corrupt officials and judicial systems. The boomerang effect has a further long term gain where the local CSO gains credibility locally after it has successfully negotiated external processes and they have a an opportunity to grow and

have greater influence in the future.

In particular relation to global supply side policy and alternative development global civil society can help to create marketing and awareness campaigns for licit goods produced, links can be created with demand side groups and global campaigns against corruption, human rights abuses and environmental degradation can be coordinated.

With regards to the awareness campaigns for the licit goods produced, organisations such as the World Fair Trade Organisation have a key role to play in the sales and marketing for the international market. In a number of cases they linked suppliers from south East Asia and the Andes to large retail chains such as Tesco and Carrefour (UNODC 2005). The International assistance from civil society has also assisted in Doi Tung being able to supply high quality products to IKEA. Additionally the Civil Society can respond to growing consumer awareness of global issues and demand for high quality products such as coffee from sustainable sources (ODI, 2006). The Fairtrade certification allows the consumer to be aware that the product has from a sustainable source and that the farmers are receiving a fair wage.

In the run up to the CND events and the UNGASS process in 2016 there is room for civil society organisations such as the Mae Fah Luang foundation to make a strong case for much more emphasis on alternative development and for Fairtrade organisations to strongly represent the views of the of the farming cooperatives who make up their membership. As will be discussed in much greater detail later on in this paper there is a great role and responsibility that global civil society can play in strengthening anti-corruption networks which can improve the success of Alternative development projects by reducing the influence of drug traffickers and develop trust in communities and with local services and institutions.

5. CHALLENGES AND THREATS

Like all supply side drug strategies Alternative Development needs to overcome a number of different challenges to be successful. These include political, geographical and security threats which need to be addressed on a micro and macro level. On a micro level local communities need to be strengthened and united and protected from violence and security threats and on macro level the international market structures and the strength of state institutions need to change.

5.1 State Presence

The vast majority of illicit drug cultivation takes place in states that have both weak central and regional institutions. This is due to the corruption and inefficiency of the judiciary and or police, poor infrastructure such as roads and rail links so parts of the country are inaccessible and geographical challenges due to mountainous areas or dense rainforests. These areas with weak or underdeveloped institutions have come to be known as “ungoverned spaces” (Felbab-Brown, 2006). The rural, usually farming, population often have no contact with the state and are unable to access basic services such as healthcare and education. Added to this are the criminal organisations and armed insurgents which take advantage of the ungoverned spaces and effectively take over the role of the state. The rural farmers who are under control of these groups are often encouraged to grow illicit crops and have little choice but to cooperate.

The main way in which this challenge can be overcome is by establishing a state presence by providing a citizenship and infrastructure, particularly roads. The rural farmers then have the opportunity to integrate into society and the local and international market. They can further integrate through access to education and have the potential for alternative economic activity. Another crucial element is ensuring citizenship as farmers can then gain things such as a bank account and which may enable them to be-

come entitled to the credit needed to invest in licit goods (Calvani, 2004). The upshot of this increased state presence is that it decreases the area available for criminal and armed groups to operate in. In most cases before the state can begin societal and market integration it must address the security situation. Increased state presence and proper infrastructure are two of the first and most important steps in any successful Alternative Development project and need to be in place before the next steps can be achieved.

5.2 Security

The most pressing concern for large illicit drug producer countries and the success of Alternative development projects is the presence of armed combatants. These are mostly left-wing guerrilla groups, heavily armed large criminal organisations, right wing paramilitary groups or religious extremist groups. The effects of the conflicts they are involved in are fuelled by the revenue brought by drugs and exacerbate the impoverished conditions of rural farmers through, corruption, violence, human rights abuses, displacement and environmental degradation.

5.2.1 Armed Groups and Organised Crime

As previously mentioned, armed and criminal groups often take control of the “ungoverned spaces” and use them as safe havens for their combat and trafficking operations. This is particularly prevalent in Colombia and Afghanistan which are of huge concern security wise as they have been in perpetual conflict for a long period of time. This has gradually eroded the institutions of state largely due to corruption and the focus of resources on military action rather than on social protection or economic investment. This has particularly been the case in Colombia, where the focus has been on a military strategy in order to eradicate the drugs and the “source” of the conflict. This strategy and the aerial fumigation that has accompanied it has intensified the conflict and caused



huge instability in rural areas. This has led farmers to abandon land and either be internally displaced or move further into the mountainous jungle areas where they continue to cultivate coca plants (Stokes, 2005).

There are a number of options which can be explored in order to overcome the security dimension and involving economic and political incentives as well as more effective judicial procedures. As previously discussed one of the most important things to establish is a state presence and rebuilding trust with the rural farmers. This can be done through something similar to the “quick hit” used in the Doi Tung project and it can draw farmers to them, using a form of soft power, and away from the illicit drug market and the armed groups.

In regards to dealing directly with the armed groups, an outright military victory appears unlikely at the moment and so a peace deal is necessary in order to end the conflict and provide greater opportunity to stem the flow of illicit drugs. Alternative Development projects are far more likely to be successful if they are not threatened by conflict and instability. Progress in this regard is currently being attempted in Colombia, where as part of the peace deal with the FARC, issues like the removal of illicit crops and land rights for rural farmers are being discussed (Felhab-Brown, 2013).

5.2.2 Corruption and Bribery

As a consequence of the drug trade and violence, corruption is very high. Large numbers of local and national officials have been corrupted and in some occasions the traffickers have been elected to the local or national government. Local officials particularly the police and the military are corrupted by the criminal organisations by force. They are forced into insubordination by being told to either accept a bribe, and work for the criminal organisations, or be killed. This allows the drug traffickers to ensure there is little or no effective interference in the production or trafficking of illicit drugs. This has the additional effect of eroding the trust of communities in the functioning of the state. This is another reason why the “quick hit” phase of Alternative Development is so important to be able to rebuild some of the trust.

A further issue of corruption, which is of concern to international organisations with an interest in Alternative Development, is being able to trace where precisely all the aid money is going and how contracts are agreed. Local elites who are often large land owners, particularly in Latin America, can also benefit through collusion, gain contracts to local infrastructure work which may not be of benefit to local people and farmers and derail the Alternative Development process (EPPI Centre, 2011).

The greatest difficulty in challenging corruption is being able to distinguish between individuals or officials who have been corrupted. This is a process that may take some time and will occur alongside the process of strengthening the state. One key step that can be taken is to be heavily decentralising the functions of the state and make local officials completely accountable to the communities that elect them (EPPI Centre, 2011). This ensures that corrupt officials, with the help of the media, can be voted out, punished and replaced.

Other anti-corruption measures include governments setting an independent monitoring programme which has the power to enforce actions such as wage deductions, suspension, dismissal or imprisonment for any public official caught (EPPI Centre, 2011). This would be accompanied by educational programmes for officials and the civilian population to under-

stand what constitutes an act of corruption, how to spot and report suspicious behaviour. As previously mentioned local and global civil society have a role to play in countering production by using the boomerang effect to gain international exposure of corruption. Local civil society can act as a credible channel through which corruption can be reported and through the boomerang effect there can be international exposure and condemnation (ODI, 2006). The cases then have the attention of international courts or states with extradition treaties. This allows trials to go ahead with a highly reduced likelihood that the judiciary will be corrupted. The other measure that can be taken, that is more directly related to Alternative Development, is ensuring complete transparency of the accounting procedures for projects along open bidding processes for contracts (EPPI Centre, 2011). There are also some cases of communities in areas that are highly affected by corruption in institutions that they create their own communities courts and enact local justice (Glencorse, 2014). An example of this was in Liberia where Police refused to act after a number of crimes and the community felt the need to respond. They did this by electing a community mediator who adjudicates over disputes in the community. A plan like this would fit in very well the overall holistic community development that is integral to Alternative development.

5.2.3 The Balloon effect

The Balloon effect is an analogy which is used to describe the way that drug production can be moved across regions and borders in response to strong drug eradication and interdiction efforts (Whittington, 2013). “Squeezing one end of the balloon forces the air to the other side” (Whittington, 2013), so where a government heavily clamps down on drug producing in one area it simply pushes it elsewhere. This works in a cyclical process as production may end up back in its original area. This represents the greatest challenge of supply side policy as despite short term successes the overall flow of illicit drugs has not been reduced. Moreover, due to the large availability of land

for drug cultivation and the ease at which it can be moved it has kept the price of drugs very low. This has undermined one of the key principles and objectives of supply side policy which is, if it can't stop supply altogether, to make production and trafficking as high as possible to push the price up and therefore deter demand for illicit drugs. Evidence has shown, that due to their addictive nature, illicit drugs are price inelastic and demand will therefore not change significantly with demand (World Bank, 2008). This shows, to some extent, the serious flaw in the current drug eradication and interdiction strategy. However reducing the amount of land available for cultivation and "ungoverned spaces" can make drug trafficking highly cost ineffective which can disincentive people from the trade. This is evident with in case of the San Martin development project which proved to resistant to the coca trade when it returned to Peru in 2004 (Macroconsult, 2012).

This situation is a good opportunity for a global Alternative Development strategy to emerge. This is because a wide ranging strategy that reduces the amount of land which is available for drug cultivation and addresses the underlying issues of poverty can reduce the opportunities to supply for drug traffickers. The process of strengthening state presence and institutions in remote areas provides very little room for the traffickers to operate in and at the same time rural farmers will be incentivised to grow licit crops and integrated into society and the market. This can be made more effective through regional and international cooperation particularly in the Andes and the Golden Triangle. This would allow for better intelligence sharing and reduce the ability of drug production to move across borders. Furthermore, intelligence can be used to pre-empt the most likely areas for future drug cultivation and Alternative development projects can be implemented in advance.

5.3 Geography

The mountainous terrain and dense jungle with dry warm climates make the Andes, Afghanistan and the Golden triangle ideal areas for drug cultivation. This is because Opium and Coca can grow in warm climates at high altitudes and are resilient crops which require very little water. The mountains and jungles also make eradication incredibly difficult and the crops can be hidden amongst trees or other crops and cannot be seen by air.

Farmers in these remote regions are highly inaccessible due to the lack of roads (Felbab-Brown, LSE Ideas, 2014). This makes the challenge of the state making the initial contact in order to start an Alternative development project very difficult. This can be seen in Laos where only 5% of the poppy growing families have received alternative development support (UNODC, 2005).

The most effective way that this challenge has been overcome is in Thailand, in the Doi Tung project, where Helicopters were used for the initial transportation. In certain areas the criminal organisations and armed groups have installed their own infrastructure in certain areas. This is particularly true in the Andes where groups have built discrete runways in the Amazon for transportation of drugs.

5.4 Structural factors

5.4.1 Access to land

Just 1% of arable land is used for Coca and Opium cultivation in Latin America and Asia (UNDCP, 1999). This is due to conflict violence and instability a large number of rural farmers have been forced into more remote desolate areas. The durability of Coca and Opium means that they are able to be harvested in harsher environments unlike licit crops. This is another reason which explains why Farmers have depended on cultivating illicit drugs for their livelihoods. As with many of the other challenges it can be overcome by increased state presence and the "quick hit" phase which can build trust with rural commu-

nities and entice back towards society. Some land issues in rural areas revolve around the slash and burn farming techniques which further reduces the arable land available for licit cultivation which makes the technical assistance and training in modern farming techniques important. In Colombia there are also some further matters, in certain countries, with regards to land ownership. This is an unresolved issue and is a key part of the ongoing peace talks.

5.4.2 Irrigation

This issue is very much linked to that of access to land where rural farmers are forced to inhabit areas where there is little arable land or proper irrigation (UNDCP, 1999). Proper irrigation systems have to be installed as part of the infrastructure work that has to go into an Alternative development project. This can be done through the construction of dams to divert water into the correct areas and installing a drip system. As mentioned before, the World Bank and similar organisations often fund dam projects and have the expertise to manage the installation and diversion of water. The drip system is a form of irrigation which saves a large amount of water and fertiliser by allowing water to slowly drip into the roots of the plants (Mansfield, 2006). In order for the drip system to work effectively some technical assistance and training would be needed and the system can be distributed and monitored centrally from the farming cooperative. Proper monitoring of the irrigation system is another essential role of the farming cooperative to ensure the water systems are not being diverted and used, for example, improved drug cultivation.

5.4.3 Roads and infrastructure

The main failure of a number of previous attempts at Alternative development has been the lack of existing infrastructure and the lack of investment to improve it. Alongside the increasing state presence and the “quick hit” phase, large scale infrastructure

needs to be implemented. One of the most fundamental problems that rural farmers face is a lack of roads and trucks to be able to transport goods to the marketplace. Construction of roads and rail links are an essential first step and need to be accompanied by irrigation and water systems, electric transmission lines, gas lines, accessible petrol stations, telecommunication lines and waste disposal. The irrigation, water systems and waste disposal are essential for the long term environmental sustainability of the projects. Sanitation and drainage are essential in order to avoid further illness amongst the local population and to ensure no pests infect the crops. Electric and gas lines are essential for proper heating of homes and cooking of food as for the energy needed for the farming cooperative to manage the business elements. Furthermore Telecommunications lines are required in order for access to ICT. This is because there is now very affordable technology for farmers to have up to date access on the local weather and market data, efficient communication with external stakeholders and members of the cooperative. Information about market data is particularly important as in the past farmers has been unaware of changes to global food prices and often sell to middlemen at lower prices. With increased access to market data, alongside proper business training, farmers will be in a stronger position to fairer prices for their produce (UNODC, 2008).

At the heart of this challenge is ensuring there is the political will to ensure the scale of infrastructure is implemented on an agreed timetable and with the consent of the local community. With proper oversight and assistance a large amount of the infrastructure work can be done by the local people in “cash for work scheme” and can be used in part of the “quick hit” phase of alternative development projects. The other essential elements to overcome this challenge are complete clarity over who is carrying out the infrastructure projects and how they obtain the contacts to do so. Once the construction work is complete there needs to a level of education into hygiene and waste disposal and project coordinators need to ensure that enough credit is provided for the purchase of trucks in order for the goods to be distributed.

Infrastructure projects and contracts for work have also been very prone to corrupt practices in under-developed regions, which is another reason for the independent monitoring structure. A mechanism for constant consultation with local communities and particularly the farming cooperatives is necessary to avoid fraudulent acts and to ensure the projects continue to work to their benefit.

The infrastructure projects will also require the construction or at least effective access to schools, other centres of education, hospitals and other healthcare facilities (Mansfield, 2006). The opportunity to access healthcare and education opportunities is essential to the longevity of alternative development projects. A healthy and educated community is essential for the community to develop and be involved higher up the value chain.

5.4.4 Access to credit

Due to rural farmers being largely cut off from society and the market they do not have citizenship and in turn are not entitled to bank accounts and formal credit. These circumstances play a large part in explaining the cycle that has obliged farmers to continue to cultivate illicit drugs. In order to change over to licit drugs substantial start-up funds are required. At this moment in time, particularly in Afghanistan, many farmers take out loans from informal sources such as family and friends in order to improve their food security and household essentials. The UNODC found that only 4% to 7% of poor rural households took out loans for productive agricultural purposes as opposed to 56% who took out loans for food purchases (UNODC, 2008).

On a number of occasions farmers have switched from licit crops to illicit crops because bad harvests or dramatic changes in global food prices have left them in a terrible financial predicament where they are unable to sell or their goods or not sell them at a reasonable price. They have had no access to credit or welfare in order to protect themselves in these situations and illicit drugs become the only available option. Two examples of this, which are elaborated on

later, are the result of the collapse in the coffee price after 1989 and the Banana trade wars in the 1990s. Both of these events led to farmers being unable to either sell their products at a profitable price or not sell at all because the price was too high. In these cases, principally in the Andes, farmers reverted to mainly growing Coca as the price and demand for the product was relatively stable. In order to incentivise farmers to continue to grow licit crops despite changes to the market place, subsidies have to be in place in order to provide for farmers in case of a low yield or the crops get an infection. Additionally, there needs to be an adherence to international food price agreements. Farmers need to be protected from large changes in food prices and requires agreements similar to that of the Common Agricultural Policy used in Europe (Mansfield, 2006).

5.4.5 Technical assistance

Being able to provide consistent and relevant technical assistance and training is one of the biggest challenges and central aims of sustainable alternative development. This process starts with understanding the underlying reasons that rural farmers are trapped in a situation where their only choice is to grow illicit crops. As this paper consistently shows the reasons are about a lack of opportunity and integration into the market and society. The stakeholders wishing to implement an Alternative development project need to consult the farmers as to what exactly they need help with in order to improve their situation. This consultation process then forms the basis for the rest of the project. The rest of the technical assistance comes largely in education and training. This ranges from ensuring access to schools for their children, training in improved cultivation techniques, improved understanding of the market and business to some basic healthcare training (Calvani, 2004). Education in order to provide wider opportunities for other forms of employment comes first from access to proper schooling for children. It can be done, depending on each individual situation, either through the construction of a school in the local community

or, once the roads are built, ensuring there is transport for children to access the nearest school or education centre. In regards for adult training, as part of the services of the farming cooperative, general training on advanced farming techniques and technology can be provided in order to improve yields and reduce the risk of infection for plants or animals. In previous projects one of the main training elements of utility has been in advanced business and marketing methods. This was particularly the case in the Doi Tung project where farmers were trained about how to move higher up the value added chain and improve profitability and ultimately sustainability. This can be quite simply with coffee beans or cocoa where the farmers are taught how to create the finished product, brand it, market it and sell at higher price. This is also links back to a previous point about the importance of ICT in the globalised market place where the farming cooperatives will be able to market and advertise their products directly to consumers and will directly receive the benefit.

Healthcare is another area of essential technical assistance in order to improve the working performance of the community. In some communities there have been some misled beliefs about medicines and cures for certain illnesses which need to be adjusted. Training certain members of the community in how to treat the most common illnesses, such as malaria, is relatively simple process but can improve the health and livelihoods of communities immensely (Watson, 2014).

5.4.6 Market integration

All of the above structural factors are necessary in order for local communities to be integrated into the local and international market. Lack of access to the market has been the biggest reason that rural farmers have resorted to the illicit drug trade and why a number of alternative development crop substitution efforts gave failed. The infrastructure needs to be developed to ensure that rural farmers have a route to local towns to sell produce and consume goods in order to boost the local economy. There must also



be access to central hubs from which produce can be deposited and then distributed for national and international sales. The other important element to market integration, as previously discussed, is the use of online marketing and online sales. This can be managed through the farming cooperative that can create links to international organisations such as the World Fairtrade organisation (WFTO). The WFTO and similar organisations have a lot of experience and existing links to international supermarkets such as Tesco and Carrefour and can manage the sales and marketing process in large consumer countries (Calvani, 2004). The Farming cooperatives and links to international organisations such as the WFTO are especially important in order to stand up to competition from large agro-business. In the globalised free market era a large number of small farms are susceptible to being priced out of the market. Farming cooperatives appear to be the best way of competing against large business as the cooperatives can create economies of scale through efficient distribution and a streamlined sales and supply chain process. Using the Fairtrade paradigm rural farmers in a development setting are able to sell their products at a premium price and are sold onto retailers (Italian Development Cooperation, 2010). Additionally, there is also a growing trend amongst consumers to demand products from sustainable Fairtrade sources which is creating more business opportunities (Italian Development Cooperation, 2010). This is linked to the options for farming cooperatives being involved further up the value added chain. The links with international organisations

for sales and marketing allows for branding of finished products such as coffee or chocolate being sold to consumers internationally. This boosts revenue which in turn creates the sustainability of production and the last “exit phase” of alternative development projects. The increasing levels of revenue allow for further investment into the cooperative which creates further opportunity for growth.

5.5 Health

A further consequence of the isolation that rural farmers face is poor health. Farmers and their families can be exposed to diseases such as Malaria which in most situations can be treated relatively simply. This poor health has a knock on effect of limiting the amount of farm work that can be done which in turn lowers yields. This creates a downward spiral of further poor health and poverty. Opium and Coca in particular can grow in harsh environments with less water than other crops and hence need less work and is another reason why a number of families depend on their cultivation. One of the successes of the Doi Tung project was to train some members of the community to be able to treat the main diseases that affect them. They were able to deliver vaccines for Malaria and other conditions without needing too much rigorous medical training and it had a dramatic effect on the local community (Watson, 2014). In certain circumstances some basic education on improved sanitation and hygiene can help prevent illnesses. There is also an opportunity as part of alternative development projects to ensure proper healthcare and management of livestock. Animals are just as exposed to illness as humans and this could have a huge impact on the income of the farmers. An outbreak of illness amongst livestock, that is not treated, can spread quickly and wipe them out. This significant income loss can potentially lead to farmers turning back to illicit cultivation. The Mae Fah Luang foundation, again, demonstrated the solution to this problem by training locals in Afghanistan how to treat and prevent the most common illnesses (Watson, 2014).

5.6 Fair distribution of resources

Within the areas with the highest levels of illicit drug cultivation there are of course some farmers who choose to not partake in the trade. This is despite the structural barriers that hinder them from trading licit goods. There are no reliable figures as to how many farmers there are in this situation as data collection is incredibly difficult in these regions and some farmers grow licit and illicit crops alongside each other. This is why as the UNODC states “alternative development projects are designed to benefit small rural farmers who are involved in or at risk of becoming engaged in the cultivation of illicit crops” (UNODC, 2014). This is a key point to emphasise to make sure that projects are community based and the infrastructure work, the educational and healthcare opportunities are inclusive of everyone. It should seek to address the problem as not just one of drug cultivation but of rural poverty.



5.7 Changes to global food price changes

In era of globalised free trade food prices can fluctuate in a volatile way. In the past, Spikes in the price of coffee and bananas have caused farmers to turn to illicit drug cultivation (Glenny, 2009). This is because unlike in the developed world rural farmers from poor states have no protection or subsidies to sup-

port them. In the past they have also faced large tariffs in order to trade with the developed world that prefer to protect their domestic production. Farmers in these circumstances are left with no choice but to grow coca or opium as there is consistent demand. As is discussed later a system of subsidies needs to be implemented, similar to the CAP, to protect farmers in times of price fluctuations or poor harvests. This is necessary for the long term success of Alternative development in order to ensure farmers do not return to illicit cultivation

5.8 Free-Trade Agreements

Free Trade Agreements have the potential to derail the long term success of Alternative Development as small scale farmers are placed in direct competition from commercial farming, with subsidised agricultural products, from developed states. An example of this is the free trade agreement between the US and Colombia where all import tariffs have been removed with immediate effect. There is projected to be a very large increase in the amount of products exported from the US, particularly beef products, which are a threat to the domestic industry of Colombia (BBC News, 2012). This appears to be a very significant challenge to agriculture in Colombia and elsewhere, but at the same time could be an opportunity. With the correct implementation of farming subsidies on the side of the developing countries coupled with a market driven approach to production, rural farmers could benefit greatly from the removal of trade barriers. Farmers could lose out potentially on beef products but due to comparative advantage they have increased access to the largest consumer markets in the world for products such as coffee and bananas. As previously mentioned there is a trade agreement in place through EU-LAC which favours goods coming from drug producing areas (AFET/ EUROLAT, 2012). This kind of initiative should be pushed more widely in Afghanistan and south-east Asia.

5.9 Environmental damage

There are currently a large number of environmental concerns related to drug cultivation and policies against it. Drug cultivation of Coca and Opium can cause long term damage to the quality of soil and can make it very difficult to grow alternative crops in the future (Mansfield, 2006). Added to this the traditional Slash and burn techniques used by subsistence farmers can also cause damage to land if carried out on a large scale (Mansfield, 2006). The slash and burn technique has been used by indigenous nomadic subsistence farmers for a long time. The farmers burn plants and trees to create space for farmland and then once the land becomes less fertile they replant trees and move to another area. On a small scale this has worked well within the ecosystem, however it is not sustainable on an intensive level with higher population densities. This is because the re-growing, fallowing period, is shorter and the soil becomes very nutrient poor. This again reduces the area of arable land available for licit farming and increases the need for rural farmers to have access to arable land in more accessible areas.

Another area of environmental concern, specific to Colombia, is the use of aerial fumigation as a method of eradicating illicit drug cultivation. Not only is it highly inaccurate, it more often than not, hits licit crops which then further incentivises farmers to grow more coca. Added to this it has proven that glyphosate, the herbicide used in fumigation, can cause ill health to locals who come into direct contact with it and who consume water contaminated by it (Briggs, 2012). Glyphosate can get absorbed into the Amazon basin and due to its high use it has affected the ecosystem by harming the water and soil.

6. OPPORTUNITIES

Despite the many challenges facing Alternative development projects there are a number opportunities available for success. These opportunities have emerged largely because there is a strong will from the farmers and their communities to grow licit crops. Producing illicit crops has done nothing but maintain a cycle of impoverishment due to the very low farm gate price and the violence and instability that drugs bring. Instability that surrounds their lives means they look for ways to minimise risks, to survive, rather than to find ways to maximise profits. This situation and the failure of previous supply side policy means that Alternative development projects can be implemented successfully if they are part of broader development efforts. The strengthening the role of state institutions and market integration can re-establish political capital for of the government and can make enforcing the rule of law more acceptable. This has the potential knock on effect of reducing instability and decreasing the future effects of the “balloon effect”.

6.1 Price of illicit drugs

The main opportunity for success of alternative development projects come from the fact, in reality, that farmers earn very little from illicit drug cultivation and in the right circumstances are more than willing to agree to change to. This is particularly the case of the Farm gate price of Opium which has gradually been suppressed over a long period of time. For example, the farm gate price of Afghan Opium has gone from approximately \$580 per kg in 2002 down to \$100 per kg in 2010 (UNODC World Drug report, 2010). The average opium growing family is expected to earn \$214 per year and are amongst the poorest in Afghanistan (UNODC, 2005). This is down to the large amount of land available for cultivation and the large amount of available labour. The change in the farm gate price of coca tells a slightly different story as the price tends to fluctuate regularly. The changes in the price of in Coca plants tell a differ-

ent story as it fluctuates regularly despite having the retail price of cocaine dropping consistently (UNODC World Drug report, 2010). This is down to a number of factors including the competition between the three countries, the law enforcement efforts, changes in labour costs, climate changes and changes in prices of precursors. Generally farmers receive a higher farm gate price for Coca than for Heroin mainly down to the fact that they are normally more involved in the production of Cocaine and therefore adding value to the product (UNODC World Drug report, 2010). This makes Alternative Development slightly more of a challenge in the Andes. However there are other reasons that Farmers desire to grow licit crops, as discussed, such as the violence and instability that illicit cultivation attracts.

6.2 Consumer tastes and Fairtrade

There has been an ever increasing trend within the largest consumer markets towards ethical consumerism and Fairtrade is a large part of that. If farming cooperatives and their communities focus on an ethical market and demand driven approach to provide high quality produce then they can take advantage of the growing ethical consumerism. With link to the fair trade movement and attaining fair trade labelling the cooperatives are guaranteed access to the largest international consumer markets and have continual opportunities for growth and ensure that the communities have long term sustainability and no longer have to return to illicit drug production. There is evidence to show that sales of the two most popular bulk coffees sold in the stores rose by almost 10% when the coffees were labeled as Fair Trade. With alternative development projects providing assistance to farming cooperatives to move up the value added chain and be able to package and brand their own products, this level of consumer awareness shows what opportunities are available. Further to this the global Fair Trade market was valued at £4.4bn (\$ 7.1bn) and in the UK alone is worth £1.8bn (\$2.9bn) after 15% growth in 2013 (Smithers, 2013). Supermarkets such as the Co-op,

M&S and Waitrose are switching a large number of their goods to being completely fair trade, in order to differentiate from competition, without passing on the premiums to consumers. They have been able to do this due the loosening of restrictions on imports from outside of the EU (Lawrence, 2012).

This again makes evident the potential for rural farmers, organised into farming cooperatives, to be able to sell their produce internationally and make more than enough to support their families and never have to rely on production of illicit drugs again.

6.3 Supply of licit economic activity

As already discussed with the right infrastructure investment there are a number of licit crops that can be produced which would yield greater profits for farmers. Apart from infrastructure there are a number of other initiatives that need to be implemented. Farmers need to group together into cooperatives which processes, markets and exports its members' coffee and provides a range of agricultural services and training programmes. Subsidies can be provided through the cooperatives in order to protect farmers from sudden fluctuations in the global food prices or from poor harvests. What is known as buffer stock system can be implemented in order to stabilise market price and production. Subsidies will be used as a disincentive to farmers not to overproduce and will have the extra effect of putting extra stock into storage to be used in spells of poor harvests. There are already pricing agreements in place for coffee it does not go far enough in protecting farmers in times of struggle. A pricing mechanism, similar to the CAP, needs to be incorporated into the Fair trade system. Pricing controls also need to be put in place to ensure produce is affordable in local markets. Many local people, in Bolivia for example, have been priced out of buying products such as Quinoa which due to international demand has become too expensive. One of the key elements of key parts of a successful Alternative development project is food security and this can only be done people can afford food.

6.3.1 Coffee beans



Coffee is the second most consumed product in the world behind petroleum and global demand is rising (World Bank Publications, 2004). There is, however, a growing demand for higher quality coffee and therefore technical assistance is needed to demonstrate how to cultivate coffee beans to the highest quality possible. High quality coffee beans can also be grown at high altitudes and is widely grown across the Andes and the Golden Triangle and with infrastructure improvements to high altitude areas there is plenty of room for increased higher quality cultivation. This is another area where farming cooperatives become very useful as the techniques for the highest quality of cultivation can be shared. For example, in Ecuador where the cooperative actually has a lab where quality is tested and experiments for improvement are made (Robinson, 2009). Despite a price agreement for coffee being in place for a number of years the price has fluctuated and had an adverse effect on farmers in rural communities. The collapse of the coffee price in the early 1990s, due to largely to changes in consumer taste, led to many farmers turning from producing coffee to coca (Glenny, 2008). This is why a more developed pricing agreement is needed in order to protect farmers from these changes in the market.

6.3.2 Cocoa

Cocoa beans have the advantage that they can be held in storage for several years in bags or in bulk. This allows reserves to be stored for a long period of time and be sold in case of a bad harvest. There is however a large number of Cocoa producers in countries without a drug cultivation problem with Ivory coast taking up 33% of the market (World Cocoa Foundation, 2014). However, with the correct marketing strategies and securing a good supply chain there is an opportunity for the export of high quality cocoa beans and chocolate. As already discussed in detail, if the farming cooperatives and local communities participate in the whole value added chain and have established fair trade links then there are opportunities for international and domestic sales. This is particularly true when considering the wider economic growth of each country which will increase domestic demand for quality products.

There have also been recent reports about the potential of an upcoming global shortage of Cocoa supply as demand is forecast to increase by 30% by 2020 (Goodyear, 2014). This is down to a lack of support and investment for small farmers in developing countries. This again reiterates the opportunity and the necessity of alternative development projects for small hold farmers to invest in producing Cocoa plants.



6.3.3 Bananas

Almost 100 million tonnes of bananas are consumed every year and they are the fifth most traded agricultural commodity (Fair trade, 2014). Currently 80% of the banana trade is controlled by five corporations which make the market difficult to access from a



small farmer's perspective (Fairtrade, 2014). However there is already evidence to show that bananas have already made a positive impact on rural farmers in northern Colombia who were affected by the conflict. A report found that after the small farmers grouped into cooperatives and received the premium from Fairtrade they were able to enough capital to be able to reinvest and have some capacity for growth (Alfred, 2014). These kinds of initiatives have enabled farmers to move beyond subsistence and develop future opportunities for their families and the local community.

Bananas as a product are vulnerable to price fluctuations and are at risk of disease. This has been the case in the past where the "Banana wars" between the US and the EU over supply affected the price. This had an adverse effect on rural farmers, particularly in Latin America (BBC News, 2014). This eventually led to the EU withdrawing subsidies to banana growers in their former colonies and opened up the export market. This favoured the larger banana exporters rather than the small hold farmers. In the long run however with fair trade links and certain supermarkets switching to importing 100% Fairtrade Bananas there

are opportunities (Collison, 2014). Just to reiterate, it is essential to have an effective farming cooperative, a strong supply chain and an effective infrastructure in order for small banana farms to be sustainable. Bananas are grown as a mono-culture which means that bananas face an increased risk of being wiped out by a single type of pest, fungi or disease. Farmers need the correct technical assistance in order to understand how to reduce the risk of an infection. They further require the protection provided from subsidies in case an infection does occur.

6.3.4 Palm Oil

In a number of areas Palm Oil has become the most popular which rural farmers wish to grow. Palm Oil appears to be the most profitable product and has a very high demand worldwide. Palm farmers reported a mean net income of \$650 per hectare which result-

for use in soaps and detergents, and most recently as a form of biofuel for power stations.

Whether it is sustainable from an environmental perspective is very questionable. To date there has been large scale deforestation to make way for palm trees (Balch, 2013). There have been measures in recent years to counteract this and the farmers and cooperatives involved will need to adhere to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and will need to be RSPO (Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil) Certified. This certification works in a similar way to Fairtrade where the farmers are guaranteed a fair price as long as they produce in a sustainable manner.

One of the main drawbacks to palm oil is the fact that once planted it takes 3 to 4 years before it can be cultivated. Farmers investing in Palm oil therefore need to be employed in other sectors or be provided with financial support whilst they wait for the first trees to be ready.

6.3.5 Natural rubber

The production of natural rubber has already been a successful element of the alternative development strategy in Thailand (UNODC, 2008). One of the most important things that was discovered was about improved cultivation techniques and to ensure that during rainy periods natural rubber was not cultivated. There is some cultivation in the Andes region but the main area is in south East Asia, which takes up 72% of the market (Listiyorini, 2010), so is a major possibility for Myanmar. There has been year on year increases in demand and cultivation for natural rubber and it shows no signs of slowing down. However there is strong global competition for natural rubber and there is not the same price protections as in other industries. There is currently an oversupply of natural rubber and competition from synthetic rubber that is keeping prices low and apart from occasional government intervention there have been no attempts to control the price (Independent Evaluation Group, 2012). This suppression of the natural rubber price has had a large impact on natural rubber farmers and it appears that this is not a huge area of opportunity



ed in farmers throughout the area wanting to produce oil palm (UNODC, 2005). In basic terms it has provided farmers the opportunity to grow a product that provides a high yield with much less risk involved and in business and livelihoods terms it is the most sustainable option. Palm trees have the added advantage of having more than one use this includes; being a vegetable oil for cooking, it is manufactured

for Alternative development. There is some potential if the farmers had the opportunity to participate higher up the value added chain and produce finished products such as tyres and latex goods.

6.3.6 Other agricultural products

There are a many number of other agricultural products that have the potential to be produced as part of Alternative Development projects. These include Quinoa, Apiculture, fish farming, horticulture, medicinal plants, Livestock farming, ecotourism, asparagus, Fairtrade fashion and sugar cane. They can be used as long as it is in a sustainable manner that does not cause further deforestation and is accessible to local communities to address food security.

6.3.7 Non-Agricultural employment

As part of the Alternative development projects which will include training of new skills a number of opportunities for employment will be available that won't necessarily be agriculturally based. This starts with a lot of the work on reforestation and then the local community participating in the construction and infrastructure projects. Reforestation provides an alternative form of employment with a positive environmental impact (Watson, 2014). There is an opportunity to reforest highland areas used for illicit drug cultivation which is important for long term sustainability. Further to this a number of people will need to be employed in management of the farming cooperative and employment for sales, marketing, ICT, packaging and improving the quality of products. The example given in Ecuador where farming cooperative contains a lab in order to improve quality this demonstrates the range of skills that are needed and the level training required. All these areas of training and employment are essential for farmers to participate higher up the value added chain and for livelihoods to be sustainable.

6.3.8 Licensing

There is a discussion to be had with regards to the potential licensing of illicit production. There is a worldwide demand for opium to be used as morphine and analgesic drugs for medical purposes. Due to this demand there a possible market opening for licit production of Opium in Afghanistan and the Golden Triangle. There are however numerous challenges to this being effective. The first being that due to large scale commercial opium production in Australia and so it would take a long time to build up the economies of scale to be able to be competitive (Mansfield, 2002). The second larger problem is that because of the weak institutions and regulation within these states it would be near impossible to monitor how much of the licensed opium was redirected into the illicit market (Mansfield, 2002). Before this was even considered the security situation in Myanmar and Afghanistan would have to drastically change before this was even considered. There is perhaps more traction with the idea that, with the increase in harm reduction services in consumer regions, a small amount of opium can be supplied for this purpose. It can have the double use of providing a sustainable source of income for poor rural farmers and at the same time reduce the risks to consumers elsewhere.

6.4 Community commitment and civil society engagement

The most crucial element in making an alternative project to work is having the commitment of the local community. This comes first from gaining their trust and proving there is commitment from the other side. This is what makes the "quick hit" phase of projects so important in order to prove what the project stakeholders have the capacity to do and the level of commitment they have.

For the most part communities are more than willing to give up illicit drug production in order to grow licit goods and have an active role in society and the market. This is because they only participate in drug production out of pure necessity. The farmers

do want to be exposed to the violence and instability that drugs bring. So from this point it is clear that communities will be willing as long as the state can regain the trust that has been lost through corruption and lack of help in the past. The state then has the ability to provide access to healthcare and education services and can help build up local non corrupt political institutions that represent the communities that they serve.

The communities will be put in a position of empowerment which will boost social capital and cohesion and aid in the process of communities working together in cooperatives. Officials can be elected locally from members of the community and serve their best interests. They can have their own schools and localised healthcare without having to pay bribes. Additionally it has been seen amongst some communities in other parts of the developing world that communities have elected members to serve as part of localised tribunals. This allows the community to have its own fairer justice system and they are less vulnerable to external corrupted institutions (Oxfam, 2014).

Civil society takes a very important role in this as it can aid in the transition to localised political systems. This can also be aided by international civil society who can help gain access to the outside world and provide additional telecommunications service to allow stronger and quicker communication between all stakeholders. International civil society can also provide guidance to local groups in order to further understand policy processes and institutions. This increased engagement, through the boomerang effect, leads to greater legitimacy on the side of the state and the civil society organisations (ODI, 2006).

The boomerang effect also works with regards to access to international institutions such as the UN, the ICC or the ICJ; civil society organisations have had some success against large MNC in international tribunals particularly on environmental issues (ODI, 2006). This also has the effect of potentially by passing corrupt officials and judicial systems. This is a key point which needs to be emphasised as in the past good grassroots campaigns by civil society groups has not translated into changes in policy (ODI, 2006). If the corrupt officials that have blocked the

campaign work in the past can be bypassed then effective policy changes can be made.

The boomerang effect has a further long term gain where the local Civil society group gains credibility locally after it has successfully negotiated external processes and they have an opportunity to grow and have greater influence in the future.

Local civil society groups are in a position to liaise with local communities and farming cooperatives to advocate their interests at a higher level or in other cases bring attention to their situation in the media. Local civil society organisations have the additional role of representing the local knowledge and making sure the needs of local people are taken on board. This ensures that AD does not become a top down process.

6.5 Associations of small scale farmers into cooperatives

As has been made clear throughout this paper the organisation of small farmers into cooperatives is an essential element to the long term success of Alternative development. It gives farmers a better opportunity to compete with large subsidised commercial farming in the international market. It works by creating improved economies of scale in terms of marketing, sales, communications, distribution and machinery. It is far easier for international Fairtrade groups to communicate with a cooperative than individual farmers and sell goods to international markets. It is also far more efficient for some of the machinery to be placed in central hubs for the members of the cooperative to use. For example, a group of farmers who all grow coffee can share a centralised depulping and roasting equipment.

Apart from the farmers the cooperative requires a large number of trained support staff. People from the local community will be required to be employed in management and administration positions in order to oversee the smooth running of operations. Additional staff is required for sales, marketing, distribution and communications in order to coordinate with international customers and ensure orders arrive on

time. Staff will also be needed for packaging and creating the finished products as well as in the distribution hubs. In this fashion the farming cooperatives will operate in a similar fashion to large corporations except for the fact that each member of the cooperative will have a share in its operating and it will work to benefit the whole community. The advanced technologies used in farming can be communicated centrally through the cooperatives and eventually they can be in a position to provide internal training in order for the cooperative to be maintained through generations.

Each worker should have a vote on how the cooperative is run and how best to use the resources that are provided to them. Stakeholders in Alternative development projects should only have oversight in the initial phases of the creation of the cooperatives to ensure local empowerment and allow the communities that they can be trusted to run the whole operation sustainably.

Fair Trade and similar organisations can also be linked to the farming cooperatives in a similar way to the boomerang effect. They are able to negotiate with large retailers for the sale of goods on behalf of the cooperatives and this has been done in the past for example in Tesco and Carrefour. The large retailers are now willing to sell produce from more ethical sources as there is increasing consumer awareness of where produce comes from and there is year on year growing demand for fair trade organic produce.

6.6 Human Rights

6.6.1 De-Securitisation

For supply side drug policies to be effective in the long run there has to be a distinct human rights based profile to every policy (UNODC, 2014). These needs to be reflected in the planning stage of Alternative development projects and also in the monitoring processes to ensure that human rights based agreements are adhered to. Previous supply side policies have completely ignored human rights and have even in some cases made the situation worse (Stokes, 2008).

This is particularly the case of the most militarised drug policies in Afghanistan and Colombia. Disregard for human rights in these cases led to further violence and instability and has undermined the long term goals of trying to reduce the illicit drug cultivation

6.6.2 Local needs

This process begins with genuine consultation with local communities the actions taken as part of Alternative development projects being reflective of the discussions (Watson, 2014). This carries on by ensuring communities have an active role in every aspect of the implementation of the projects. The fact that the project procedures are not dictated to them is a key part in ensuring the commitment of the community and provides with a large amount of liberty which was previously restricted. Added to this eradication of any crops must be done well after an Alternative project proposal has been agreed and the eradication has the full consent of the local community.

6.6.3 Gender mainstreaming

A key part of any human rights based approach to alternative development needs to have a distinct gender profile. In most cases of rural poverty women are disproportionately affected in an adverse way and this needs to be addressed. Women often have the dual responsibility being the primary child carers and at the same time having to carry out a large share of the manual farm work. They suffer from food insecurity, being overworked and are often illiterate.

There is a large body of evidence which demonstrates the economic and social benefits in investing in opportunities for women (Independent Consultants Report, 2000). Not to say that women are not capable of being able to carry out the manual labour work, but, alternative development projects open up a number of different training and employment opportunities for them. They have the opportunity to take part in all parts of the supply chain including the manage-

ment of the cooperative, the packaging, the sales and marketing and they can learn to read and write and gain computer skills. This improvement in women's rights should be reflected also in the political sphere as they have an increased role in the functioning of the community.

The equal involvement of women in the process will have the effect of increasing the productive capacity of the projects greatly. This allows men and women the equal input and to gain equal benefits from AD. Gender Mainstreaming has the capacity to benefit both sexes as men will be under less pressure to fulfil the "breadwinner role" and will have the opportunity to take on more of the responsibility as child carers (Independent Consultants Report, 2000). There is also evidence to suggest that businesses and organisations with women taking up some leadership roles actually perform better (Development Dimensions International, 2014). This is down to having greater diversity in the thought process which leads to improved problem solving.

With this in mind it is important that all proposed projects should highlight the gender mainstreaming aspect in the proposal. In certain cases, however, cultural differences need to be recognised and the project proposal should be sensitive to this. These cultural differences should become clear in the early stages of discussions with the community. An example of this may be in Islamic communities, such as in Afghanistan, where encouraging the equal treatment of men and women too early will not be very successful (Watson, 2014).

6.6.4 Indigenous people

People from an indigenous background represent a high proportion of people who are forced into illicit drug cultivation and issues directly relating to them should be considered. As discussed near the beginning of the paper many of them lack citizenship and are therefore denied basic rights and access to state services. In order to address the issues of indigenous rights they must first be recognised as citizens and they can then have access to education, healthcare,

society as a whole and the market. In certain areas, there have long been disputes about indigenous land rights and, as discussed earlier, these need to be resolved (UNODC, 2005).

Even though it is essential to listen to the needs of the local community there still needs to be a level of technical assistance and guidance to allow farmers to move beyond subsistence and to stop using outdated unsustainable farming methods. A description of why slash and burn farming does not work on an intensive scale has already been provided. Indigenous farmers have used this technique for generations and helping them move towards more developed techniques needs to be approached with a delicate cultural understanding.

6.7 Global shared responsibility

"One of the reasons why drugs are shipped—the main reason why drugs are shipped through Mexico to the United States is because United States citizens use drugs. And our nation must do a better job of educating our citizenry about the dangers and evils of drug use" (Reuter, 2008)

George Bush 2001

Along with providing funding for alternative development projects, the wealthy consumer nations have a number of other responsibilities. This includes having proper structures for best practice sharing and intelligence sharing in order to counter the balloon effect. Price protection mechanisms need to be agreed and trade import barriers and tariffs need to be restricted in order to maintain sustainability for rural farmers.

International and regional cooperation is essential in countering the balloon effect. This cooperation can lead to authorities to be able to track the main areas of drug production and identify the most vulnerable areas to drug cultivation. This allows for rural sustainable development projects to be implemented preliminarily. An international platform is required for best practice sharing so the lessons learnt in Thai-

land and Peru can be applied in all effected countries. The UNODC currently fills this role to some extent but needs to be provided with greater information and a stronger profile to carry out this function on a larger scale.

Large consumer countries need to take into consideration the current global economic system in order to allow rural farmers in developing countries to have the ability to participate sustainably. This includes price and supply protection mechanisms such as a buffer stock scheme in order to ensure farmers can survive changes in price and be able to adapt to changing demand. This further includes easing the restrictions on imports from the developing world and allow for fair and free competition. Currently more is taken every year from the developing countries in trade tariffs than is provided in aid and this relationship needs to change.

The international community also has a duty to have a more responsible way of managing the security and conflict situation particularly in Afghanistan and Colombia. It is in these two countries in particular that the issue of drug production is most important. There is a very clear correlation between the violence and drug production. Alternative development has no hope of succeeding long term in these areas unless a peaceful resolution is found to the conflicts.

Finally, as highlighted by the above quote, more of the burden of the global drug problem needs to be taken at the consumer end and needs to coordinate at the same time as these projects. For the most part the problem in the developing world is more one of rural poverty rather than drugs and it needs to be approached in this way.



7. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

From the perspective of the EU and the rest of the international community there are a number of key themes discussed in this paper which could have some policy implications. This includes looking at the global drug trade as an issue of poverty as well as criminal justice and public health.

It requires aid donors to reconsider their approach to how projects are actioned. At the moment aid donors provide money for a pre-set plan before a project is carried out and monitoring is done in order to justify the expenses in a short time frame. As can be seen with the Doi Tung Project a reversal of this system needs to be made and a budget and a plan need to be created after consultation with local communities and have a long term objective. A further change that needs to be made is in the monitoring process as the success of alternative development projects is determined based on the reduction of drug cultivation rather than on the reduction of poverty. This is not to say that monitoring of reduction in drug cultivation is not important as in some cases farmers involved in projects have been found to grow illicit crops in addition to licit crops. Analysis of poverty reduction is essential because even if demand for drugs falls away the farmers are the ones who suffer the most and still need assistance.

Moving the focus of the drug trade more to one of poverty and development should not take away from the efforts of the criminal justice system. There is a great need to distinguish between career criminals and the farmers who partake in the trade out of necessity. The criminals usually the traffickers or the armed groups look to exploit the farmers and efforts need to be made to provide legal protection as well as economic.

Finally it is important to note that there is no specific blue print for a successful alternative development strategy. Each strategy is determined by the needs of the local community and the projects need to be adapted as such.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are divided into a number of different areas for policy maker's consideration. These recommendations are made in consideration for UNGASS 2016 and are aimed at mainly at policy makers and civil society. Many of these recommendations represent a guideline for implementing an Alternative development strategy.

8.1 Sustainable Rural Development

- Intelligence led manual and voluntary eradication needs to be run alongside alternative development programmes with the farmers consent.
- Implement strong development strategies in areas they be used for drug cultivation in the future.

- Mechanism for continuous monitoring of programme
- Realistic time frame allows a consensus to be built between all stakeholders.
- Sustainable implementation of palm oil within previous criteria

8.2 Reforestation with Agroforestry

- All agricultural products need to be certified either through fair trade and similar organisations and palm oil needs to be certified with the RSPO.
- Security and Criminal Justice
- Intelligence based interdiction and eradication to counter balloon effect.
- Eradication of illicit crops should not be a pre-requisite for development assistance and carried out after alternative economic livelihood agreed.



- An international Framework needs to be agreed in how to counter the threats posed by “ungoverned spaces” and safe havens.
- Completely stop aerial fumigation
- Stronger prison sentences against drug traffickers/ career criminals
- Raft of anti-corruption measures: an independent monitoring programme with non-financial incentives for those involved such as wage reduction, suspension, dismissal or imprisonment. Anti-corruption education programmes for officials and for civilian population.
- Use of international courts and extradition treaties as a further anti-corruption method.

8.3 Markets and the State

- Complete integration into the market and society
- Provide citizenship and social security
- Provide bank accounts
- Relocate famers to arable land with improved irrigation system
- Provide credit and technical assistance to give farmers opportunity to compete in the market. I.e. provide tractors and trucks and training.
- Create farming cooperatives again to increase competitiveness
- Build roads to allow farmers to export products and access to local and national institutions i.e. judicial, educational and healthcare
- Provide Access to water and electricity
- Provide telecommunications; can provide famers with valuable market information about their products, can effectively communicate with suppliers, have access to local and national media which allows farmers to vote based on more informed information so officials are held accountable and the farmers are less susceptible to corruption from local elites.
- Involve civil society and community action
- Heavily decentralise government, officials are elected directly by the people that they serve and this can further reduce corruption.
- Provide option for alternative livelihood outside of agriculture

- Provide subsidies to support farmers in transition to licit crops e.g. palm oil can take 3-4 years before it can be cultivated.
- Once infrastructure in place provide cash incentives to improve training, education and healthcare particularly for women.
- Allow limited supply of licensed Opium supply to provide for harm reduction in consumer countries.

8.4 Civil society

- Monitoring of corrupt local officials, set up community monitoring programme for civilian oversight to further reduce the capacity for corruption.
- State needs to shield civil society and rural community from armed conflict and violence. E.g. Colombia
- Larger International Civil Society groups need to be linked with local groups and can provide assistance in teaching how institutions and policy procedures work and how to effectively influence them.

8.5 Project documentation, management and assessment

- Pre-agreed aims which involved the local indigenous community and addresses issues such as food security,
- Clear documentation of the aims of projects and the funds towards it
- Full disclosure of documentation including outcomes
- Independent auditor for analysing outcomes
- Include gender assessment as part of documentation; this can be done by assessing the benefits of AD programme at household level. This ensures that women and children benefit as part of the process.
- Success of AD projects should be based the improvements to livelihoods based on the opinions of the farmers as well as the reduction in illicit cultivation.

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