



Agricultural policy in sub-Saharan Africa and its relevance for smallholder farmers, women and youth

– A policy baseline report for sub-Saharan Africa at the continental, regional and national level

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Today more than 800 million people around the world suffer from chronic hunger and about 2 billion from under-nutrition.

This failure by humanity is challenged in UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2: "End hunger, achieve food security and improve nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture".

The AgriFoSe2030 program directly targets SDG 2 in low-income countries by translating state-of-the-art science into clear, relevant insights that can be used to inform better practices and policies for smallholders.

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Summary

This report aims to give an overview of the agricultural policies in place in Sub-Saharan Africa, based on a review of key regional and national policy documents, with a special focus on the four African countries that have been identified as focus countries for Theme 1 of AgriFose2030: Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. The purpose of the report is twofold, on the one hand to compile information on agricultural policies at the regional and country level and on the other to document if and how such policies address the three target groups of AgriFose2030, namely smallholders, women and youth.

While the pan-African ambitions with respect to the three cross-cutting areas of AgriFose2030 – sustainable intensification, gender and youth and commercialization - have increased since the signing of the Maputo Declaration, figures on public expenditure cast doubt on the national commitment to the CAADP process. Nonetheless, it is heartening to note that an early focus on smallholders in general, has been followed by a recognition of the importance of the role of women and youth in achieving the twin goals of commercialization and intensification.

All of the country level policies documented in this report contain focus areas on smallholders, sustainable intensification and commercialization, while many also focus on both women and youth, but the variations of challenges at the national level need to be recognized.

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Introduction

This report aims to give an overview of the agricultural policies in place in Sub-Saharan Africa, based on a review of key regional and national policy documents. Specifically, we focus on the four countries that have been identified as focus countries for Theme 1 of AgriFose2030: Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. The purpose of the report is twofold, on the one hand to compile information on agricultural policies at the regional and country level and on the other to document if and how such policies address the three target groups of AgriFose2030, namely smallholders, women and youth.

First, the report will discuss pan-African agricultural policies that aim to set a framework of priorities across the continent. Next, regional strategies mandated by the relevant Regional Economic Communities are discussed, whereby the focus is on Eastern and Southern Africa. Lastly, national agricultural policies in the four countries in question are summarized and assessed.

Pan-African agricultural policies

The Maputo Declaration of the African Union from 2003 is widely perceived to be an important milestone in the development of a pan-African agricultural policy.¹ Prior to this, there was no overarching African policy in place aimed at mobilizing resources specifically for raising productivity in the agricultural sector and ensuring food security. The existence of more limited continent wide initiatives, such as the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) should be noted, however.

After independence, many African national agricultural policies focused on large farms and modernization through the supply of modern inputs such as fertilizers and hybrid seeds. Crop marketing and agricultural credit were organized through public institutions like state run co-operatives, marketing boards and parastatals². At the same time, producer incentives were poor as the agricultural sector in most countries was affected by urban bias and overvalued

exchange rates.³ Producer prices were kept low through price controls of key agricultural goods to enable supplying urban consumers with cheap food. Coupled with overvalued domestic currencies, this resulted in net taxation of the agricultural sector.^{4,5} Rural development, more broadly speaking was underfinanced in favour of post-Colonial industrialization strategies that focused on urban areas.⁶

The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) of the 1980's and early 1990s aimed to reduce public expenditure through an agenda focused on privatization and liberalization through the abolishment of price controls, the reduction of trade barriers and the scrapping of fixed exchange rates. SAPs affected agricultural markets through deregulation and abolishment of price controls, subsidies and parastatals. Instead governments were encouraged to set an enabling environment for agricultural markets to encourage private players to take over the marketing of both inputs and outputs.⁷ In practice, this meant for instance that inputs in remote areas were more likely to become unavailable, as these places were hard to reach and therefore less attractive to private traders.⁸ There was a large share of resistance to the reduction of existent state support and the liberalization programmes were not fully implemented in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The extent and impact of the Structural Adjustment Programs across African countries is discussed in more detail by Friis-Hansen (2000), Holmén (2005) and White (1996).⁹ Following what is sometimes referred to as "the lost decades" of African agricultural development, the turn of the Millennium saw a resurgence of interest in agriculture among policy makers, philanthropists and regional coalitions, epitomized by the signing of the Maputo Declaration in 2003.

The Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) and the Maputo Declaration

The Maputo Declaration was signed by the African heads of state at the Second Ordinary Assembly of the African Union in 2003 laying the foundation for the Comprehensive Africa's Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). The main driving force behind this initiative was the need to address the structural food gap in sub-Saharan Africa, where a high share of agricultural imports coexists with a large incidence of undernourishment and hunger, and to drive the structural transformation process as envisioned by the AU Agenda 2063. The CAADP can be divided into two periods: the first decade of the programme (2003-2013) and the second decade (2015-2025), following the Malabo Declaration in 2014. After the first decade of the programme, the African Union decided to shift its policy focus and put a more intensive monitoring mechanism into place.

CAADP 2003-2013

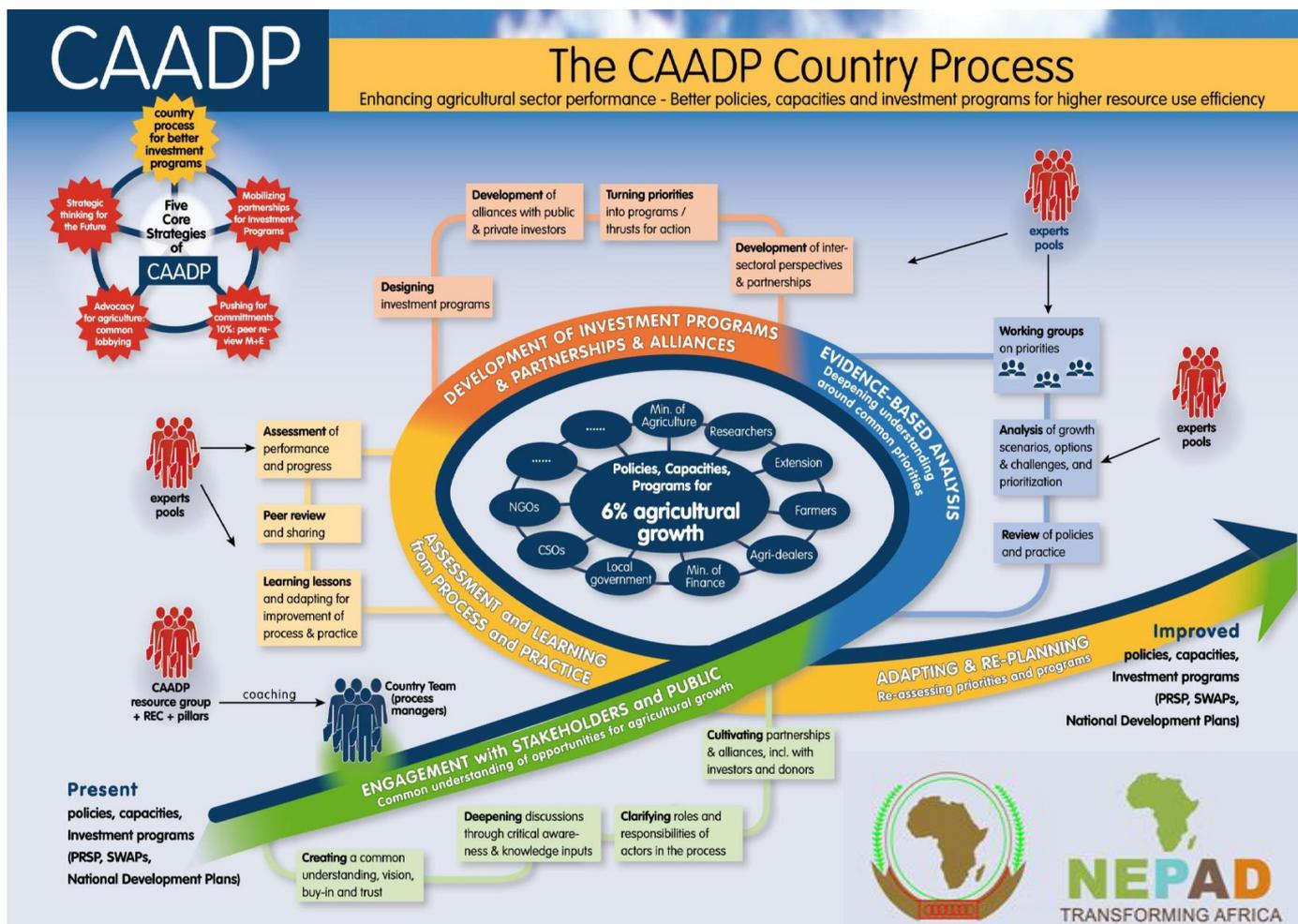
The primary objective of the first CAADP was to increase investment in agriculture and generate growth in the agricultural sector. In the Maputo declaration, African governments pledged to allocate 10% of the national public expenditure to agriculture and generate 6% agricultural GDP growth per year. This joint push for agriculture is not a programme in the sense that it prescribes specific policies in detail. Instead, the CAADP should be seen as a set of guidelines for a process to shape agricultural policies within countries and across countries, in collaboration with and supported by a wide range of actors. The aim is to foster an inclusive process bringing onboard diverse stakeholders, such as farmers' organizations, the private sector and women's associations, to gain consensus for a national agricultural policy.¹⁰

The first step in any national CAADP process is stocktaking and round table discussions, whereby relevant stakeholders in the country discuss agricultural conditions and policy priorities. Subsequently, the stakeholders jointly sign a CAADP country compact, followed by the development of national agriculture and food security investment plans. These plans provide the detailed blueprints for achieving the goals and targets in the CAADP compacts.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Planning and Coordinating Agency (NPCA) is the facilitating unit, ensuring that countries write up investment plans that are consistent with the CAADP objectives. In addition, the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), play a role to push for the implementation of CAADP in the countries themselves, while coordinating region wide investments through the regional CAADP compacts. The Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System (ReSAKSS) is responsible for monitoring national and regional progress through the provision and analysis of key data, supported by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). NEPAD estimates that 251 USD billion was needed to implement the CAADP for the period 2002-2015. Figure 1 summarizes the CAADP country process.

According to the latest figures from NEPAD, 42 out of 54 African Union member states had signed a CAADP compact by November 2015.¹¹ Regarding the regional organizations, ECOWAS, IGAD, ECCAS and COMESA have signed regional compacts between 2010 and 2014, of which one is already under implementation by November 2015. However, the initiation and signing of the compacts has been a slow process. The first country compact was signed in 2007 by Rwanda, four years after the Maputo declaration. In 2009, more countries followed, mostly from West Africa. In 2007/2008 food riots following the global food price crisis spread across a number of African countries, reigniting an interest in agricultural policy and leading to more active participation in CAADP.¹²

The Maputo Declaration emphasizes policies that benefit smallholders as a way to achieve inclusive growth and revitalize the agricultural sector in sub-Saharan Africa. The CAADP NEPAD framework document from 2003 further lays out the strategy.¹³ To combat the causes of lagging agricultural productivity, the CAADP identifies the following four priority areas, labelled the CAADP pillars:



Fig, 1 The CAADP Country Process (2014), Source: Nepad.org

- Land and water management
- Rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for improved market access
- Increasing food supply and reducing hunger: raise agricultural productivity
- Agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption

Strategies are further operationalized in other documents, such as the Framework for Agricultural Productivity (FAAP) targeting Pillar IV and developed by the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA).

The CAADP pillars do not generate any clear priorities for the pledged agricultural investment of 10% of the national budget, as this is left to decide for policymakers at the national level, nonetheless the share of the national budget devoted to agriculture is an indicator of political commitment to the broader CAADP framework.¹⁴

Maputo and smallholder agriculture

The strategy outlined in the policy framework document of CAADP stresses the role of smallholders in fulfilling the overarching goals of the Maputo Declaration.¹⁵ Overall, throughout the pillars a focus on smallholders is present. For the first pillar - Land and water management - irrigation benefiting smallholders (including informal irrigation systems) is central.

The second pillar focuses on the crucial role of infrastructure and the importance of rural roads in connecting smallholders to markets. In addition, the strategy mentions soft infrastructure, notably communication and price and market information for farmers. The importance of involving the private sector to spur market access is highlighted.

The third pillar concerns raising food supply and reducing hunger, and here improved technology among small scale farmers and the creation of an enabling environment for the provision of extension services and rural finance are central. Structural safety nets, in the form of basic food or cash to support vulnerable groups in society are put forth as a component of reducing hunger and poor nutrition.

The fourth pillar - agricultural research and dissemination – focuses on enhanced extension to producers, and risk and cost reduction of technology adoption for smallholders specifically. Notably greater efforts are envisaged to better reach women farmers, as in the past communication strategies have not been effective. Regional collaboration in agricultural research is highlighted as a way to enhance efficiency and achieve economies of scale, allowing national research institutes to specialize in a few areas of research.

Sustaining the CAADP momentum: the Malabo declaration

The second decade of the CAADP was marked by the African Union Malabo Declaration on Agriculture signed in 2014. Accordingly, the African Union declared 2014 the “African Year of Agriculture and Food Security”. The Malabo declaration builds on the Maputo declaration and it expresses Africa’s recommitment to the CAADP. The Malabo declaration has resulted in a new strategy for the period 2015-2025.¹⁶ The new direction of the programme is outlined in the documents CAADP Results Framework 2015-2025 and CAADP Implementation Strategy and Roadmap.

The Malabo Declaration sets the following overarching goals to be achieved by the year 2025:

- Ending hunger in Africa
- Doubling agricultural productivity
- Halving post-harvest losses
- Tripling intra-African trade in agricultural goods and services
- Enhancing resilience of livelihoods and production systems
- Ensuring that agriculture contributes significantly to poverty reduction¹⁷

The policy planning process remains broadly the same as in the first decade of the CAADP; the key vehicle through which the CAADP priorities are aligned with countries’ policies, are the national CAADP compacts and investment plans. The Regional Economic Communities continue to play a crucial role in pushing the CAADP process among members and facilitating regional investments through regional compacts and investment plans. As before, the CAADP stresses an inclusive and participatory planning process, with input from the private sector and other national stakeholders.

Following the Malabo Declaration, a much stronger focus has been placed on monitoring of progress and implementation. Specific indicators and targets are stated in the CAADP Results Framework. Countries should adopt these targets in their national agricultural development plans and measure and work towards progress. Monitoring of progress takes the form of agricultural joint sector reviews (JSRs) facilitated by ReSAKSS and IFPRI, in which multiple stakeholders review agricultural sector progress and hold each other accountable for commitments. The framework also includes biennial tracking of progress starting in 2017. In addition, the new CAADP framework devotes increased attention to the building of systemic capacity and dealing with operational issues that constrain implementation. This concerns capacity at the country level, regional level (REC) and continental level (AU and NEPAD).

The Maputo targets of devoting 10% of public expenditure towards agriculture and producing 6% agricultural GDP growth per year are carried over into the Malabo Declaration. Compared to the first decade of the programme, more concrete end goals and specific targets have been set, however.

The four pillars of the first decade of CAADP have been replaced by three so called “specific action areas” (also labeled policy levels):

- Agriculture’s contribution to economic growth and inclusive development
- Agricultural transformation and sustained inclusive agricultural growth
- Strengthening systemic capacity to deliver results

Compared to Maputo, the strategic priorities are now outlined more specifically in the policy documents. The framework does not only revolve around investment and growth targets, but outcome indicators are established to measure progress in agricultural development. For instance, for local agro-industry and value chain development, the percent of post-harvest losses of five agricultural priority products is measured. Monitoring mechanisms have been put into place so that outcomes can be tracked. Furthermore, there is a clearer prioritization within the specific themes. Regarding the focus of the policies, there is a bigger role for regional integration of food basket zones.

The Science Agenda is an initiative being led by the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) to support

agricultural research and cross-country cooperation, backed up by the AU Science, Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa (STISA) Priority 1 “Eradication of hunger and achieving food security”. In addition, there is a stronger focus on sustainability of food systems and resilience in the face of climate change. Finally more attention is devoted to the role of women and youth. The next section will discuss in more detail how the new Malabo CAADP framework addresses socio-economic dimensions of smallholder agriculture.

Malabo and smallholder agriculture

The Malabo declaration recommends that smallholders should be supported in access to inputs and linkages to agricultural value chains. In addition interventions should be specifically targeted at women and youth so that they can be lifted up by growth and transformation opportunities in agriculture and participate in agri-business opportunities. Jobs should be created for young people - the goal is to create employment for at least 30% of the youth through agricultural value chains.

The CAADP Implementation Strategy and Roadmap outlines how the Malabo goals will be achieved.¹⁸ Out of the three action areas, most detail is provided for the action area focusing on— achieving *sustained, inclusive agricultural growth*.

This action area is in its turn divided into five sub focii: 1. Increase sustainable agricultural production and productivity in an inclusive manner 2. Increased intra-African regional trade and better functioning of national and regional markets 3. Expand local agro-industry and value chain development inclusive of women and youth 4. Increased resilience of livelihoods and improved of management of risks in the agricultural sector and 5. Improved management of natural resources for sustainable agriculture. All of these to varying degrees consider smallholders, women and youth. Indeed, the inclusivity criterion specifically targets smallholder, women and youth with respect to natural resources and improving access to inputs, as well as markets and value chains. Smallholders are targeted with respect to policies that reduce risks (e.g. insurance), climate smart agriculture, landscape management and promotion of agro-biodiversity. The importance attached to markets and infrastructure from the first CAADP decade is maintained but broadened to include also specific groups of smallholders, such as women and youth.

Overall, the implementation strategy of the second decade of the CAADP aims to be inclusive, targeting interventions in such a way that smallholders, women, young people and other vulnerable groups actively participate in agricultural opportunities and growth. To enhance the commitment to gender equality, the African Union declared 2015 the “African Year of Women’s Empowerment and Development”, followed by “2016: African Year of Human Rights with Particular Focus on the Rights of Women”.¹⁹ There is indeed a much larger focus on women and young people compared to the policies under the Maputo framework. Targeted interventions focus on access to productive resources, such as inputs, irrigation, farm machinery and advisory services. Smallholders are highlighted in the context of access to productive resources and increased resilience of livelihoods.

As for other socio-economic dimensions, the role of markets is strongly emphasized. In particular investment in physical infrastructure is recommended to enhance the integration of national and regional markets. Sustainability also plays a large role in agricultural development under the Malabo framework. It recommends that initiatives should be designed such that they do not deplete natural resources or are dependent on short-lived funding sources.

Renewed pledges and improved focus?

A few concluding comments on the commitment the CAADP by the different African countries as well as the broadened focus on key smallholder groups are in order.

Firstly, while the evolution of CAADP on the one hand bears testimony to a strong smallholder focus, the commitment to the process and the framework as a whole by the signatories can to some extent be questioned on the grounds of budgetary allocations.

The monitoring of the programme under the Maputo period focused on commitment in terms of public expenditure and subsequent agricultural growth, and as such did not track outcomes or impacts after the approval of national agricultural strategies.

By the end of the Maputo Declaration (2013), only a minority of countries had reached the Maputo target of allocating 10% of the national budget towards agriculture, however and the degree of commitment by this measure also varies considerably among countries. Some countries, such as Burkina Faso and Ethiopia, already met the budget requirement prior to the CAADP. At the continental level, the average agricultural expenditure share was 3.4% of the national budget during the 2003–2013 period, however falling well below the 10% target.²⁰

As of 2014, only two (Niger and Malawi) of the thirty countries for which statistics are available have reached the target of devoting 10% or more of total public expenditure to agriculture (see Table 1).

Table 1. Agricultural public expenditure as share of total public expenditure, 1980, 1995 and 2014, sub-Saharan Africa.

	1980	1995	2014
Angola		1,7	0,9
Benin		7,3	8,0
Botswana	9,7	6,0	4,2
Burkina Faso	31,4	45,7	9,4
Burundi		5,1	2,8
Cameroon	2,2	4,2	
Cabo Verde			4,9
Central African Republic		9,9	1,7
Congo, Rep.		0,3	
Côte d'Ivoire	2,6	3,6	4,8
Democratic Rep. of Congo		0,2	
Equatorial Guinea			
Ethiopia		9,7	3,9
Gambia	17,1		
Ghana	12,2	0,7	2,1
Guinea-Bissau		1,2	0,9
Kenya	8,3	7,0	4,1
Lesotho	8,0	12,4	3,2
Liberia	5,0	2,8	2,0
Madagascar	6,1		1,6
Malawi	10,2	8,9	15,7
Mali	7,1	17,3	9,7
Mauritius	6,9	5,9	2,5
Mozambique			6,9
Namibia		6,0	6,9
Niger	14,2	13,2	12,3
Nigeria	2,9	3,6	0,8
Rwanda			7,1
Senegal	4,0	5,2	8,5
Seychelles		2,0	1,6
Sierra Leone		1,6	
South Africa		0,5	1,1
Sudan			
Swaziland	13,0	5,7	4,2
Togo	7,0	6,1	5,8
Uganda	6,7	1,9	4,5
United Republic of Tanzania	10,9	8,6	
Zambia	22,8	2,8	7,3

Source: Statistics of Public Expenditure for Economic Development (SPEED), International Food Policy Institute: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/INZ3QK>

An additional two countries (Burkina Faso and Mali) are however very close to the target, but even taking this into consideration the number and share of countries meeting the target is low. For those countries where expenditure data is available for 1980, expenditure shares have generally fallen, and public expenditure as a share of the total has not reached pre-SAP levels, despite CAADP.

In terms of the second Maputo target - that of 6% growth in agricultural GDP per year, ReSAKSS statistics show that the African continent as a whole attained a growth rate of 5.1% annually in the period 2003–2013. None of the regions met the target, although Western Africa came closest with an average annual growth rate of 5.5% over the same period.²¹ While the growth target therefore approached that established by the Maputo Declaration, the expenditure target fell far short at the pan-African level.

Secondly, the initial smallholder focus of CAADP as enshrined in the original CAADP documents covering the first CAADP decade, has outlived the Maputo period, being central also to the Malabo Declaration. Moreover, the second CAADP period has seen the recognition of diverse groups smallholder groups and their challenges – a surprising oversight in the original document. For the first period particular groups of smallholders were subsumed under this collective in the strategic policy documents. While women, at a general level were mentioned as vital to African agriculture, female farmers were targeted only in one pillar. Demographic changes, the role of young people and how to engage them in agriculture were not addressed in the policy documents for the first decade of CAADP. Whether a particular focus on these groups can be expected from the overarching framework is a relevant question. In practice strategies for youth and women’s involvement have been formulated through other documents (such as the Youth, Decent Employment and the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP). Nonetheless, it can be noted that the MDGs which were put in place at roughly the same time devoted much attention to both women and youth, and the failure to identify women and youth in the CAADP policy framework document is in this respect surprising. For the second period, by contrast the inclusion of women, youth and vulnerable groups is mentioned outright in the policy documents. Moreover, the specific challenges facing such groups with respect to their limited access to key agricultural resources are recognized in the policy framework as is the vulnerability of particular groups to adverse environmental shocks. In this sense, the Malabo framework makes for a more ambitious as well as more nuanced and comprehensive policy. Key to implementation will be the translation of the framework into concrete agricultural strategies at the national level and the political as well as fiscal commitments to such strategies. As of late 2016, no country compacts had been signed under the Malabo Declaration, however.

A regional approach to agricultural development and food security in East and Southern Africa

This section aims to present an overview of the regional agricultural policies in place in East and Southern Africa as designed by their Regional Economic Communities: the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The African Union recognizes eight RECs.²² There is an overlap in REC membership of AgriFoSe2030 theme 1 focus countries, with Tanzania being both a member of EAC and SADC, and Kenya being a member of both EAC and COMESA, and Malawi and Zambia being a member of both COMESA and SADC (see Table 2).

Table 2: Regional Economic Community membership by AgriFoSe2030 theme 1 focus countries

Regional Economic Community	AgriFoSe2030 theme 1 focus countries
EAC - East African Community	Kenya, Tanzania
COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa	Kenya, Malawi, Zambia
SADC - Southern African Development Community	Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia

Note: In addition, Kenya is a member state of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Since the IGAD policy is mostly focused on the Horn of Africa, we will not review it in this report and instead focus on the policies of the EAC, COMESA and SADC.

Source: respective REC websites: www.eac.int; www.comesa.int; www.sadc.int

Regional coordination of agricultural policy in Africa is vital for agricultural development as the borders of Africa's countries do not follow agro-ecological zones or natural regional bread-basket zones. As a result current borders serve as barriers, hampering agricultural technology transfer and agricultural trade. Regional cooperation can generate significant economies of scale in terms of agricultural research and innovations tailored to specific crops and diseases in agro-ecological zones, which surpass many small countries' borders. Furthermore it can play a role in promoting multinational infrastructure projects and improving trade policies to stimulate regional trade.²³

The Malabo declaration dedicates an entire strategic action area to "Increased intra-African regional trade and better functioning of national and regional markets", with the African Union planning for a continent-wide free trade area.²⁴ Currently, the countries in East and Southern Africa are already making good progress when it comes to trade integration as COMESA launched its Customs Union in June 2009, and the East African Community started off as a Common Market in 2010.²⁵

The RECs are not only responsible for supporting their member states in the domestication of the CAADP policy agenda and monitoring of their progress, they also design their own agricultural development policies for the region, while aiming to promote coherence in the regional-national policy nexus.

Regional agricultural policies and the CAADP

COMESA signed a regional CAADP compact in November of 2014 and is currently starting to implement the new framework following from the Malabo declaration.²⁶ Meanwhile, EAC has developed a CAADP compact, which has been approved by regional council ministers, but has not been signed yet.²⁷ At present the EAC draws on its Agriculture and Rural Development Policy 2005-2030 and Food Security Action Plan 2011-2015 for directions of the regional agricultural policy. In fact, the EAC Food Security Action Plan has been widely regarded as compatible with the CAADP.²⁸ For Southern Africa, SADC's existent Regional Agricultural Policy (RAP) was approved as CAADP compliant in June of 2013. Now SADC is in the process of developing a regional CAADP compact and investment plan incorporating the Malabo goals.²⁹

The regional CAADP compacts aim to facilitate implementation of programmes and projects that are transboundary in nature. Regional trade corridors constitute a major component of these compacts. RECs in East and Southern Africa are fairly advanced with it comes to these initiatives of large-scale infrastructure development, such the Beira agricultural growth corridor. Other regional coordination initiatives include among others the harmonization of trade policies and their implementation, harmonization of Sanitary and Phyto-sanitary (SPS) regulations, establishment of 'one-stop' border posts, management of transboundary pests and diseases and provision of cross-border irrigation schemes.³⁰

Given the overlapping membership of the organizations, there is considerable scope for collaboration between the RECs. Cross-REC collaboration has been launched in the shape of the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Programme in June 2011.³¹ So far the main outcomes are a programme focusing on climate-smart agriculture, the COMESA-EAC-SADC Climate Change Tripartite Programme, and the Tripartite North South Corridor.³² Future plans include the establishment of a COMESA-EAC-SADC Free Trade Area (FTA) covering 26 countries and stretching from Cape Town to Cairo. Currently the negotiations for the FTA are ongoing.³³ Eventually, there could be a Tripartite food security framework and CAADP regional compact, however the large number of actors and stakeholders involved makes this a challenging endeavor and negotiations evolve at a slow pace.³⁴

Regions and smallholder development

This section aims to document how the RECs address the inclusion of smallholders, women and youth in agriculture. Policies for these groups of stakeholders are largely formulated at the national policy level, although regional farmers' organizations work closely together with RECs. As such there is some mention of inclusiveness also in the regional agricultural policies.

COMESA broadly aims to support smallholder farmers to increase their production and productivity and the use of fertilizers, and enhance their access to markets. This is done through their specialised agency, the Alliance for Commodity Trade in Eastern and Southern Africa.³⁵

The EAC Food Security Action Plan prioritizes the inclusion of smallholder farmers in agro-industry value chains and aiding them to mitigate agricultural risk through the development of insurance instruments. Furthermore, EAC recommends promoting access to credit and entrepreneurship among women and young farmers in addition to access to other productive resources such as technology.³⁶

The SADC RAP mentions smallholder regarding sustainable intensification, notably the promotion of effective soil fertility management systems, and the development of agricultural information systems, access to input and output

markets and the capacity building of member states' national farmers organizations. In addition, SADC stresses the mainstreaming of gender and youth issues in agriculture in national policies targeting access to land, farm support systems and services and rural finance.³⁷

Apart from the RECs, other regional organizations play a key role in agricultural development in East and Southern Africa through monitoring and influencing agricultural policies and working closely with the RECs. Box 1 provides a non-exhaustive overview of these stakeholders in the region.

Box 1: Other regional agricultural stakeholders and initiatives in East- and Southern Africa.

Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network (FANRPAN) is a regional multi-stakeholder network and aims to provide independent evidence to inform policy harmonization at regional level. The network is representative of key stakeholders including governments, farmer organizations, researchers, the private sector, parliamentarians and the media. The organization signed the COMESA CAADP regional compact as a NSA.³⁸

Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM) is a consortium of 60 African universities and supports them to address the important and largely unfulfilled role that universities play in contributing to the well-being of small-scale farmers and economic development of countries.

Eastern Africa Farmers Federation (EAFF) represents twelve national members organizations. The lobby and advocacy for interests of farmers in the region is one of the core functions of the EAFF and it has an observer status at EAC level.³⁹

East Africa Grain Council (EAGC) is a regional organization based in Nairobi founded in 2007 to coordinate matters concerning the grain industry and to promote intra-regional trade in agricultural products. EAG signed the COMESA CAADP regional compact as a NSA.⁴⁰

Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions (SACAU) represents farmers' organisations and regional commodity organisations, agro business organisations with a regional outreach, agricultural corporative organisations and any organisation with a regional outreach participating in the agricultural value chain.

Centre for Coordination of Agricultural Research and Development for Southern Africa (CCARDESA) is a sub-regional organisation and aims to coordinate the implementation of agricultural research and development (CAADP pillar 4) in the SADC region. The organization signed the COMESA CAADP regional compact as a NSA.⁴¹

Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa (ASARECA) is a sub-regional organization of the National Agricultural Research Systems of 11 member countries and aims to enhance regional collective action in agricultural research for development, extension and agricultural training and education.

Source: respective organizations websites: <http://www.fanrpan.org>, <http://www.ruforum.org>, <http://eagc.org>, <http://www.sacau.org/>, <http://www.ccardesa.org>, <http://www.asareca.org>

Concluding comments on regional co-operation

A few comments on regional co-operation are in order: firstly the recent (and current) focus on regional agricultural and infrastructural interventions based on private-public partnerships, such as the Southern African Growth Corridor (SACGOT) and the Beira corridor are met with apprehension by researchers and civil society, as they raise numerous concerns with respect to tenure rights. Whether smallholders benefit from agricultural trade corridors is therefore an issue of contention.⁴²

Beyond controversies related to specific, large scale cross-border agricultural corridors a more general concern relates to the often times complicated and contradictory regulations that apply in countries that fall within multiple regional frameworks. Rampa, van Seters and Afun-Ogidan (2012a) report cases of regulations changing at the same border post, with the SADC regime or rule being applied and then changed for the COMESA or EAC regime or rule in

a short span of time, and vice versa.⁴³ As noted above cross-regional strategies and agreements have been in place since 2011, to mitigate these impediments. However, cooperation has been progressing slowly and is clearly a cause for concern.

Country level agricultural strategies

This section discusses individual countries' agricultural development strategies and aims to give a brief overview of current and previous agricultural policy development and the conditions that gave rise to those policies. Four countries are covered: Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia. In addition, we will examine how the current policies relate to the topics of AgriFoSe 2030 Theme 1 focus areas: the role of smallholders, women and youth in agriculture and other social and economic dimensions of food security, such as market development and sustainable intensification.

Kenya

Kenya is a diverse country with a large variety of agro-ecological zones within the country. Agriculture plays a significant role in the economy with a majority of the population being engaged in the sector. Kenya has a strong export sector with tea and horticultural produce being the most important sub-sectors. The livestock sector, including the dairy sector, has developed rapidly in the past decade.⁴⁴ Maize is the main staple crop and the use of hybrid maize seed and fertilizers is relatively widespread compared to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa.⁴⁵

The government of Kenya has a long history of direct intervention in agriculture, which has left a legacy of strong public agricultural institutions focusing on particular commodity chains. These include coffee cooperatives, Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC) in the dairy industry, National Cereals and Produce Board (maize), Kenya Farmers' Association (input supply), Kenya Meat Commission and the smallholder Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA).⁴⁶ ⁴⁷Although these organizations have undoubtedly contributed to some major improvements in Kenyan agricultural development, they have been critiqued for focusing on high potential regions as well as better-resourced farmers, rather than poor smallholders.⁴⁸

In 2004 the government shifted its approach towards a market-oriented agriculture with the launch of the Strategy for Revitalising Agriculture (SRA). The aim was to harmonize overlapping pieces of agricultural legislation into one coherent framework and promote privatization with the number of parastatals reduced or converted into public-private partnerships. The main idea was that the state would focus on the provision of key public goods in agriculture and leave the provision other services, such as input supply and financial services, to private players, thereby enhancing efficiency and performance in the sector. This ambition is also recognized in Kenya's national growth strategy Vision 2030 which stresses agriculture as a key sector to spur economic growth through the commercialization and modernization of smallholders.⁴⁹

The government of Kenya was at first reluctant to engage in CAADP, as it had an existent agricultural strategy in place and saw it as a duplication of efforts. In the end, reportedly under pressure from donors, the Kenyan government signed a country compact in 2010.⁵⁰ The signing of the CAADP compact was combined with the launch of the new national agricultural strategy Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) 2010-2020. Table 3 shows how the ASDS is aligned with the Maputo CAADP pillars. So far, Kenya has not lived up to the Maputo goals. The country has experienced an average annual agricultural expenditure of 3.6% of the total public budget over the period 2003–2013 and a 2.3% average agricultural growth rate over the period 2003–2012.⁵¹

Table 3: How Kenya's Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020 is aligned with the CAADP.

ASDS Thematic Areas	CAADP Pillars
Sustainable Land and Natural Resource Management	Pillar I: Extending the area under sustainable land management
Agribusiness, Access to Markets and Value Addition	Pillar II: Improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access
Food and Nutrition Security	Pillar III: Increasing food supply and reducing hunger
Research and Extension	Pillar IV: Agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption
Inputs and Financial Services	
Legal, Regulatory and Institutional Reforms	

Source: Government of Kenya. 2010. Agricultural Sector Development Strategy 2010-2020, Nairobi

The ASDS largely continues on the same path as the SRA, focusing on privatization, commercialization and modernization of the sector. It sets a target agricultural growth rate of 7% per year over the next 5 years. Kenya's agricultural strategy is further concretized in the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy Medium-Term Investment Plan 2010-2015, which is the country CAADP investment plan following the CAADP process. The Medium-Term Investment Plan consists of six pillars, whereby the strategies are tailored to the different agro-ecological zones. The major share of the budget (see Table 4) is geared towards sustainable land use and natural resource management (including irrigation) and agricultural productivity and commercialization.

Table 4: The 5-year Medium Term Investment Plan budget for 2010-2015.

Investment Pillar	USD million	Budget Share (%)
1. Increasing productivity, commercialization and competitiveness	1,112	36.0
2. Promoting private sector participation	386	12.5
3. Promoting sustainable land and natural resource management	1,297	42.0
4. Reforming delivery of agricultural services	31	1.0
5. Increasing market access and trade	247	8.0
6. Ensuring effective coordination and implementation	15	0.5
TOTAL	3,088	

Source: Government of Kenya. 2010. Agricultural Sector Development Strategy Medium-Term Investment Plan 2010-2015, Nairobi

The adoption of the new Constitution in 2010 devolved power to Kenya's 47 counties. This change provides opportunities for fitting agricultural development strategy to the local context, if sufficient funding is available and policy frameworks are in line with adopted national strategies. The ASDS reports that its policy will be implemented locally through district agricultural development committees made up of the sector ministries (the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries) and stakeholders.⁵²

The Government of Kenya is in the process of implementing an investment plan for the period 2016-2020. Below we review the Medium-Term Investment Plan (MTIP)⁵³ 2010-2015 and how it relates to the three key groups of farmers which are in focus for AgriFose2030: smallholders and the two sub-groups of women and youth. It can be noted that two of the cross-cutting issues of the programme, sustainable intensification and agricultural commercialization constitute two of the six pillars of the ASDS. The results are summarized in Table 5.

Overall, smallholder farmers are not mentioned much in the pillars of the investment plan. The MTIP highlights support to farmer organizations to enhance market power of smallholders within value chains. Furthermore, the promotion of business skills, the facilitation of input markets and investment in market information system are stressed as measures to support smallholder productivity. The ASDS devotes more attention to strategies to increase the productivity of smallholders, notably through enhancing access to output markets and intensified irrigation. In addition, it highlights outgrower schemes and contract farming as a way to maximize smallholder production. It expresses concerns over limited access to finance, lack of storage facilities resulting in high pre- and post-crop losses and inability to control pests due to lack of information among smallholders. Access to capital will be addressed through encouraging commercial and microfinance institutions to target smallholders, in addition to community-based lending organization. While the MTIP does not specifically address women or young people in its strategies, gender is mentioned as a cross-cutting issue throughout both the ASDS and the MTIP. The ASDS stresses gender equality in terms of opportunities, resources and associated impacts, while the MTIP aims to further bring this objective to life by incorporating gender analysis and gender-based budgeting into each of the investment pillars. However, there is no specific mention of gender-sensitive strategies within the pillars.

A similar case holds for youth. Young people and agriculture is a cross-cutting issue in the ASDS. The Kenyan government recognizes the need for policies to more actively engage youth, halt rural-urban migration and attract young people to agriculture as a career. Nevertheless, specific strategies to achieve these aspirations are not part of the actual agricultural investment plan. The National Agricultural Sector Extension policy does have a specific section on young people, considering how to target them and inspire them to be future farmers.⁵⁴

As one can learn from Table 5, there is extensive attention on the role of markets in agricultural development, focusing on key areas such as farm inputs, physical infrastructure and regional trade policy. An entire pillar devoted to sustainable land and natural resources management (which moreover comprises the largest component of the

Table 5: Alignment of Kenya's Medium-Term Investment Plan 2010–2015 pillars with key smallholder groups (women and youth) as identified by AgriFose2030.

Pillars	Smallholders	Women	Youth
1. Increasing productivity, commercialization and competitiveness	Farmer collective action in value chains will be supported. Support of institutional innovations in input supply, post-harvest handling and processing.	Absent	Absent
2. Promoting private sector participation	Strengthening farmer organizations and enhancing business skills of smallholders and small-scale traders. Improving rural access roads and rural marketplaces.	Absent	Absent
3. Promoting sustainable land and natural resource management	Absent	Absent	Absent
4. Reforming delivery of agricultural services	Investment in distribution systems for key farm inputs (seeds and fertilizer etc.) for food crops in smallholder areas. Investment in distribution systems for key farm inputs (seeds and fertilizer etc.) for food crops in smallholder areas.	Absent	Absent
5. Increasing market access and trade	Investment in market information systems, involving the private sector, and other measures to reduce transaction costs in smallholder regions (not specified which). More effective farmer organizations to improve smallholder market power. Harmonization of regional trade policy, rehabilitation of rural and urban market places.	Absent	Absent
6. Ensuring effective coordination and implementation	Absent	Absent	Absent

MTIP budget) and climate change adaptation is stressed as a cross-cutting issue in the MTIP. Policies revolve around promoting climate change awareness and adaptation strategies for the local population, including diversification of livelihood. The focus is on irrigation and water harvesting to promote sustainable use of land and natural resources in the arid areas.

Currently the Kenyan central government and local counties are starting off with the Malabo targets following the second decade of the CAADP. The devolution of agricultural decision-making to the county level does potentially provide more opportunity for policy influence for non-state actors. The Kenyan civil society has started engaging with the Malabo targets of the continued CAADP with a joint workshop in August 2015. Hereby the organizations drafted an action plan for areas in which non-state actors engagement in Kenya can be strengthened for the development of a national agricultural sector policy and county agricultural plans, following the Malabo Declaration. Furthermore, they discussed how non-state actors commitments can be fostered that align with country and county plans.⁵⁵ Examples of relevant national agricultural stakeholders in Kenya include:

- KESSFF: Kenyan Small Scale Farmers Forum⁵⁶
- KENAFF: representation of Kenyan farmers at political level⁵⁷ (formerly known as KENFAP)
- KIPPRA (public research institute)

Evaluating Kenyan agricultural policy

While recent agricultural policies and the decentralization of the implementation of such policies to the county level offer opportunities for stakeholder involvement, concerns have also been raised regarding these reforms. In this respect, Poulton and Kaninya (2013) of the Future Agricultures Consortium conclude that limited progress has been made with the institutional reforms envisioned in the SRA due to internal resistance, which was in particular based on ethno-regional ties.⁵⁸

The Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development, a consortium of international non-governmental organisations, note the poor knowledge of the Malabo declaration at the local level. In turn this imposes challenges in terms of raising awareness of the Malabo targets, as many county governments are not familiar with the goals of the Malabo declaration.⁵⁹

Malawi

Malawi is a predominantly agriculturally based economy with more than half of the population living below the national poverty line. Agriculture constitutes a major economic sector as source of livelihood (85% of total employment) and export earnings (90% of generated foreign reserves).⁶⁰ Maize is the national staple crop of the population and is regarded as vital for the nation's food security. The main export crop is tobacco, which was historically cultivated by large estates, but recently is primarily produced by smallholder farmers.⁶¹ Although today Malawi's agricultural sector is generally liberalized, maize and tobacco face the highest levels of policy interventions by the state.⁶²

At the onset of Malawi's independence in 1964, the dualistic nature of the agricultural sector was even more pronounced. Agricultural policy was biased in favour of the large estates. Smallholders were in fact legally prohibited from growing high value crops, such as tobacco, tea and sugar. This situation changed with the economic reforms under structural adjustment programmes introduced in the 1980's. The government liberalized crop prices, abolished restrictions on crop production and opened up the cash crop market for smallholders, but also withdrew its state support, notably subsidized fertilizer and the smallholder credit system.⁶³

The withdrawal of government support and market intervention resulted in high prices for marketed maize and agricultural inputs. Coupled with spells of severe droughts since the beginning of the 1990's, this had disastrous effects on Malawi's food security. In response, the government decided to reintroduce the fertilizer subsidies. In the 1998/1999 crop season, the Starter Pack programme was introduced and provided fertilizer and legume seed to all rural farming households. Later on, the government decided to offer inputs through other programmes, however food security remained suboptimal. Severe hunger incidences hit the country in the 2001/2002 and the 2004/2005 growing seasons.⁶⁴

In 2005, the government launched the Fertilizer Input Subsidy Programme (FISP). It is the main producer support programme and provides input subsidies mostly to producers of maize but as well to other crops. Coupled with favourable weather patterns in the 2006/2007 growing season a record harvest was noted for 2007, although it is unclear to what extent this was directly the result of the FISP in itself.⁶⁵ Another important policy intervention is the price bond for maize, which was introduced in 2008. The maize price bond sets floor prices for producers and ceiling prices for consumers. In this way, the government aims to protect farmers from rent-seeking private traders in the face of underdeveloped markets.⁶⁶ Despite these interventions, however Malawi is currently experiencing the effects of severe drought, including widespread food shortages. A recurrent challenge has been to sustainably enhance (or even secure) production over the long term, especially of key staples such as maize.

The current Malawi Growth and Development Strategies (MGDS) I and II stress agriculture and food security as key focus areas as parts of the national vision of economic development. To attain the goals of improved food security and agricultural growth, the Agriculture Sector Wide Approach (ASWAp) was prepared and implemented as an investment framework for agriculture between 2007 and 2009.⁶⁷ The development of a comprehensive national agricultural policy was however severely delayed, with a draft policy being rejected by the parliament in 2011. In the absence of an overarching national agricultural policy the Agriculture Sector-Wide Approach (ASWAp) acted both as a policy framework and investment strategy for agricultural development for the period 2011-2015.⁶⁸ The ASWAp was launched before Malawi signed its CAADP compact in 2010 and acts as the investment plan under the flag of the CAADP.⁶⁹

In September of 2016, Malawi launched a new National Agricultural Policy (NAP) While the new National Agricultural Policy provides the policy framework for agriculture in Malawi, according to the NAP document, "ASWAp remains the main investment plan for agriculture in Malawi, guiding implementation in the agriculture sector for the government's medium-term development strategies such as the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II (MGDSII), Malawi's overarching long term strategy, the Vision 2020, and the Malawi CAADP Compact. However the MGDS II and ASWAp will need to be reviewed taking into account the coherent policy framework that the NAP will provide".⁷⁰

Apart from raising rural incomes and increasing agricultural productivity, the ASWAp aims to diversify production and

make the agricultural sector less dependent on maize and tobacco. Table 6 shows how the ASWAp is aligned with the pillars of the CAADP and Malawi's broader growth strategy.

Table 6: Alignment of agriculture policy and strategy to the Agriculture Sector-Wide Approach.

ASWAp focus area	CAADP pillars	ASWAp components	MGDS agriculture sector
Food security and risk management	Increased food supplies; reduced hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maize self-sufficiency • Diversification and nutrition • Risk management for sustainable food availability 	Agriculture and food security
Commercial agriculture and market development	Improved market access and integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural exports for improved balance of trade and income • Commercial production for import substitution and domestic market development • Market development for inputs and outputs through public/private sector partnership 	Agro-processing
Sustainable land and water management	Sustainable land and water management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable agricultural land Management • Sustainable agricultural water management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Belt irrigation and water development • Land • Climate change, natural resources, environmental management
Technology generation and dissemination		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Results and market oriented research and provision of technical and regulatory services • Efficient farmer-led extension and training services 	
Institutional strengthening and capacity building		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening public management • Capacity building of the public and private sector 	
Cross-cutting issues		Mainstreaming of gender and HIV/AIDS	

Source: ReSAKSS Malawi Joint Sector Review Assessment (2014).

The Farm Input Subsidy Programme and the Green Belt Initiative are major components of the ASWAp. The latter programme consists of small and large-scale irrigation schemes. Together both programmes account for 70% of the ASWAp budget.

Table 7 shows how Malawi's Agriculture Sector-Wide Approach (ASWAp) policy priorities are related to the target groups of AgriFose2030 (smallholders, women and youth). Overall, the current (unrevised) ASWAp investment plan places a large focus on smallholders. The major share of support to smallholders is given through the FISP, which offers subsidized inputs to around 30% of smallholder farmers.

The ASWAp highlights gender as an important cross-cutting issue and aims at reducing gender disparities in the agricultural sector. It recognizes that female farmers have less access to agricultural assets, notably land, labour, credit and inputs and targets female farmers, for instance through supporting commercialization among women farmers. In addition, the ASWAp aims to empower female farmers through targeting women in the input subsidy programme and also with respect to credit, contract farming arrangements, producer prices and access to farmer organisations. The document mentions that throughout all interventions, it aims to target at least 50% women farmers. Furthermore, the policy plan promises to further develop gender analysis within its agricultural institutions, incorporating gender disaggregated statistics in M&E for example, and training frontline staff, like extension officers, in a gender-sensitive way to better reach female farmers.

Less attention is devoted to the role of the youth in agriculture, although the ASWAp mentions the importance of

Table 7: Alignment of the Malawian Agriculture Sector-Wide Approach (ASWAp) focus areas with AgriFose2030 target groups, smallholders, women and youth.

Focus areas	Smallholders	Women	Youth
1: Food security and risk management	Agricultural inputs for maize for smallholders through the FISP, complemented by extension and on-farm storage technologies. Improved farmer organisations for bargaining power on input and output markets.	Female headed households are targeted in the input subsidy programme	Absent
2: Commercial agriculture, agro-processing and market development	Promotion of contract farming and outgrower schemes in value chains of export crops, the FISP, strengthen farmer organisations. Promotion of high value chains, commercialization and agro-processing, facilitation of input and output market, market infrastructure and market information systems.	Promote commercialization of women farmers, strengthen women agricultural clubs.	Strengthen youth agricultural clubs.
3: Sustainable agricultural land and water management	Extension on appropriate irrigation practices.	Establish gender sensitive associations for sustainable irrigation, promote appropriate soil and land conversation practices among women.	Promote appropriate soil and land conversation practices among youth.

responding to the needs of young farmers. It aims to engage them through the strengthening of “agricultural clubs” (Government of Malawi, 2011, p. 39). Young people are mentioned specifically when it comes to sustainable land and water management. Although this is not specified in the focus areas, the ASWAp mentions that it aims at enabling access to agricultural resources for youth, such as technologies, information and credit, in addition to the ability to participate in decision making processes.

With regards to the other two cross-cutting themes of AgriFose2030, commercialization and sustainable intensification – like in Kenya – these are the subject of two focus areas of their own. Focus area 2 of the ASWAp (Commercial agriculture, agro-processing and market development) directs agricultural market development in Malawi. The government aims at the commercialization of smallholders specifically with respect to high value crops. To achieve this, it promotes contract farming and outgrower schemes and small-scale agro-processing. In addition, Malawi will set up and expand market information systems and market infrastructure thereby strengthening the linkages between buyers and sellers. Another major component is the facilitation of input and output markets in agriculture jointly with the private sector. However, the ASWAp does not specify what this public-private partnership should look like.

Sustainable intensification practices are addressed in focus area 3 of the ASWAp (*Sustainable agricultural land and water management*). The government aims to train smallholders when it comes to appropriate irrigation, land and soil management practices, thereby giving special attention to the needs of women and young farmers.

The new National Agricultural Policy (NAP) outlines the visions for Malawian agriculture over the period 2016-2020. The effects of the new policy are therefore difficult to fully assess, even if the purported visions can be described. As the ASWAp has not yet been revised to take into account changes arising from the NAP, comparing the ASWAp in its current form with the the visions outlined in the NAP highlights some key differences between the smallholder emphasis of the former and the broader focus on agricultural growth found in the NAP.

A strong emphasis is placed on commercialization and so called entrepreneurial farmers, breaking with an earlier focus on smallholder food security. Diversification into high value crops and global value chains is perceived as a key strategic intervention in what is described as the transformation of Malawian agriculture. In general the NAP broadens the scope of earlier policies advocating for “A more heterogenous perspective of the farming sector /.../ including support to medium-scale and large-scale commercial farmers”.⁷¹

The NAP identifies eight Policy Priority Areas:

- Sustainable Agricultural Production and Productivity
- Sustainable Irrigation Development
- Mechanisation of Agriculture
- Agricultural Market Development, Agro Processing and Value Addition
- Food and Nutrition Security
- Agricultural Risk Management
- Empowerment of Youth, Women and Vulnerable Groups in Agriculture
- Institutional Development, Coordination and Capacity Strengthening

The ten quantitative objectives of the NAP are linked to the Policy Priority Areas, with a strong emphasis on diversification, commercialization, export growth, and increased use of irrigation and agricultural technology. There are no quantitative objectives linked to the fifth Policy Priority Area of food and nutrition security. In terms of the AgriFose2030 target groups, one of the ten objectives is to “increase women’s and youths access to, ownership of, and control of productive agricultural assets by 50 percent”.⁷²

Apart from government interventions, there are also a number of key stakeholder organisations in the Malawi agricultural sector:

- Civil Society Agriculture Network (CISANET)
- National Association of Smallscale Farmers in Malawi – NASFAM
- Farmers Union of Malawi (FUM)
- Centre for Environmental Policy and Advocacy (CEPA)
- Centre for Agricultural Research and Development (CARD)

Evaluating agricultural policy in Malawi

ReSAKKS (2014) reports that Malawi has been living up to the agricultural investment goals, as the country has been consistently devoting over 10% of its national budget to agriculture over the period 2008-2013. This share even increased to 21% in 2013, although this is related to the rising costs of the FISP. However, the significant investments have not translated in higher agricultural growth yet, as annual growth rates have been generally below 6% since 2003.⁷³

While Malawi has consistently met the target spending of the Maputo Declaration, this has been largely the result of subsidised fertilizers which have raised public spending on agriculture. The concentration of public resources on two interventions: the FISP and the Green Belt initiative, leaves significantly less focus and resources for other important interventions to support the long term productivity growth in the agricultural sector, notably market and value chain development, diversification, technological generation and credit to spur the commercialization of agriculture.⁷⁴ Criticism has also been raised by scholars regarding changes in tenure rights and the appropriation of land ostensibly for “development” purposes.⁷⁵ Such criticism must also be seen in the light of the more heterogeneous view of agriculture expressed in the NAP.

Tanzania

Although Tanzania has been experiencing economic growth averaging 6% per year over the last decade, the country has not been able to achieve significant reductions in poverty and continues to grapple with food insecurity. Poor rainfall causes food crises in some regions, while other regions have surpluses on an annual basis. This calls to enhance investment in agricultural productivity and an enabling environment, such as market integration and linkages, in order to achieve a significant reduction in poverty and food insecurity.⁷⁶

The current agricultural policy landscape in Tanzania consists of the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP) and Kilimo Kwanza, which means “Agriculture First” in Kiswahili. In 2010 the Tanzanian government and other national stakeholders signed a CAADP compact resulting in the Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP), which then was added to the policy arena. The TAFSIP is largely based on the preexisting Agricultural Sector Development Programme with added components incorporating food security, climate change and to some extent private sector development. An overview of Tanzania’s main agricultural policies is given in Table 8.⁷⁷ Although the Agricultural Sector Development Programme and Kilimo Kwanza are both supported by the Tanzanian government and run in parallel, the foci of the two policies are very different. The ASDP (and by extension the TAFSIP) promotes smallholder development while Kilimo Kwanza is largely geared towards large-scale commercial agriculture, agribusiness and mechanization and is in fact an initiative of the Tanzanian private sector.⁷⁹ The ASDP is perceived as a heavily state-led agricultural development strategy, while the latter revolves around private sector development. It should be noted that Kilimo Kwanza can be characterized as a policy statement rather than a

development programme as it does not have any independent funding.⁸⁰

A major component of the Kilimo Kwanza is the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT)⁸¹ It is a public private partnership involving large international companies such as Yara, Monsanto, DuPont and Unilever.⁸²

Table 8: Tanzania's agricultural policies 2006-2017.

Policy	Author	Timeframe	Coordinator	Cost \$ bn	Finance	Key linkages	Main focus
<i>Agricultural Sector Development Programme</i>	Ministry of Agriculture (MAFC)	Phase1: 2006 - 2013 Phase2: 2015/16 - 2024/25	MAFC	1.9	Government of Tanzania (GoT), Donor basket	Five 'agricultural' ministries; Donor projects	Smallholder production; Irrigation
<i>Kilimo Kwanza</i>	Tanzania National Business Council	2009 -(not time bound)	PMO-RALG	Not costed	GoT, donors, private sector	Commercial farmers; SAGCOT	Commercial agriculture
<i>Tanzania Agriculture & Food Security Investment Plan</i>	CAADP/ MAFC	2012-17	MAFC	5.3	GoT, donors, private sector, philanthro-capitalists	ASDP	Smallholder production; Food security

Source: Cooksey (2013) and United Republic of Tanzania (2015)⁷⁸

Connecting southern Tanzania to the port of Dar es Salaam, it aims to improve markets for input and output and increase regional trade through better physical and soft infrastructure.

As the TAFSIP is mostly focused on smallholder production, we will review its policy priorities in more detail and scrutinize how these are related to the key stakeholder groups of AgriFoSe2030, women and youth. As with Kenya and Malawi, commercialization and sustainable agriculture constitute key thematic areas of TAFSIP. An overview can be found in Table 9. In addition, we will briefly review policies within the SAGCOT in as far as they touch upon smallholder agriculture.

The overall objective of the TAFSIP is “to have an agricultural sector that is modernized, commercialized and highly competitive”.⁸³ As such, the policy aims to uplift smallholders from subsistence into semi-commercial farming. This can take place through contract farming and block farming schemes. Agricultural productivity should be raised through enhanced irrigation, extension, input, credit and access to markets. The respective policies are laid out in more detail in Table 9 on the next page. Missing from the equation is agricultural research – the fourth pillar of the CAADP. In addition, the TAFSIP is critiqued for being broad, thus not providing clear priorities for agricultural productivity growth strategies.

Regarding smallholder productivity, the TAFSIP prioritizes the following food crops: maize, rice, cassava, wheat, beans, sorghum, sugar and oil seed crops. Prioritized export food crops are coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, cashew, horticultural crops and spices. Smallholders should be encouraged to diversify into higher value crops and at the same time supply the domestic and export markets with more produce. Among the priorities is also support for urban and peri-urban agriculture.

The TAFSIP mentions women and the youth in the context of entrepreneurial skill development in agricultural value chains. Female farmers should be encouraged to take part in farmer organisations in commercial agriculture. However, it does not discuss other measures to specifically target female farmers in agricultural productivity interventions or how to engage young people in the sector. The Agricultural Sector Development Strategy II highlights the need for programmes on women and youth empowerment through enhanced access to credit, land, technology and market information. In particular, an enabling environment should be created through the training of knowledge and skills on farming and the promotion of entrepreneurship, such that agriculture becomes an attractive option for young people.

Table 9: Focus of the Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP) on AgriFose2030 target groups, smallholders, women and youth.

Thematic areas	Smallholders	Women	Youth
1: Irrigation development, sustainable water resources and land use management	Improve irrigation infrastructure and water management for smallholders	Absent	Absent
2: Agricultural productivity and commercialization	Smallholder productivity will be raised through agronomic packages including improved seeds, fertilizers, disease control and (post) harvest management. In addition enhance mechanization, access to finance and extension. Urban and peri-urban agriculture	Entrepreneurial skill development and opportunities in the agro value chain especially for women farmers	Entrepreneurial skill development and opportunities in the agro value chain especially for young farmers
3: Rural infrastructure, market access and trade	Absent	Absent	Absent
4: Private sector development	Private sector can engage smallholders through contract farming and block farming schemes	Absent	Absent
5: Food and nutrition security	Smallholders must graduate from food security to small-scale semi-commercial farmers. Diversification of farming for better diets	Absent	Absent
6: Disaster management, climate change mitigation and adaptation	Absent	Absent	Absent
7: Policy and institutional reform and support	Review of rural microfinance policies	Female farmers should be encouraged to take part in farmer organisations in commercial agriculture	Absent

As for sustainability, thematic area 6 of the TAFSIP (*Disaster management, climate change mitigation and adaptation*) largely focuses on adaptation of farming systems such that Tanzanian farmers become more resilient to the effect of climate change. Hereby increased irrigation and sustainable land management play a large role. Reforestation, agro-forestry and agronomic innovations are needed to increase carbon capture.

The TAFSIP also has linkages to the SAGCOT in the area of private sector development and smallholders rural commercialization. SAGCOT intends to bring benefits to smallholders through production clusters along the corridor. Specifically, it offers opportunities for emergent farmers through nucleus farm and outgrower schemes on plots of five hectares or more. At the same time, it intends to offer inputs, finance and access to research to adjacent small farms which are not part of the outgrower schemes. Even smallholders that are not connected to nucleus farms, can benefit from cold storage facilities and infrastructure access.⁸⁴ There is no mention of women or youth in the SAGCOT investment plan.

Following the next decade of CAADP with the Malabo declaration and new strategic priorities, the government of Tanzania has not signed a new country compact yet nor designed a new national agricultural investment plan. However, Tanzanian Non State Actors (NSAs) have set up a national platform to engage with the Malabo commitments and specifically see through how it can benefit smallholders.⁸⁵ The Agricultural Non-State Actors Forum

(ANSAF) and MWAVITA have been involved in the CAADP process when Tanzania designed the TAFSIP.⁸⁶

The following national agricultural stakeholders can be mentioned:

- Agricultural Non-State Actors Forum (ANSAF)
- MWAVITA
- Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF)
- REPOA
- Agricultural Council of Tanzania

Evaluating Tanzanian agricultural policy

The key reservations voiced with respect to Tanzanian agricultural policy relate to the SAGCOT partnership. Although the SAGCOT intends to benefit smallholders, NGOs have raised concerns about appropriation of land, displacement of smallholders and an export-led focus, as opposed to contributing to domestic food security.⁸⁷ The multinational companies involved may view the corridor rather as a profitable infrastructure project while social and economic developmental objectives come as secondary aspects. In this light, Byiers and Rampa (2013) recommend linking those large infrastructure developments with the upgrading of feeder-roads and the strengthening of soft infrastructure, such as regional market information systems, in order to ensure that smallholders benefit.⁸⁸

Zambia

Zambia is a landlocked country and a predominantly agrarian based economy, in addition to being one of the world's largest copper producers. Poverty and food insecurity remain high, as is the country's vulnerability to natural disasters, including floods and droughts. Rural poverty rates have been consistent around 77% over the past decade⁸⁹.

At Independence Zambia inherited an agricultural sector characterized by a small number of large scale commercial farms coexisting with numerous small scale units involved mainly in subsistence farming. Historically the state was involved in propping up the white settler community through substantial subsidies and interventions in output markets, partly related to the need to provide food for the mining settlements on the Copperbelt.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, significant tensions characterized the relationship between a smallholder segment whose marketing prowess was deliberately undermined by the state and large scale settler farmers buttressed by state intervention.⁹¹

Following Independence the state retained and in some respects also extended its earlier support of the large scale sector, but broadened its support also to smallholder farmers, with significant spurts in production and productivity resulting from this policy.⁹² Although the structural adjustment programs of the 1990s partially liberalized the sector, the state never completely abandoned its strong involvement in input and output markets, especially for maize. Indeed, by the mid-1990s the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) was established as a major buyer of maize, with the ambition to stabilize maize prices. This was followed by the re-introduction of fertilizer subsidies for maize in the 1997-1998 planting season.⁹³ By the time of the 2012-2013 growing season around 900 000 smallholder farmers were receiving subsidies fertilizer through the Fertilizer Input Support Programme.⁹⁴

The current agricultural policy landscape consists of the National Agriculture Agricultural Policy 2012-2030 as well as the agricultural chapter of the 6th and 7th National Development Plans and Vision 2030, which are the overarching development strategies for the country⁹⁵. Zambia signed its CAADP compact in January 2011. The CAADP compliant National Agriculture Investment Plan (NAIP) was launched in 2013 and lays out the strategy for 2014-2018, based on the current agricultural policy. Table 10 displays how the Zambian CAADP compact aligns with the CAADP main pillars for agricultural development.

Table 10: Policy alignment of CAADP pillars with Zambian CAADP compact.

CAADP pillar	Zambian CAADP Compact Programmes
Pillar I: Extending the area under sustainable land management and reliable water control systems	1 Sustainable land management programme 2 Agricultural productivity improvement programme
Pillar II: Improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access	3 Agricultural marketing development programme 4 Agricultural investment promotion programme
Pillar III: Increasing food supply, reducing hunger and improving responses to food emergency crises	5 Food and nutrition security programme
Pillar IV: Improving agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption	6 Research and extension enhancement programme

Source: Government of Zambia (2011) Zambia Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme Compact.

The NAIP contains four main investment programmes: (i) Sustainable Natural resource management; (ii) Agricultural production and productivity improvement; (iii) Market access and; (iv) Food and nutrition security and Disaster Risk Management. The cost for implementing the National Agricultural Investment Plan over its operational years (2014-2018) is US \$ 2.7 billion. Since 2007 spending on agricultural and rural development of the Government of Zambia has in general exceeded the CAADP minimum of 10%. However, in most years, more than 60% of the agricultural budget was spent on the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) and the Food Reserve Agency, which deals with maize marketing.⁹⁶ Equity and tackling rural poverty rates are high on the agenda for the NAIP as its main purpose is “to identify and prioritize key investments and policy changes needed to enhance agricultural productivity growth in Zambia in ways that will contribute to poverty reduction and inclusive economic growth”⁹⁷. Table 11 details in what ways smallholder farmers and the two key stakeholder groups of women and youth are included in the NAIP policy document.

As suggested by Table 11, gender is given a prominent role in the policy formulations, cutting across the four NAIP programmes. In addition, there is an aspiration towards gender sensitivity in terms of agricultural research funding and monitoring and evaluation, where the data for the latter is disaggregated by gender. With respect to youth, the NAIP states that “a deliberate effort will also be made to ensure that youth benefit from all interventions that will be designed and implemented”⁹⁸ with respect to the programme on Agricultural production and productivity improvement specifically. The policy documents are however thin on the details of how this will be ensured.

Table 11: Focus of the Zambian National Agricultural Investment Plan focus on AgriFose2030 target groups, smallholders, women and youth.

Programmes	Smallholders	Women	Youth
1: Sustainable natural resources management	Increase landownership by smallholders, promote climate-friendly energy sources (e.g. biogas)	Women will be encouraged to request for land titles	N/A
2: Agricultural production and productivity improvement	Better targeting of Farmer Input Support Programme to smallholders, training regarding Good Agricultural Practices (GAP) incl. mechanization	At least 30% of beneficiaries must be women, promotion of technologies that are gender sensitive	A deliberate effort will also be made to ensure that youth benefit from all interventions
3: Market access and services development	Improve access to price and market information for farmers, access to agricultural finance, promote farmers organisations and cooperatives, access to electricity	Value chain integration that will target at least 30% of female beneficiaries	N/A
4: Food and nutrition security and disaster risk management	Combat food and nutrition insecurity of rural HHs	N/A	N/A

Regarding the cross-cutting issues of the AgriFoSe2030 programme, one of the four NAIP programmes (1: *Sustainable Natural Resources Management*) is dedicated to sustainable intensification and deals with issues such as efficient water-use, reduction of land degradation and the promotion of agro-forestry. Another programme component of the NAIP is devoted to this market access and linkages (3: *Market access and services development*).

National agricultural stakeholders regularly meet in the Agricultural Consultative forum, which brings together government, the private sector and civil society organisations in agriculture to foster policy dialogue. Stakeholders were also heavily involved in the development of the NAIP⁹⁹. Some important non-governmental national stakeholders in Zambia are:

- Eastern and Southern Africa Small-scale farmer’s Forum (ESAFF) Zambia
- Zambia National Farmers Union
- The Conservation farming unit
- The Agribusiness Forum
- Indaba Agricultural Policy Research Institute

Evaluating Zambian agricultural policy

While much attention is devoted to smallholders in the policy documents, it must be noted that Zambian agricultural policy has been criticized for its inequality, related in part to the construction of the subsidy packages for fertilizer. Indeed agricultural spending policies are linked to growing differentiation within the smallholder sector and the rise of a class of “emergent” farmers.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the allocation of public resources to fertilizer subsidies, like in Malawi, leaves little room in the budget for investment in structural change of the agricultural sector and with little effect on the agricultural growth rate.

Concluding remarks

While the pan-African ambitions with respect to the three cross-cutting areas of AgriFose2030 – sustainable intensification, gender and youth and commercialization - have increased since the signing of the Maputo Declaration, figures on public expenditure cast doubt on the national commitment to the CAADP process. Nonetheless, it is heartening to note that an early focus on smallholders in general, has been followed by a recognition of the importance of the role of women and youth in achieving the twin goals of commercialization and intensification.

All of the country level policies documented in this report contain focus areas on smallholders, sustainable intensification and commercialization, while many also focus on both women and youth.

Challenges of implementation differ from one country to another, however In Kenya, ethno-regional rivalries and strong aspects of local level differentiation pose a challenge, whereas in Malawi and Zambia expensive fertilizer subsidy programmes drain resources from other interventions. In the case of Tanzania public private partnerships raise concerns. Moreover, changes in access and ownership of key agricultural resources (especially land) in all four countries since the early 2000s – suggest that while policies are ostensibly smallholder focused, there has been growing differentiation within the sector and between smallholders and emergent or middle scale farmers.¹⁰¹

Notes

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Appendix 1: Abbreviations

AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
ASARECA	Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa
ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
ASWAp	Agriculture Sector-Wide Approach
AU	African Union
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CCARDESA	Center for Coordination of Agriculture Research and Development for Southern Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
EAFF	Eastern Africa Farmers Federation
EAGC	East African Grain Council
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ECOWAS	Economic Community Of West African States
ESAFF	Eastern and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers' Forum
FANRPAN	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FISP	Farm Input Subsidy Programme
FTA	Free Trade Area
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
NAIP	National Agricultural Investment Plan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPCA	New Partnership for Africa's Development Planning and Coordinating Agency
NSA	Non-State Actors
RAP	Regional Agricultural Policy
REC	Regional Economic Community
ReSAKSS	Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System
RUFORUM	Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture
SACAU	Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SRA	Strategy for Revitalising Agriculture
TAFSIP	Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan