A STUDY OF POLICIES, FRAMEWORKS AND MECHANISMS RELATED TO AGROECOLOGY AND SUSTAINABLE FOOD SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

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The Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa brings together small-scale food producers, pastoralists, fisherfolk, indigenous peoples, farmers’ networks, faith groups, consumer associations, youth associations, civil societies and activists from across the continent of Africa to create a united and louder voice for food sovereignty.

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A Study of Policies, Frameworks and Mechanisms Related to Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems in Africa
This report presents a review of international and regional agroecology (AE) and food sovereignty (FS) policies and assesses the extent of their implementation in selected countries: Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia. The review was undertaken to facilitate provision of high quality policy support to influence policy makers in the region to develop and implement AE and FS. The report also identifies existing bottlenecks and policy gaps inhibiting advancement of FS and AE in the region. It further recommends strategies to inform the work of AFSA and its partners going forward to advance community voices on the transition to agroecology in Africa. Policy makers can also use the findings to inform policy review and change processes.

The review involved primarily the study and analysis of the following AE and FS related international instruments: UDHR; Agenda 21; CBD; ITPGRFA; VGrTF; VGGT; Rome Declaration on Nutrition; CFS-FFA; VGSSF and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; Paris Agreement on Climate Change and Sendai Framework for Action on Disaster Risk Reduction (thereafter referred to as Sendai Framework). The report further analysed the extent to which AU, COMESA, CEN-SAD, UMA, EAC, ECCAS, ECOWAS, IGAD and SADC regulatory frameworks comply with the above international obligations. Case studies to support the findings were drawn from an analysis of Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia country regulatory frameworks.

The analysis drew conclusions that most AU policies were largely driven by donor influence, conditionality from structural adjustment programs (SAPS), and multinational companies such as Monsanto, Syngenta and Yara who pushed for intensification of the use of chemical fertilizers, hybrid seeds and pesticides. There was little or no consultation to get the views of women, smallholder farmers, pastoralists, fisherfolk, and consumers who are impacted by these policies. To support this neoliberal approach, the AU adopted the Abuja Fertilizer Declaration (2006), followed by the establishment of the Africa Fertilizer Agribusiness Partnership (AFAP). These policies shaped how the Maputo Declaration was implemented. For example the Zambia government implemented the Farmer Input Subsidy Fertilizers Programme (FISP) to promote maize production. This concentration on maize has created monocultures and neglected the production of other high nutrient crops such as sorghum, beans, rice, wheat, barley and vegetables.

The high statistics on food insecurity in the region is evidence of the failure of industrial neoliberal policies. Approximately 153 million people, representing about 26% of the population above 15 years of age in Sub-Saharan Africa, suffered from severe food insecurity in 2014/15 (FAO, 2017). The prevalence of severe food insecurity in middle Africa and eastern Africa corresponds to an estimated 26 million and 62 million individuals respectively, aged 15 years or more (FAO, 2017). The situation does not seem to get better as the continent continues to face AE and FS inhibitory factors such as land degradation, climate change, growing population, conflict, political instability and high prevalence of poverty challenges. Roughly 28% of rural Africa’s farmers’ cultivation
land is considered to be degrading over time (Barbier & Hochard, 2016). For example, Togo has been ranked first among the West African countries with an alarming rate of forest degradation because of its 5.5% rate of total degradation per year (FAO, 2010). Climate change is also expected to reduce yields from rain-fed crops in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa by 50 per cent as early as 2020, resulting in an additional 24 million undernourished children and putting between 40 and 170 million more people at risk of hunger worldwide (A. Evans, 2009).

Africa’s growing population and urbanization is forcing governments to rely on cheap and often highly processed subsidized imports. Farmers cannot compete on the price of subsidized imports leading to the decline or stagnation in domestic food production. Opening up markets also disturbs developing countries’ agricultural exports (Oxfam, 2004), because farmers no longer produce food for their local markets (UCS, 2016). The case of Togo is an example of how Africa can be turned into a net food importing country. In 2014, Togo spent USD185 million on food imports (FAO, 2015). In 2015, its cereal imports represented 25% of food imports (Ntagungira, 2016).

To address the above challenges, the AU signed and endorsed various declarations and protocols. The Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods (2014) recommitted member states to: ending hunger in Africa by 2025 and enhancing resilience of livelihoods and production systems to climate variability. The AU also developed Guiding Principles on Large Scale Land Based Investments in Africa to regulate access of land by foreign investors. In tandem with the agreement of the 2030 Agenda on SDGs, the region also developed agreements and strategies to support these global efforts such as: the African Regional Nutrition Strategy (RNS) (2016-2025); Tripartite Free Trade Area Agreement (TFTA) (June 2015); The AU Agenda 2063 for long-term development and the Ecological Organic Agriculture (EOA) Initiative (2015 – 2025). Similar processes were undertaken at the sub-regional level, resulting in the development of: CEN-SAD Rabat Declaration (2013); UMA Small-Scale Agriculture (SSA) for Inclusive Development; EAC Agricultural and Rural Development Policy (ARDP) (2005-2030); Vision 2050 on Agriculture; Food Security and Rural Development (2016); ECCAS Agricultural Investment Plans (2015-2025); ECOWAS Common Regional Agricultural Policy (2025); IGAD Policies on Combating Drought in Eastern Africa (2016); SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) (2015–2020); the Food and Nutrition Security Strategy (FNSS) (2015 – 2025); and the Regional Agricultural Policy Investment Plan (RAPIP) (2017-2021). However, despite remarkable progress made to develop policies in support of the SDGs, a lot still has to be done either to repeal inconsistent policies or align processes. For example, the AU must consider repealing or amending the Abuja Declaration on Fertilizer and ensure that the implementation of Guidelines for Sustainable Bioenergy Development in Africa does not inhibit FS and AE but aligns with the EOA Initiative.

On the other hand, although the AU and the RECs provide platforms for articulation of policy concepts, standards and guidelines, it is at the national level that the opportunity for their implementation exists. National governments hold responsibility for policy implementation, and can, with the relevant political will and appropriate institutional capacities and resources, convert policy obligations into strategies and plans that translate into benefits for smallholder farmers. It is therefore key for the AU to develop proper guidance on the implementation of the SDGs to ensure policy coherence. In addition, the region has to develop monitoring mechanisms to ensure that the AE and FS policies are effectively translated into action. As witnessed in the review of Ethiopian policies, a country can have a good policy on paper with poor or zero implementation.

It is also evident from the study that while spaces for participation of stakeholders in policy formulation are increasingly open and clear, such
as the establishment of Pan-African Farmers’ Organization [PAFO] in 2010 to contribute towards policy formulation and implementation, processes are largely controlled by governments. Where engaged, the private sector, civil society and farmers’ organizations tend to have limited capacity for engaging with and effectively influencing policy implementation processes.

The review ends by providing recommendations to AFSA members and other actors to influence and monitor implementation of appropriate AE and FS policies in the region.

1. **Identify gaps** in all regulatory frameworks on food systems not in alignment with the transition to agroecology, the 2030 Agenda on SDGs and related international obligations. Promote stakeholder engagement in the review processes to work to ensure that policies remove obstacles and biases such as chemical input subsidies; support agroecological approaches to restore soil biodiversity and soil health; strengthen security of land tenure for small-scale farmers.

2. **Actively engage in international and regional forums on agriculture, food security, rural development and climate change to push forward the AE and FS agenda.** These include meetings of the ITPGRFA, CBD, UNFCCC, Sendai Framework on DRR, High Level Panel of Experts to review SDGs, and CFS/CSM. At the regional level, it is important to engage at conferences on Land Policy in Africa, Expert Group Meetings on SDGs, Africa Economic Conferences, and Symposiums on Food and Nutrition Security.

3. **Recognise the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** as a key supportive framework for AE and FS. The 2030 Agenda recognises that sustainable management of natural resources is relevant to achieving all the Sustainable Development Goals, and acknowledges the crucial role of biodiversity and ecosystem services for the well being of people and planet.

4. **Monitor the policy review processes** and encourage them to be truly participative, iterative and transparent process to ensure that those whose lives will be affected, particularly women, are included in creating the policies that govern their livelihoods.

5. **Engage with key stakeholders** such as within UNECA and sub-regional secretariats, and chairs of thematic areas (particularly on natural resources, gender, governance, regional integration and trade) that are leading discussion on agriculture and food security issues.

6. **Encourage** the Pan-African Farmers’ Organization (PAFO) to prioritize Agroecology and Food Sovereignty in its post 2017 strategy.

7. **Encourage** the development of cross sector integrated NAFSIPs indicators covering issues of land governance, gender, agroecology, financial inclusion, market access, farmers rights to seeds, delivery of public services to promote sustainable agriculture, social protection and fair trade.

8. **Build the capacity of civil society** to engage in consultative policy review processes at national level, and monitor national implementation of SDGs, CBD Aichi Targets and Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and to promote eco-friendly agricultural policies.

9. **Develop simple communication materials on SDG targets and indicators** in support of agroecological approaches - to raise awareness, and build the capacity of local networks to effectively engage with policymakers.

10. **Recognize and commend** countries with active agroecology food sovereignty policy processes, particularly within SADC, EAC and WAEMU regions.

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1 Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR); Rio Principles on Sustainable Development (Agenda 21); Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD); International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGRFA); Voluntary Guidelines on the Progressive Realization of the Right to Food (VGRtF); Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Lands (VGGT); Rome Declaration on Nutrition; Framework for Action for Food Security and Nutrition in Protracted Crises (CFS-FFA); The Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (VGSSF) and the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development.
Conclusions and Recommendations for Agroecology and Food Sovereignty

References

Appendix: Three Case Studies: Country Experiences of Implementing New Policies
A Study of Policies, Frameworks and Mechanisms Related to Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems in Africa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Agroecology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGIR</td>
<td>Global Alliance for Resilience (AGIR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGRA</td>
<td>Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFAP</td>
<td>African Fertilizer Agribusiness Partnership</td>
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<td>AfDB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFR100</td>
<td>African Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFSA</td>
<td>Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGIR</td>
<td>Global Alliance for Resilience</td>
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<tr>
<td>APACC</td>
<td>Agriculture Sector Programme Plan on Adaptation to Climate Change</td>
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<td>APACU</td>
<td>Arab Peasants and Agricultural Cooperative Union</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>Africa Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>Africa Union Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAADP</td>
<td>Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme</td>
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<td>CAP</td>
<td>Common Agricultural Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEN-SAD</td>
<td>Community of Sahel-Saharan States</td>
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<td>CFS</td>
<td>Committee on Food Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMESA</td>
<td>Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa</td>
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<td>CSM</td>
<td>Civil Society Mechanism</td>
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<td>CSW</td>
<td>Committee on the Status of Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>DREA</td>
<td>Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>Eastern Africa Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAC-ARDP</td>
<td>East Africa Common Agriculture and Development Policy</td>
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<td>EAFF</td>
<td>Eastern African Farmers Federation</td>
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<td>EAOM</td>
<td>East African Organic Mark</td>
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<td>EAOPS</td>
<td>East African Organic Products Standard</td>
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<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAP</td>
<td>Agricultural Policy of ECOWAS</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>EOA</td>
<td>Ecological Organic Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations</td>
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<td>FISP</td>
<td>Farmer Input Support Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNSS</td>
<td>Food and Nutrition Security Strategy</td>
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<td>FRA</td>
<td>Food Reserve Agency.</td>
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<td>FS</td>
<td>Food Sovereignty</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GGWSSI</td>
<td>Great Green Wall for the Sahara and the Sahel Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMOs</td>
<td>Genetically Modified Organisms</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAASTD</td>
<td>International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development</td>
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<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDDRSI</td>
<td>IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICN</td>
<td>International Conference on Nutrition</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICPAC</td>
<td>IGAD Climate Prediction and Application Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFA</td>
<td>International Fertilizer Industry Association</td>
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<td>IFDC</td>
<td>International Fertilizer Development Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFPRI</td>
<td>International Food Policy Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority on Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPI</td>
<td>International Potash Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>ITPGRFA</td>
<td>International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>KOAN</td>
<td>Kenya Organic Agriculture Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>LPI</td>
<td>Land Policy Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFSIPs</td>
<td>National Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plans</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFSN</td>
<td>New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NFSA</td>
<td>National Food Security Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOGAMU</td>
<td>National Organic Agriculture Movement in Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>PADAT</td>
<td>Project d’Appui au Development Agricole au Togo</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASA</td>
<td>Project d’Appui au Secteur Agricole</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROPAC</td>
<td>Regional Platform of Farmers’ and Producers’ Organizations of Central Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRRAF</td>
<td>Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAIP</td>
<td>Regional Agricultural Investment Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAPPIP</td>
<td>Regional Agricultural Policy Investment Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>RFSPCA</td>
<td>Regional Food Security Project for Central Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>RGTLFF</td>
<td>Responsible Governance of Tenure of Lands, Fisheries and Forests</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROPPA</td>
<td>Network of Farmers’ and Agricultural Producers’ Organisations of West Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACAU</td>
<td>Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern Africa Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>SARD</td>
<td>Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFTA</td>
<td>Tripartite Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>TOAM</td>
<td>Tanzania Organization Agriculture Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>TSI</td>
<td>The Sulphur Institute (TSI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration on Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>UEMOA</td>
<td>Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMA</td>
<td>Arab Magreb Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMAFRI</td>
<td>North African Farmers’ Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFCCC</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Climate Change</td>
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<td>UNISDR</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>VG</td>
<td>Voluntary Guidelines</td>
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<tr>
<td>VGSFF</td>
<td>Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAEMU</td>
<td>West African Economic and Monetary Union</td>
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</table>
Traditionally, food production in Africa followed agroecological principles of farming. The farming system was based on shifting cultivation and bush fallow farming (agroforestry). Under these practices, soil fertility was periodically restored to cultivated land by the shifting of cultivation to fresh, rested ground, allowing the recently cultivated land to rest and recover.

The use of external inputs such as chemical fertilizers and pesticides was minimal, with farmers occasionally applying organic manure. Pesticides were only used when other options were ineffective (integrated pest management). Similarly, animal production was practiced as an extensive free-range system in which pastoralists moved with their herds to seek new pastures by following the seasonal rains (sustainable pastoral livelihoods).

Zero tillage, crop rotation, multiple cropping and intercropping (integrated nutrient management) were also adopted as effective strategies to maximize land productivity without endangering soil fertility (conservation agriculture). This strategy ensured a varied diet and helped to stabilize the food supply against climatic and seasonal shortages. For fishing communities, they incorporated fish, shrimps and other aquatic resources into farm systems, such as into irrigated rice fields and fishponds, leading to increases in protein production (aquaculture).

However, traditional systems of land use, farming practices and cropping patterns are all changing as small-scale farmers face growing demands from markets to liberalize trade and to use chemicals to increase production in order feed the growing population (FAO, 2016). This transition from subsistence farming to cash crop farming offers the opportunity to increase income, but it also harbours considerable risks as production of cash crops is often accompanied by pressure to use a variety of additional inputs such as improved seeds, pesticides, and fertilizers.

To develop solutions that will address the malnutrition and food security challenges in Africa, one also has to understand the diverse food systems in the region and develop particular solutions for each farming system instead of adopting a one-size-fits-all approach. The map below highlights the different climatic regions in Africa (Source: FAO, 1986). For example, in the Sudano-Sahelian region, millets are recommended as the primary crop, suitable for the largest area of land, since they require less moisture, while sorghum is dominant in sub humid and semi-arid southern Africa. Maize is to be preferred in terms of suitability for the largest areas in humid and sub humid West Africa and sub humid and mountainous East Africa. In humid Central Africa, the most appropriate crop choice for the widest land area is cassava. Attempts to grow crops that are not suited to the prevailing ecological conditions will often result in low yields or crop failure, with consequent adverse effects on food security. With a deep understanding of what a holistic, ecological view of the food system can be, the change needed to restore sustainability to food systems can occur.
Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to: a) describe the policy making path that Africa has been on, aimed at reducing hunger and pursuing food security and sovereignty in the region, b) review and analyse relevant international and regional laws, regulations and mechanisms to determine how they undermine or support an enabling environment to promote food sovereignty, agroecology, nutrition and gender equality, c) show where that historic policy making path would likely lead in the coming years without significant change in policy, and d) outline the conditions and actions necessary to put Africa on track to eliminating hunger and food insecurity through investments into food sovereignty and agroecological farming systems which promote gender equity.

Objectives of the Study

Analyse relevant international, regional and sub-regional laws, regulations and mechanisms to determine how they undermine or support an enabling environment to promote food sovereignty, nutrition and gender equality. These include guidelines and frameworks developed by the: UN, AU, UMA, COMESA, CEN-SAD, EAC, ECCAS, ECOWAS, WAEMU), IGAD and SADC.

a. Assess compliance of regional and international obligations at the national level. Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia were selected as a sample.

b. Identify existing policy gaps and the Africa-specific lock-ins that prevent change and maintain industrial agriculture as the dominant agricultural development approach.
c. Provide detailed recommendations on how to meaningfully engage on policy-making processes for strengthening the legal and policy environment to promote agroecology and achieve food sovereignty in Africa.

Expected Use of the Study

a. This report provides recommendations on entry points and advocacy actions required to create and strengthen food systems and agroecology related legal, regulatory and policy frameworks in Africa.

b. Secondly, the report provides recommendations on policy spaces, forums, meetings, key actors and platforms for potential advocacy interventions in policy-making processes so as to advance community voices on the transition to agroecology in Africa.

c. Lastly, the report also promotes evidence-based policy advocacy to influence policy makers to use the findings to inform policy review and change.

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2 Population growth is also expected to be rapidly growing and by 2050, it is projected that the majority of the population in most African countries is likely to be in urban areas. Within the eight WAEMU countries, the population grew from 40 million to 80 million between 1980 and 2005.

3 To increase yields, farmers are encouraged to purchase hybrid or improved seeds in place of their own local varieties saved from the previous harvest. The farmer often requires credit to purchase not only the improved seeds but also the appropriate fertilizers and pesticides. A farmer growing cash crops therefore faces the risk of going into debt, especially if payment for the previous cash crop is delayed. Cash crop production can thus be expected to have a positive impact on nutrition when the income it provides more than offsets not only the food production that is foregone, but also any rise in food prices that may result from an increased demand for purchased food and the freeing of prices.
A Study of Policies, Frameworks and Mechanisms Related to Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems in Africa
Brief History of Agricultural and Food Systems Policy Development

In order to understand some of the existing bottlenecks to Agroecology and Food Sovereignty in Africa, one has to understand the historical background of agricultural policy making processes in the region. This section highlights the influence of the following factors in shaping food systems policies:

a. Structural adjustment programs;

b. The push for agricultural modernization resulting in the dominance of multinational companies in policy-making processes.

Structural Adjustment Programs

African rural development was transformed by the spread of neoliberal political agendas, including the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) of the 1980s and 1990s. Governments faced greater conditionality structures to remove agricultural subsidies and domestic protection policies in compliance with the World Trade Organization agreement (Dorward, Kydd, Morrison, & Urey, 2004). The reforms were intended to eliminate costly marketing boards and to reduce the distortions affecting producer prices and incentives in order to improve the efficiency of agricultural markets (ODI, 2013). As a result, many countries in Africa reformed their food staple marketing systems and reduced the scope of state intervention (Coulter and Poulton, 2001). However, this wave of reforms did not lead to improvements in the development of the food staple value chain as poor smallholder farmers were pushed out of the market by the imports of cheap subsidized food.

The Push for Agricultural Modernization

SAPs paved the way for the dominance of industrial agriculture in the region as the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) and its associated African Fertilizer Agribusiness Partnership (AFAP), the G8’s New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition4 (ACB, 2014), as well as several multinational corporations, including fertilizer giant Yara and Monsanto pushed for the harmonization of fertilizer policies and intensification of their use (Fitzpatrick, 2015) and for the substantial transformation for rural farmers from a traditional system of supporting subsistence and local trade to the adoption of modern seed varieties, inputs, and credit in order to specialize in marketable crops and achieve increased production and income.

The International Fertilizer Development Center (IFDC) has also been working in Africa since 1987 to promote the harmonization of fertilizer policies and regulations in East and Southern Africa, with funding from AGRA, International Fertiliser Industry Association (IFA), the International Plant Nutrition Institute (IPNI), the Sulphur Institute (TSI) and the International Potash Institute (IPI). The International Fertilizer Development Center (IFDC) also funds research into increasing fertilizer use and has provided US$ 20 million to fund the West African Fertilizer Project from 2012 to 2017 (ACB, 2016). As a result, these corporations wielded a disproportionate amount of power, essentially deciding what food is to be grown, where and how it is to be grown, what food is bought, what should be eaten and how much consumers must pay.

The push for increased fertilizer consumption across the continent is also most clearly...
articulated in the Abuja Declaration on Fertilizers (2006). The Abuja Declaration, calls for countries to increase their average fertilizer use to 50 kg/ha using, if necessary, ‘smart’ subsidy programs (ACB, 2016). While the Declaration demonstrates some focus on the use of organic farming, conservation agriculture and grain-legume intercropping to build up soil health, its dominant focus is on synthetic fertilizer and ways in which to create awareness of, boost the demand for, facilitate access to, and assist with the purchase of such fertilizer.

In 2011, the African Fertilizer Agribusiness Partnership, a collaborative partnership between NEPAD, the African Development Bank, the IFDC and the Agricultural Markets Development Trust) was established to support the regional harmonization of fertilizer policies and regulations and entrenchment into national agriculture plans in COMESA and ECOWAS. For example, in 2012, ECOWAS and the Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine adopted a regulatory framework on fertilizers at Abidjan, Cote D’Ivoire in December 2012 calling for the establishment of a Committee on fertilizer control (Wanzala & Groot, 2014). In 2014, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) also developed its Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of the SADC, which supports a structural transformation of the region’s agriculture-dependent economies by facilitating public-private partnerships that enhance the production and distribution of improved seed and fertilizers. The industrialization policy of the East African Community (EAC) 2012–2032 and Vision 20506 has also earmarked fertilizers as a priority area (ACB, 2016)6.

However, AGRA policies had limited success in sub-Saharan Africa, due in part to locally unsuitable seed varieties (Evenson & Gollin, 2003) and a lack of human and institutional capacity (Denning et al., 2009). The continent is still facing high rates of malnutrition, hunger and poverty. The most recent estimates of food insecurity reveal that approximately 218 million people were undernourished in sub-Saharan Africa (FAO, 2017). This share is projected to rise to 31% by 2050 and to 34% by the end of this century as the region’s population is projected to quadruple to roughly 4 billion people (Africa Agriculture Status Report, 2016). In moving towards the sustainability of agricultural production and food security, the broader context in which food production systems operate and the constraints smallholder farmers face have to be taken into account. In particular, land degradation, competition for land, loss of biodiversity, natural resources management and climate change.

**NEPAD-CAADP Processes**

Due to the failure of SAPs and AGRA initiatives to propose workable solutions for Africa to feed itself, the region has seen a number of initiatives being implemented. The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) was birthed in 2003 as Africa’s policy framework for agricultural transformation, wealth creation, food security and nutrition, economic growth and prosperity for all. In Maputo, Mozambique, in 2003, the African Union (AU) Summit made the first declaration on CAADP as an integral part of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). As of 2015, 41 African Union Member States had signed CAADP compacts, 33 of which have developed formal national agriculture and food security investment plans and these have become their medium term expenditure frameworks for agriculture, thus resulting in improved agricultural planning. At the regional level, four out of eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs) had signed regional compacts out of which three have developed complete investment plans. However, the implementation of CAADP Framework at the country level did not achieve the intended results to end hunger and malnutrition in the region.
This section reviews and analyses the relevant international, regional and national laws to assess the extent to which they support or inhibit Agroecology and Food Sovereignty in the region.

The first section reviews the international policy framework. The second part assesses the extent to which the Africa Union and sub-regional policies align with global commitments. The last section substantiates the adequacies and inadequacies of the regional policy frameworks in providing clear guidelines to influence effective implementation at the national level.

Prior to the 1990s, there has been growing concern about the sustainability of agriculture to feed the growing population in harmony with nature as highlighted in Agenda 21 of the Rio Conference (1991). *Agenda 21 of the Rio Declaration* provided a comprehensive action to increase food production in a sustainable way and to enhance food security. Shortly after the Rio Conference, member States adopted the *Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)* in 1993, which made a dramatic step forward in the “conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components, and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the use of genetic resources”. The CBD was adopted concurrently with its supplementary agreement, the *Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety (CPB)*, with the objective to protect bio- and agro-biodiversity from the potential risks posed by living modified organisms resulting from modern biotechnology.

Over the years, there has been recognition of the importance of AE to achieve food security. *The 2004 Voluntary Guidelines on the Progressive Realization of the Right to Food (VGRtF)* makes clear reference to the need to develop specific AE regulatory frameworks. Guideline 8:13 encourages states to consider “specific national policies, legal instruments and supporting mechanisms to protect ecological sustainability and the carrying capacity of ecosystems to ensure the possibility for increased, sustainable food production for present and future generations, prevent water pollution, protect the fertility of the soil, and promote the sustainable management of fisheries and forestry.” However, achieving the transition to AE is faced with a number of bottlenecks where international obligations are in conflict of each other. For example, the emergence of the requirement of seed laws to comply with extensive UPOV and TRIPS criteria of distinctiveness, uniformity and stability (DUS) poses a challenge to seed sovereignty. The DUS is extensive and expensive and farmers do not generally have the means to get their own seed approved for sale. The DUS requirements therefore contribute to growing corporate control over the entire seed market.

The *International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGRFA)* was adopted in 2001 to address the challenges posed by plant breeders’ rights (PBRs). The treaty promotes “the development and maintenance of diverse farming systems that enhance the sustainable use of agricultural biological diversity and other natural resources.” Article 9 further “encourages member states to develop seed laws which do not restrict farmers’ rights to save, use, exchange and sell farm-saved seed/propagating materials.” Supportive guidelines were also developed such as Guideline 8:12 of the VGRtF which encourages member states to develop “specific national policies, legal instruments and supporting mechanisms to prevent the erosion of and ensure the conservation and sustainable use of genetic resources for food and agriculture, …including, as appropriate, the participation of local and indigenous communities and farmers.
in making national decisions on matters related to the conservation and sustainable use of genetic resources for food and agriculture.”

Agroecology principles also recognize the role of women in agroecological farming systems. This study noted that existing policy frameworks are comprehensive enough to address gender equity issues. What is lacking is implementation. Guideline 2:5 of the VGRF encourages States “to pursue inclusive, non-discriminatory and sound economic, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, land-use, and, as appropriate, land-reform policies, all of which will permit farmers, fishers, foresters and other food producers, particularly women7, to earn a fair return from their labour, capital and management, and encourage conservation and sustainable management of natural resources, including in marginal areas.” The VGGT further reiterates the importance of ensuring that women and girls have equal tenure rights and access to land, fisheries and forests independent of their civil and marital status. Their contribution to nutritious diverse diets is also recognized by the 2014 Rome Declaration on Nutrition and states that: “family farmers and small holders, notably women farmers, play an important role in reducing malnutrition and should be supported by integrated and multi-sectoral public policies.” In addition, the 2015 FFA on Food and Nutrition Security in Protracted Crisis (FAO, 2015) calls member states to: “implement nutrition-sensitive and gender-sensitive policies and actions across sectors, including those related to food systems, agriculture, food safety, health, hygiene and sanitation, social protection, and education.”

Security of land tenure is also the backbone for Food Sovereignty and influences how the owner sustainably manages it. As a result, the 2014 Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems were developed to address the challenges of land grabbing in developing countries and reinforce the need to foster gender equality. Principle 5 calls for the “respect of tenure of land, fisheries, forests and access to water rights.”

There is also now a growing recognition of the importance of fish on human healthy diets. To promote sustainable fishing practices, the 2015 VGSSF recognizes the importance of “achieving the sustainable utilization, prudent and responsible management and conservation of fisheries resources.” The guidelines also “promote the contribution of small-scale fisheries to an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable future for the planet and its people”, and the need “to provide guidance that could be considered by States and stakeholders for the development and implementation of ecosystem friendly and participatory policies, strategies and legal frameworks for the enhancement of responsible and sustainable small-scale fisheries.”

**The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs)**

The most recent agreed overarching framework on agroecology and food sovereignty is the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and its sister agreements: Paris Agreement on Climate Change and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction. The Preamble of the SD Goals sums up the importance of agroecology in providing the needs of both the present and the future generations.

- **Prosperity:** “We are determined to ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives and that economic, social and technological progress occurs in harmony with nature.”

- **People:** “We are determined to end poverty and hunger, in all their forms and dimensions, and to ensure that all human beings can fulfil their potential in dignity and equality and in a healthy environment.”

- **Planet:** “We are determined to protect the planet from degradation, including through sustainable consumption and production, sustainably managing its natural resources and taking urgent action on climate change, so that it can support the needs of the present and future generation.”

Sustainable Development Goal 2 ties food
sovereignty and food security together, while promoting sustainable agriculture in line with agroecology. Specifically, Target 2.4 calls on member states to ‘ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters, and that progressively improve land and soil quality by 2030.’

“Only sustainable methods of food production can ensure a continued supply of food for the growing population of the future”

Olivier De Schutter, UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food

Table 1 below highlights the extent to which the SDGs provide a conducive policy environment to promote agroecology and food sovereignty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lock-ins in Africa</th>
<th>SDGs &amp; Targets</th>
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| Climate Variability | **Target 13:2:** Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning.  
**Target 13:3:** Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning. |
| Land Degradation | **Target 12:2:** By 2030, achieve the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources.  
**Target 12:8:** By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature. |
| Trade Liberalization | **Target 2:8:** Adopt measures to ensure the proper functioning of food commodity markets and their derivatives and facilitate timely access to market information, including on food reserves, in order to help limit extreme food price volatility. |
| Evolution of the seed legislation to meet UPOV standards | **Target 2.7:** By 2020, the genetic diversity of cultivated plants and farmed and domesticated animals and of wild relatives, including other socioeconomically as well as culturally valuable species, is maintained, and strategies have been developed and implemented for minimizing genetic erosion and safeguarding their genetic diversity. |
| Neglect of nutrition and diverse diets | **Target 2:1:** By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round.  
**Target 15:9:** By 2020, integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into national and local planning, development processes, poverty reduction strategies and accounts.  
**Target 14: 2:** By 2020, sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems to avoid significant adverse impacts, including by strengthening their resilience, and take action for their restoration in order to achieve healthy and productive oceans. |
Interconnectedness of the SDGs with other Agroecology Policy Frameworks

The convergence of the 2030 SDG Agenda, Paris Agreement on Climate Change, Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, UN Decade on Biodiversity (2011-2020) and the Decade of Action on Nutrition (2016–2025) thus provides a ripe opportunity to push the agroecology agenda. This 5-year overlap of global action offers a rare opportunity to bring together biodiversity and nutrition in novel ways for positive benefits to both (Bioversity International, 2017). This section highlights the interconnectedness of these processes.

CBD Aichi Biodiversity Targets (ATs)

Most ATs are supportive of all AE SDG objectives. The AT provides strong connections with the SDGs recognizing the role biodiversity plays to achieve food security. Notably, agricultural biodiversity provides environmental services (soil, water, habitat, and pollinators) and supports the sustainability and resilience of agricultural systems. It can provide a diverse and nutritious diet, contribute to health, and support the maintenance of traditional knowledge and cultural identity (GIZ, 2015).

The objectives to end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, promote sustainable agriculture (SDG2) and ensure healthy lives (SDG3) depend on responsible (SDG12) and sustainable (AT4) consumption and production. The climate (SDG13) affects and is affected by agricultural and forest production practices. Sustainable production in agriculture, forestry and fisheries protects life on land (SDG15), reduces pollution (AT8), safeguards ecosystems and their essential services (AT14), and restores degraded ecosystems and resilience (AT15), ensuring conservation of biodiversity (AT7). Healthy ecosystems are underpinned by genetic diversity (AT13, SDG Target 2.5), which, in turn, contributes back to food and nutrition security. Genetic diversity is maintained also in wild relatives of domesticated animals and crops in protected areas (AT11). Across all elements and their linkages, scientific knowledge relating to biodiversity, its values, functioning, status and trends, and the consequences of its loss, needs to be improved, shared and applied (AT19), and included in national biodiversity strategies and action plans (AT17).
Paris Agreement on Climate Change

The Paris Agreement builds on previous recognition of the links between agriculture, food security and climate change (Article 4c). Under the Paris Agreement, each party to the UNFCCC must prepare and maintain a nationally determined contribution (NDC), which must be renewed every five years and made publicly available. An NDC is meant to guide country-level climate action and include targets and strategies for addressing the drivers of climate change and responding to its effects. A recent FAO analysis showed more than 90 per cent of countries included agriculture-related sectors in their contributions, with the least-developed countries emphasizing agriculture sectors for both mitigation and adaptation (FAO, 2016).

Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction

Priority 3 of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction also aligns with the 2030 Agenda through supporting ecosystems approaches to mitigate disasters. It calls upon governments to increase investments “in disaster risk reduction for resilience, specifically strengthening the sustainable use and management of ecosystems; implementing integrated environmental and natural resource management approaches that incorporate disaster risk reduction; increasing business resilience and protection of livelihoods and productive assets throughout the supply chains; ensure continuity of services and integrate disaster risk management into business models and practices.”

Voluntary Guidelines (VGs) on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Lands, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (2012) also reiterated the principle of gender equality, calling upon States to “ensure that women and girls have equal tenure rights and access to land, fisheries and forests independent of their civil and marital status.”
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The pan-African member states have taken notable steps to develop declarations, protocols, treaties and guidelines to address identified food insecurity challenges and support member states translate their global obligations into national policies and laws.

Shifting away from neoliberal agricultural policies, the impacts of climate change and the growing population is now pushing the region to rethink about the best agricultural practices that:

a. Do not have adverse effects on the environment (partly because the environment is an important asset for farming) and,

b. Are accessible to and effective for farmers, and lead both to improvements in food productivity and have positive side effects on environmental goods and services.

There is now greater realization than ever that, to achieve this transformation, change is needed in all parts of the food system, from the seed and the soil to the table (Gliessman & Rosemeyer, 2010). Those who grow the food, those who eat it, and those who move the food between the two must all be connected in a social movement that honours the deep relationship between culture and the environment that created agriculture in the first place. This section will highlight main provisions supportive to Agroecology and Food Sovereignty and assess the extent of their implementation, drawing conclusions mainly from Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia as case studies.

Regional Policy Frameworks

Maputo Declaration

At the Pan-Africa level, the region has developed multiple frameworks to address food security challenges inhibiting the enjoyment of the right to food. To note is the 2003 Maputo Declaration, which committed member states to allocate at least 10% of their national budgets to agriculture. Africa as a whole has not met the 10% target; since 1980, the annual average has been between 4% and 6%. However, progress towards the implementation of the Maputo Declaration has been varied over the years. According to the latest statistics from IFPRI’s Regional Strategic Analysis and Support System (ReSAKKS), just nine of the 54 AU member states had met the Maputo target of spending 10% of budgetary resources on agricultural and rural development by 2013 (ReSAKKS, 2013). Out of the nine, only seven (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Senegal) have consistently met the target in most years (Ibid).

Source: Godfrey Bahiigwa and Sam Benin, IFPRI, ReSAKSS Conference: 2013
Irrespective of the 10% commitment towards agriculture, the study noted that less budget was spent on promotion of AE and FS over the years. In many countries, agriculture subsidies constituted a significant and sometimes a majority share of public expenditure in the sector. For instance, in Zambia, less than 15% of annual agricultural expenditure went towards research, compared with the 40–70% that is spent on fertilizer support programs subsidies (EAA, 2012). This crowded out spending on other critical needs, such as training and infrastructure development. Crop-specific seed and input policies often result in disincentives for farmers to cultivate other crops, including those that make important contributions to nutritious diets, such as vegetables, small grains, legumes and tubers (Pingali, 2015).

A shift towards conservation agriculture (CA), interpreted using an agroecology lens, can also increase smallholder farmer resilience towards impacts of global climatic changes as well as improve yields produced (Chappell & Agnew, 2004). Increased investments in AE research can support national efforts for its implementation in various agroecological zones.

**Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP)**

The 2003 Maputo Declaration was followed by the launch of the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) in 2004 to coordinate the implementation process of the Declaration to achieve at least 6% annual agricultural growth. The compact comprises of five programmes which if implemented without external forces can advance the AE and FS agenda: (i) sustainable land management; (ii) agricultural productivity improvement; (iii) agricultural marketing development and investment promotion; iv) food and nutrition security; and (v) research, seeds and extension enhancement.

The 6% growth was premised (and dependent) on countries committing at least 10% of their national budgets to agriculture. Unfortunately, increased budgetary allocation to agriculture has not always been met with the anticipated
increase in agricultural growth. In 2010, overall agricultural GDP growth across all of Africa was 2.9% – significantly lower than the 6% Maputo target (ReSAKSS, 2013. Monitoring Progress: 6% Growth Target).

At the sub-regional level, ECOWAS made the most progress in advancing implementation of CAADP by 2014 with all its 15 member states having developed and approved their agricultural investment plans. It took necessary steps to align their Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) with CAADP. More importantly, within a year ECOWAS had allocated US$9 million of its own budget to finance the regional compact and CAADP planning processes in all its 15 member states. According to the latest figures from the AU and ReSAKSS in West Africa, only Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, and Senegal, have met the 6% agriculture growth target (FAO. 2013. 2025: United behind the African agenda to eradicate hunger). Burkina Faso, for example, a country where more than 80% of people are engaged in farming, has prioritized agriculture and has achieved impressive results. More than 10% investment of its budget to agricultural and rural development over the period 2006-2010, met with a corresponding 9% growth in the agricultural sector in 2010 [Angelucci et al].

One of contributory factors for success in West Africa is the government’s political commitment to agriculture. In Burkina Faso this political will is reflected in its prioritization of agriculture in allocating its $480 million award from the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation (Wiggins, S. and Leturque, H. 2010.) Similarly, Ghana today is one of three African countries to have already reduced hunger by half. The strong political commitment to agriculture of President John Kufuor (2001–09) was also instrumental in this success, and is evidenced in the Ghanaian government’s decision to invest the entirety of the $547 million award from the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact in agriculture (IFPRI: 2012).

Across the other regions, all 10 Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) member states also signed their compacts in 2013 and elaborated the Regional Agricultural Investment Plan (RAIP). This was followed by COMESA with a total of 15 out of 20 member states signed up to compacts by 2014, 12 out of 15 SADC member states, and 1 out of 5 UMA member states. IGAD states signed their compacts in 2013.

**Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods**

Given the challenges faced with the implementation of the Maputo Declaration and failure to end hunger in Africa by 2015 as envisaged by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), member states signed the Malabo Declaration on “Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods” in June 2014 to affirm the commitments made in Maputo and reaffirm CAADP principles. Of importance to AE and FS is the recommitment to: “ending hunger in Africa by 2025; to enhancing agriculture’s contribution to economic growth and significant poverty reduction by half by 2025; boosting intra-African trade in agricultural commodities and services; enhancing resilience of livelihoods and production systems to climate variability and other related risks and to mutual accountability to actions and results.” Progress is yet to be measured as to the extent to which the budgetary commitments will help advance AE and FS agenda in support of SDG 2 on ending hunger.
Table 2 below highlights the extent to which the Malabo Declaration aligns with the SDGs and provides a conducive policy environment to promote agroecology and food sovereignty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malabo Declaration</th>
<th>Relevant SDG Target</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recommitment to the principles and values of the CAADP process.</td>
<td>2.1 By 2030 end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations including infants, to safe, nutritious, and sufficient food all year round. 2.2 By 2030 end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving by 2025 the internationally agreed targets on stunting and wasting in children under 5 years of age, and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women, and older persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommitment to enhance investment finance in agriculture.</td>
<td>2.1 End hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 End all forms of malnutrition.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>2.3 By 2030 double the agricultural productivity and the incomes of small-scale food producers, particularly women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets, and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to ending hunger by 2025.</td>
<td>2.1 End hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 End all forms of malnutrition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.4 By 2030 ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters, and that progressively improve land and soil quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to halving poverty, by 2025, through inclusive agricultural growth and transformation.</td>
<td>2.1 End hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 Doubling agricultural productivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to boosting intra-African trade in agricultural commodities &amp; services.</td>
<td>2.1 End hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2. Correct and prevent trade restrictions and distortions in world agricultural markets, including by the parallel elimination of all forms of agricultural export subsidies and all export measures with equivalent effect, in accordance with the mandate of the Doha Development Round. 2.c. Adopt measures to ensure the proper functioning of food commodity markets and their derivatives, and facilitate timely access to market information, including on food reserves, in order to help limit extreme food price volatility.</td>
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Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa (F&G)

In alignment with the VGGT, the Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems (CFS – RAI), the AU endorsed the Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa (F&G) in 2009 to address challenges of land grabbing and insecurity of tenure. The F&G is also subtitled “A Framework to Strengthen Land Rights, Enhance Productivity and Secure Livelihoods”, demonstrating acknowledgement by African political leaders of the link between land governance and agricultural productivity.

The F&G on large scale land-based investments (LSLBI) principles are guided by the following Agroecology and Food Sovereignty principles:

a) national strategy for sustainable agricultural development, which recognizes the strategic importance of African agricultural land and the role of smallholder farmers in achieving food security, poverty reduction, and economic growth;

b) respect for the land rights of women, recognize their voice, generate meaningful opportunities for women alongside men, and do not exacerbate the marginalization of women. The principles require African states to ensure that LSLBI do not dispossess existing land rights holders and instead promote security of land tenure, inclusive and sustainable development (Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies: 2014).

The Declaration on Land Issues and Challenges in Africa reinforces this by committing African governments to ensure that land laws provide for equitable access to land and related resources among all land users.

In the past decade, despite existence of the F&G Framework, Africa continued to witness a ‘land rush’ as private companies and multinational corporations acquired large tracts of land for the production of food and biofuel crops, as well as for commercial logging, forest plantations, mining and eco-tourism game reserves. For example in the Gambella region of Ethiopia, approximately 70,000 indigenous people were forcibly removed in the so-called “villagisation” program (Human Rights Watch, 2012). The confiscated land was leased to companies like the Indian firm Karuturi Global, which exports palm oil, sugar, rice, and cut flowers. In Mozambique, the government evicted millions to pave way for the ProSavana project in the Nacala Corridor of northern Mozambique, leasing 14 million hectares to produce crops for export to Japan. (GRAIN, 2012).

Gaps in policy implementation and monitoring mechanisms will jeopardize the rights of smallholder farmers to their land. The challenge with the F&G is therefore to monitor its implementation, translate them into binding and enforceable national laws, popularize them, and shape the behaviour of investors in relation to rural communities. These require states to strengthen the rights of rural populations to access, control and own such resources and to decentralize administration.

Post 2015 Regulatory Frameworks: Scaling up What Works!

The post 2015 agenda on SDGs culminated in a number of strategies being developed at the regional level in support of its objectives to achieve prosperity and end hunger through efforts that

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Malabo Declaration</th>
<th>Relevant SDG Target</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to enhancing resilience in livelihoods and production systems to climate variability and other shocks.</td>
<td>2.4 Ensuring sustainable food production.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5 By 2020 maintain genetic diversity of seeds, cultivated plants, farmed, and domesticated animals and their related wild species, including through soundly managed and diversified seed and plant banks at national, regional, and international levels, and ensure access to and fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge as internationally agreed.</td>
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are in harmony with nature. Firstly, the **AU Agenda 2063 for long-term development** was endorsed. The **AU Agenda 2063 embraces the principles of the 2030 Agenda on SDGs and sets the continent’s development vision over the next 50 years towards a prosperous Africa “based on inclusive growth and sustainable development.”** As part of Agenda 2063, **The AU also adopted the Declaration on Women Empowerment and Development** in June 2015 to prioritize financial inclusion of women in agribusiness and enhancing women’s rights to productive assets.

On 13 July 2015, the African Union Commission (AUC) launched the **African Regional Nutrition Strategy (ARNS) for 2015–2025.** The strategy incorporates emerging nutrition concerns and sets clear targets that include the attainment of 40% reduction in stunting, and 5% reduction in wasting among children under 5 years of age by 2025. Notably, the ARNS calls on all AU member states to put together multi-sectoral nutrition action plans, budgets and expenditure tracking system for effective implementation and monitoring of nutrition interventions. The ARNS also recognizes the responsibility of each AU member state to fulfil their obligations towards realization of the right to nutrition security for all their citizens. AE nutrition-sensitive agriculture food systems can promote diverse diets for improved food and nutrition security. Agriculture in Africa therefore needs to be rapidly transformed to both provide household and national food security but in a way that does not jeopardize the environment, health and care needs of women and children. The region must intensify efforts aimed at facilitating sustainable production diversification, and increase production of nutrient-dense crops and small-scale livestock. The AU Arise-2025 Initiative provides an entry point to maintain nutrition high on the development agenda of the continent by building awareness and fostering political commitment as well as increasing resources for the elimination of stunting.

The region is also aware of the importance of trade to achieve regional FS. Instead of opening up its markets to global markets, the region is making efforts to promote intra-regional trade. In June 2015, COMESA, EAC and SADC signed a Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) to merge the three RECs into a common market and eliminate tariff lines and trade barriers. One of the objectives is to triple the intra-African trade in agricultural goods and services set by the 2014 Malabo Declaration. Intra-regional trade can advance AE, in particular for EAC countries investing in organic agriculture and applying the East African Organic Products Standard (EAOPS).

These efforts are supported by the **Ecological Organic Agriculture (EOA) Initiative (2015-2025)** that brings into agriculture dimensions which embrace sustainability, biodiversity, and ecosystem services, while producing food for the populations. The initiative targets women, youth and rural communities as key stakeholders through which the initiative will work. Its values are grounded in the reality of sustainable agricultural practices: a) biodiversity, respect for nature and sustainable development; b) promote family farming cultures, indigenous knowledge, cultural practices and wisdom; c) embrace fairness and justice to the ecosystem and, d) promote safe, nutritious, healthy food.
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Union’s New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) also formed the Africa Climate Smart Agriculture° Alliance (ACSA) as a commitment to the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP). However, given the debates surrounding what CSA means in practical terms, AE provides a framework for interpretation and translating this into practice.

Sub-Regional Policy Frameworks

At the sub-regional level, different RECS have also developed various supportive frameworks, guidelines and strategies to align with regional obligations. Multiple frameworks and initiatives are supportive of Agroecology and Food Sovereignty if implemented with that understanding.

Commendable progress in advancing AE and FS is evident in the EAC. East Africa has a long history of including agroecological principles as core to achieving sustainable food systems. Under Article 114 of the EAC Treaty (1999) member states agreed to (a) take necessary measures to conserve their natural resources; (b) co-operate in the management of their natural resources for the conservation of the eco-systems and the arrest of environmental degradation; and (c) adopt common regulations for the protection of shared aquatic and terrestrial resources. This Treaty was brought to life by the Agricultural and Rural Development Policy (ARDP) (2005-2030) whose overarching goal is to ensure sustainable agricultural development and foster economic growth in the region. One of the objectives of the ARDP policy is to “promote sustainable use and management of natural resources (soil, water, fisheries and forest) in order to conserve the environment.”

Supportive to the EAC-ARDP, is the EAC Vision 2050 on Agriculture, Food Security and Rural Development (2016) developed with a goal to ensure increased investment and enhanced agricultural productivity for food security and a transformation of the rural economy in the region in alignment with all the SDG 17 objectives. Vision 2050 also emphasizes sustainable land management, particularly its contribution to biodiversity, sustainable agriculture and food security, eradicating poverty, empowerment of women, addressing climate change and improving water availability.

In support of the EOA Initiative, the EAC also established the East African Organic Products Standard (EAOPS) named EAS 456:2007 which

4.2 EOA Strategic Objectives
The EOA Initiative has six main strategic objectives, namely:

- To carry out holistic demand driven, multi-disciplinary, gender sensitive and participatory research, training and extension in support of EOA by 2025.
- To collate, package and disseminate research findings and other relevant information to various stakeholders using various approaches and channels of communication by 2025.
- To increase the share of quality EOA products at the national, regional and international markets through value chain analysis and market development by 2025.
- To foster and strengthen synergies among stakeholders in Africa through building networks and partnerships by 2025.
- To lobby and advocate for the mainstreaming of EOA programmes, policies, plans and in the agriculture sector as well as other related sectors by 2025.
- Strengthen the governance management and operations of EOA institutions in Africa by 2025 for effective functioning and service delivery.
was adopted by the East African Community in April 2007 (Farrelly, 2016). The East African Organic Mark (EAOM) works as a combination of a promotion and as a guarantee to consumers and traders that produce was grown and processed following organic principals and is adapted to be appropriate in an East African context (IFOAM, 2014). As a result, domestic markets are also growing rapidly, in part through the efforts of the Kenya Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN), the Tanzania Organic Agriculture Movement (TOAM) and the National Organic Agricultural Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU). Uganda and Tanzania are by far the most developed certified organic sectors in Africa (IFOAM, 2013). Roughly fifty per cent of Africa’s certified organic farmers are located in Uganda alone (Farrelly, 2016). In 2012, the number of certified organic farmers in the EAC was 290,000, with Uganda as the leading country and Tanzania as the second (AFRONET, 2015).

Progress in CEN-SAD Region has also been commendable. To combat desertification, which is a threat to AE and FS, CEN-SAD endorsed the Rabat Declaration in 2013 committing member States to revamp the agricultural sector in a way that fosters sustainable rural development and fight against desertification through a better enhancement of positive experiences, relevant local initiatives and complementary opportunities at the CEN-SAD level. IGAD also established a Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) to address food security challenges posed by El Nino. In April 2016, member States and development partners renewed their commitment to ending drought emergencies in the region increase public funding to support the livestock sector. Other supportive sub regional efforts on AE include the Global Alliance for Resilience (AGIR) - Sahel and West Africa; the African Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative (AFR100) and the Great Green Wall Initiatives for the Sahara and the Sahel Initiative (GGWSSI) all supportive of AE and FS. It is therefore important to identify similar processes delivering on food systems and monitor implementation to ensure policy coherence with SDGs.

Prior to the establishment of the 2030 Agenda on SDGs, ECOWAS had made efforts to embrace FS in its policies. The Common Regional Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP)'s objective was to “contribute in a sustainable manner to satisfying the food needs of the population, to economic and social development and to poverty reduction in Member States as well as to address inequalities between territories, areas, and countries.” The declaration was followed by the adoption of a CAADP Regional Partnership Compact in 2009 and the Regional Agricultural Investment Programme (RAIP) (2011-2015). Those programs focused on: a) the promotion of strategic food value chains for food sovereignty; b) the promotion of an overall environment favourable to regional agricultural development; and the reduction of vulnerability to food crises and the promotion of stable and sustainable access to food.
To reshape and strengthen the policy in order to meet new challenges facing the region, ECOWAP was reviewed to stimulate increased investment and sustainable inclusive agricultural growth, guaranteeing food security and food sovereignty by 2025. As such, it focuses on three sectoral priorities: (i) regional integration of production and trade in livestock and livestock products; (ii) adoption of sustainable intensification pathways adapted to the diversity of ecosystems; and (iii) promotion of value chains. ECOWAS has also developed policies that promote the development of livestock/meat and milk value chains and identify priority areas of investment to improve nutrition, alleviate poverty and reduce dependency on imports (ECOWAS, 2016).

Similarly, the SADC region already had some policies supportive of AE. For example, Article 12 (c) of the SADC Protocol on Forestry of 2002 “encourages local people and communities to grow and conserve trees and to integrate them into existing farming systems.” Article 13 further encourages state parties to adopt national policies and mechanisms to enable effective participation of women in sustainable forest management. Section 92 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, highlights that the policy will identify and disseminate technical knowledge of improved approaches to closing the gender gap on access to land, financial services, water management, agricultural production and market access by smallholder farmers particularly women farmers. A major development for SADC in 2015 was the revision of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) for the period 2015–2020. The priority areas retained include: (i) regional infrastructure and services development for regional integration; (ii) food security and joint management of trans boundary natural resources; (iii) social and human development.

In 2015, SADC also developed the Food and Nutrition Security Strategy (FNSS) (2015 – 2025) with a goal to significantly reduce food and nutrition insecurity from a multi-sectoral perspective including “promote empowerment of youth and women in food and nutrition; and developing, reviewing, enacting and implementing laws and policies that guarantee and protect food as a human right.” To support the FNS Strategy, the region developed a Regional Agricultural Policy Investment Plan (RAPIP) (2017-2021) which identified five programmes that can easily be supported by AE: (i) increase agricultural production, productivity and competitiveness; (ii) increase access to markets and trade of agriculture products; (iii) increase investments in and access to finance for agriculture; (iv) reduce social and economic vulnerability in the region; and (v) improve food and nutrition security for the sub region. In addition, SADC also developed its Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap (2015-2063), which highlights the importance of agro-industry and agriculture value chains, as well as the need to ensure environmental sustainability through the green and blue economies. Realizing the impact of climate change on rain-fed agricultural productivity, the region endorsed the Regional Water Policy in 2015, which recognizes the need for “increasing food security through better management of rain-fed and irrigated agriculture and the importance of improving tillage to improve soil water retention.”

ECCAS countries also validated their Regional Agricultural Investment Plans (RAIP) (2015-2025) whose objectives are supportive to AE and FS enabling environment. The plan recognizes the importance of (i) enhancing agriculture productivity in key value chains (such as cotton, cassava, banana and meat production) with a view to increasing income for rural households and reducing major regional food production deficits; (ii) better natural resource management focusing on sustainability; (iii) promotion of a favourable agricultural policy framework and private business environment for job creation; and (iv) enhancing the overall food balance and nutritional status in middle Africa.

WAEMU formulated a Community Development Programme for the Transformation of Agriculture (2016-2025), aimed at eradicating hunger, poverty and malnutrition while promoting sustainable
agriculture-led economic growth for its eight union member countries. The implementation of the Programme is based on nine axes supportive of agroecological and food sovereignty principles: (i) improving water management; (ii) increase of agro-forestry-pastoral productions; (iii) access to sub regional and international markets; (iv) development of regional instruments for food safety management; (v) improvement of nutritional status; (vi) reform of the institutional framework; (vii) agricultural research and technology transfer; (viii) capacity-building; and (ix) financing of agriculture.

The analysis of sub regional policies above shows the potential the region has to advance AE and FS. However, the challenge is monitoring of the implementation to ensure the above policies are translated into action and programs reaching the most vulnerable groups. It is at the national level that the opportunity for their implementation exists, and it is thus national governments that hold responsibility for policy implementation. It is national governments that, with the relevant political will and appropriate institutional capacities and resources, can convert policy prescriptions into strategies and plans that translate into benefits for citizens.

**Contradictory Regional Regulatory Frameworks**

The analysis of regional and national policies discovered that not in all cases do we see the spirit of international obligations being upheld both at the regional and national level. As a result of external interferences from multinational seed/fertilizer/pesticides companies, some AU policies mirror these and not their international commitments. As a result of poverty, Africa is most often at the mercy of donors to conform to their standards as a precondition to receive aid.

The table below highlights frameworks with identified gaps and that require immediate amendments to align with the SDGs objectives, AE and FS principles.
A Study of Policies, Frameworks and Mechanisms Related to Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems in Africa

**Thematic Issue 1: Addressing Land Degradation and Soil Infertility**

The Abuja Declaration on Fertilizers for an African Green Revolution, Abuja, (2006) and the 2007 Framework for the Establishment of the Africa Fertilizer Financing Mechanism’s main purpose is to enhance agricultural productivity by promoting the use of fertilizers. This is influencing how sub regional and national policies are shaped. For example, the goal of the AFAP-COMESA Joint Program on Fertilizer Policy and Regulatory Harmonization is to enhance regional trade in fertilizer and food staples in order to increase food security and rural incomes. However, the intensification of the use of chemical fertilizers failed to end hunger in Africa, as was the goal from 2007-2015. Rather soils are increasingly getting depleted and losing nutrients as a result.

- Repeal the Fertilizer Declaration and or agree on a Declaration on Agroecology and Organic Fertilizer Use for Africa. The AU must develop a Framework of the Establishment of Agroecology and Organic Fertilizer Financing Mechanism.

- The AU must shift its strategy and invest in developing and strengthening the capacity of agricultural and civil society associations to promote agroecology and organic fertilizers as per the Ecological Organic Agriculture Initiative (EOA) (2015-2025)

**Thematic Issue 2: Conservation of Pastoral Rangelands**

The Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing, Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of Pastoralist Communities (2010) emphasizes the need to improve the governance of pastoral rangelands and thereby secure access to rangelands for pastoralists. One of the objectives of the framework is to define practical approaches for managing risks and thereby reduce the vulnerability of pastoral people to climatic events, particularly droughts and floods, and to conflicts. However, there is no mention of promoting agroecology as a solution to promoting sustainable environmental management.

- Review the Policy Framework to integrate strategies recommended by:
  
  a. SDG 15: “Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.”

  b. Target 15: 2: “By 2020, promote the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests and substantially increase afforestation and reforestation globally.”

  - Scale up implementation of best practices such as the Great Green Wall for the Sahara and the Sahel Initiative (GGWSSI) and the Global Alliance for Resilience (AGIR) - Sahel and West Africa.

**Thematic Issue 3: Security of Land Tenure**

The Framework and Guidelines for Sustainable Bioenergy Development in Africa (2012)’s objective is to provide an integrated toolkit for developing national and regional bioenergy policies and programs and improve Africa’s management of bioenergy and biofuels investment. However, this is a challenge for Africa as it leads to land grabbing and deprivation of security of land tenure for local communities.

- SDG2 on ending hunger must be at the core of national policy priorities when implementing land reform processes. Investments in biofuels should be a last priority given the food insecurity situation in Africa. Supportive Frameworks such as AU Guiding Principles on Large Scale Land Based Investments in Africa (2014) and the Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Lands (VGGT) (2012) must be monitored to ensure rights of communities are protected.
Thematic Issue 4: Protection of Farmers’ Rights

The vision of COM-SHIP is that within 5-7 years, all 19 COMESA member-states will have completed implementation of the approved COMESA Seed Trade Harmonized Regulations leading to increased seed production, reliability, trade and competitiveness of the Seed Industry in the COMESA region. Even though there is recognition that farmers need a sustained, affordable and reliable choice and diversity of high-quality seed, tested and registered in the local market conditions, there is no reference to farmers’ rights. Emphasis on improved varieties is a danger to preservation of local seed varieties.

The harmonization process must ensure regulations align with the provisions of the following frameworks to protect the rights of farmers to save, sell, exchange and reuse farm saved seeds:

- African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
- African Model Legislation for the Protection of the Rights of Local Communities, Farmers and Breeders, and for the Regulation of Access to Biological Resources (Part 3. Access to Biological Resources)
- Article 6 and 9 of the ITPGRFA on sustainable use and farmers rights
- Target 2.7 of the SDGs on seed diversification

Thematic Issue 5: Sustainable Fishing and Conservation Practices

The Policy Framework and Reform Strategy for Fisheries and Aquaculture in Africa (2014) recognizes the need for a conducive and enabling environment for conservation and sustainable use of fisheries resources in Africa. However, the region still faces budgetary challenges to promote enforcement of the rules and regulations to prevent overfishing. On the other hand, fisherfolk lack tenure rights over their resources.

- Advocate for increased budgetary investment on surveillance systems to prevent overfishing.
- Protection of fish should be extended beyond overfishing illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (Target 14:4). Focus must also be on combating pollution, which kills fish. Target 14.1 of SDGs: By 2025, prevent and significantly reduce marine pollution of all kinds, in particular from land-based activities, including marine debris and nutrient pollution
- FAO Guidelines on small-scale fisheries also highlights the need for small-scale fishing communities to have secure tenure rights to fishery resources and land as well as the ability to benefit from them in order to sustain their livelihoods. Target 14B recognizes the importance of providing access for small-scale artisanal fishers to marine resources and markets.

Thematic Issue 6: Trade Liberalization versus Food Sovereignty

Production growth in SSA has failed to keep pace with demand deriving from population and income growth, resulting in rising imports for food commodities such as wheat, rice and poultry. Even though regional bodies were established to promote intra-regional trade, as a result of non-implementation of regional agreements, the active engagement of RECs and other outside actors in attempting to improve the policy framework for intra-regional trade has only had a limited impact on national policies. This is further complicated by the fact that countries are frequently members of multiple RECs.

- Monitor the implementation of the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (2015) (TFTA) to promote AE and food sovereignty in the region.

8 Climate smart agriculture is defined by FAO (2010) as agriculture that sustainably increases productivity, enhances resilience of livelihoods and ecosystems, reduces and/or removes greenhouse gases (GHGs) and enhances achievement of national food security and development goals.

9 CEN-SAD, set up on 4 February 1998 in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, is an international organization bringing together 28 African countries.
It is clear from the legal analysis in previous sections that African governments have developed a range of policy responses and programs towards the achievement of regional food and nutrition security. Efforts have concentrated on boosting food productivity, widening food access and the establishment of commercial agri-food value chains, particularly staple foods.

In moving towards the sustainability of agricultural production and food security in Africa, the broader context in which food production systems operate and the constraints they face have to be taken into account. These policies must respect, protect and fulfil the rights of small-scale food producers and fisherfolk, in particular women and youths’ rights to land, water, seeds, inland and coastal waters, forests, commons, biodiversity and territory. This should be supported by policies that provide for knowledge, affordable financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment to the rural poor.

According to the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food), an interdisciplinary initiative to inform the policy debate on how to reform world food systems, the challenges facing agriculture and food systems are generally perpetuated in vicious circles that act to lock in the dominant industrial model (IPES, 2016). A series of powerful feedback loops extending well beyond the world of farming serve as ‘lock-ins’: current incentives in food production and consumption systems unfortunately keep farmers (and consumers) locked into the structures and logics of industrial agriculture, while locking out the reforms that are needed. It is therefore imperative that the power imbalances running through food systems, which reinforce the power of dominant actors, and consequently, decision-making, are exposed and addressed.

The study identified the following lock-ins inhibiting progress towards the development and implementation of AE and FS policies in the region. Examples are drawn mainly from Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia. Advocates must concentrate on these lock-ins in their policy influence activities to inform 2030 SDG policy review processes to put AE and FS at the centre.

**Agricultural subsidies focusing on staple crops and increased use of chemical fertilizers**

Agricultural budgetary spending is mainly on promoting staple crops and purchase of fertilizers and pesticides. Implementation strategies are mostly donor driven and prescriptive. For example about 55% of farmers in Zambia now use inorganic fertilizers, and total fertilizer use in Zambia corresponds to almost 30 kg/ha, whereas the average use across 25 African countries is 11 kg/ha (ACB, 2016). However, the danger of subsidies is that it creates dependency. In Zambia, small-scale farmers lost up to 30% of their incomes when the scheme was temporarily stopped, with the World Bank noting that the attempt to test and encourage adoption of new technologies had effectively become an income transfer scheme that lowered production costs. Creating dependencies of this nature is dangerous. Many rural households could relapse into extreme poverty if or when these subsidies are reduced or removed (ACBIO, 2016). Heavy use of fertilizers is causing the soil to lose its nutrients (Weitz et al., 2014).

**Growing population and rapid urbanization pushing for opening up of markets**

The Africa region is also faced with pressures to feed its growing population, particularly in the...
urban areas. The urban population in Africa has increased by a factor of 12 since 1960 (Losch et al., 2012) with the percentage of the population living in urban areas approaching 40%. The share of Africans living in urban areas is projected to increase by almost half by 2025, and 70% by 2050.

**Figure 1** highlights population projections for sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the world

Projections by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development-Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (OECD-FAO) of Africa’s consumption and production of high-valued commodities over the period 2011 to 2023 also indicate that an increasing share of the region’s growing demand for high-value food products associated with rising consumer incomes will be met by imports (Monteduro, 2013). This is evidenced in Togo where expenditure on food imports in 2014 reached $185 million, whilst it was only $36 million in 2000 (FAO, 2015). In 2015, cereals imports represented 25% of food imports in Togo (Ntagungira, 2016). The challenge with opening up markets is that it disturbs developing countries’ agricultural exports (Oxfam, 2004), because farmers no longer produce food for their local markets (UCS, 2016). AE is an alternative solution to industrial agriculture to increase yields of smallholder farmers. Unless African production adapts to changing consumption patterns, further urbanization will put pressure on the import of products that are either not produced in Africa or produced in insufficient volume to meet demand.

Togolese policymakers are now making efforts towards FS through launching the following projects: a) Programme d’Appui au Development Agricole au Togo (PADAT) financed by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to strengthen agricultural development; and b) Projet d’Appui au Secteur Agricole (PASA). Both projects are part of the national program of investment for food security project (Kibaara et al., 2009). These projects aim at improving maize, rice and cassava production as well as strengthening small ruminants and poultry production. They also seek to enhance producers’ capacity building and organizations at local, national as well as regional level. From 2013 to 2017, Togo expected to increase cereals production by 4.5% per year, 3% for tuber crops, 1.38% for meat and 4.5% for fishery in order to respond to food insecurity issues (FAO and MAEF, 2012). The Togolese government also launched a public stockholding program under the National Food Security Agency (NFSA)
to buy farmers’ products, mainly cereals, at the market price during the harvest periods, store and resell it at a lower price when future market price increases. However, this is a temporary strategy that protects both consumers (when cereals’ prices spike) and producers (when cereals’ prices drop) but does not empower the rural farmers to engage in local value chain development processes. With poor rural infrastructure, it makes it difficult to promote AE.

**Changing farmland ownership and farm size distributions**

There is a direct correlation between responsible ownership of a resource and property rights attached to the resource (Hardin, 1968). This implies that effective resource governance depends upon successful management of property rights and rights to resource ownership. These rights are central to comprehensive claims of local people who are the food producers (Einarsson et al., 2004). They are often motivated to engage in long-term projects on land of which they have absolute ownership and have freedom to try out innovative approaches for improving food production. This produces sustainable food systems that are resource efficient, productive and adaptive to changing demands (Fresco, 2009).

It is also clear from the analysis of Zambia land policies that having land rights on paper does not translate to effective implementation. Good governance structures for land administration are key to ensure enjoyment of the right to land. For example, in Zambia, section 8 (1) of the Zambia Land Act of 1995 (GRZ, 2016) states that, “…any person who holds land under customary tenure may convert it into leasehold tenure not exceeding ninety-nine years on application.” However, inefficient land administration means that transferring land title deeds costs twice the price and takes twice as long as it does in developed countries. This alone is a disincentive to promote communal land registrations. Most farmers opt for traditional land, which is easier to acquire through traditional authorities. Ownership of traditional land, however, is not transferred to farmers and remains under the control of traditional authorities (Kabilika, 2010). The lack of land ownership by farmers thus makes it difficult for smallholder farmers to introduce long-term projects on land that they have no absolute ownership of. Only 10% of Africa’s rural land is registered.

Land policies should not unequally open for competition between foreign investors and local private investors. For example, Section 8(2) of the Zambia Land Act provides also provides for foreign companies or government to obtain any land as long as the individual or institution proves that they are investors and obtains a presidential consent which is issued by the commission of lands. Competition for land is thus causing the price of land to rise as the SSA is beginning to witness a rise of medium-scale farms. Recent study by Jayne et al. (quoted in Africa Status Report 2016) assesses changes over the past decade in farm size distribution in Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia and finds that among all farms below 100 hectares, the share of land on small-scale holdings smaller than 5 hectares has declined except in Kenya. Medium-scale farms (defined as farm holdings between 5 and 100 hectares) account for a rising share of total farmland, especially in the 10 to 100 hectare range where the growth in the number of these farms is especially rapid.

**Conflict between customary laws and tenure rights for women**

“Statistics for food and agriculture show that women have less access to productive resources and opportunities; if they enjoyed the same access as men, they could substantially increase yields and raise agricultural output. If women in Africa had the same access to inputs and opportunities as men, this would raise outputs and economic growth.”

*Sue Mbaya, LPI*
The region is also lagging behind in developing policies that promote and secure women’s rights to land. In Africa, women’s access to land is on average less than half that of men, yet women remain the primary users of agricultural land. In sub-Saharan Africa, women contribute 60 to 80 per cent of the labour in both food production for household consumption and for sale (FAO, 1994). A survey of national sectoral reports for Benin, Burkina Faso, the Congo, Mauritania, Morocco, Namibia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe found that women’s labour contributions to household food production range from 30% in Sudan to 80% in the Congo, while the proportion of women in the economically active labour force in agriculture ranges from 48% in Burkina Faso to 73% in the Congo (FAO, 1994). Women are involved at different stages of food systems as those who: preserve biodiversity, process and prepare food, care for the basic needs of the households. Irrespective of women’s key contribution to food security they continue to face challenges in the agricultural sector such lack of technical skills, limited access to technology, land, credit/financial and agricultural services generally.

**Shifts in labour force to non-farm employment especially among the youth**

“We are looking at agriculture as one of the important drivers for industrialization. We have the land, the people and the products. But we need to process more of our products in order to create jobs for the young people.”

— Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Chair of the African Union Commission (AUC)

The last decade witnessed a sharp increase in the rate at which Africans, especially the youth are exiting farming in favour of off-farm activities. Even though farming will continue to be a major source of employment of the workforce in most countries at least for the next decade or more, the youth are not motivated to see agriculture as a form of livelihood (FAO, 2014). At the same time, unemployment and economic inactivity among the working-age population is rising more rapidly in rural areas than in urban areas particularly among the youth (Ibid). Strategies that effectively raise the returns to labour in farming will be among the most important steps that African governments can take to improve youth livelihoods, especially for women. Agricultural productivity growth, especially if broadly based, will generate strong multiplier effects that expand job opportunities in the downstream stages of the agri-food system and in the broader non-farm economy (Yeboah & Jayne, 2016).

**The evolution of seed legislation to meet UPOV standards**

“Much of the world’s biological diversity is in the custody of farmers who follow age-old farming and land use practices. These ecologically complex agricultural systems associated with centres of crop genetic diversity include not only the traditional cultivars or ‘landraces’ that constitute an essential part of our world crop genetic heritage, but also wild plant and animal species that serve humanity as biological resources”

— Oldfield and Alcorn, 1991

The limited availability of seed in sufficient volume and diversity is often a bottleneck for agricultural diversification in Africa. The diversity of crops and trees used in food production systems depends on the diversity of the planting materials that farmers use. The characteristics of different seed systems are crucial for sustainable food system outcomes: agricultural sustainability and healthy diets. For each of the five key functions of seed systems – facilitating access, production and distribution, innovation, regulation and conservation – there is evidence for the difference a seed system makes to sustainable food systems (Halewood et al., 2007).

First and foremost, as with the case of Zambia, it is evident that policies that promote monocultures are a danger to seed security in Africa. Concentration on staple crops often leads to loss of seed diversity of small crops (Vernooy et al., 2014). In Zambia, the targeted subsidized Farmer Input
Support Programme by the Food Reserve Agency focused only on maize as a staple crop. Public and private investments in extension services and the crops and varieties covered by these services can greatly influence the range of seeds that are eventually chosen by farmers.

Very rigid control mechanisms for new variety registrations as required by the Union for Protection of New Plant Varieties (UPOV) standards (Crucible Group, 1994) can stifle innovation of diversity through excessive requirements on varietal testing, high costs and long procedures. The rigidity of these standards represents an obstacle for landraces, local cultivars and varieties resulting from participatory plant breeding to enter the formal channels of seed production, limiting in this way their potential to contribute to sustainable and diverse food systems (Louwaars, 2002). Important crop varieties that perform well in particular environments sometimes cannot be registered because they do not comply with standards such as uniformity and stability (Bishaw & Van Gastel, 2009).

The major challenge is that methods used to measure the performance of seed systems concentrate narrowly on their contribution to agricultural productivity, not to food system sustainability. Where farmers are engaged in traditional practices for selecting, maintaining, transforming and combining varieties as food producers, sellers and consumers, selection tends to result in larger genetic pools and seed that better responds to environmental conditions and nutritional needs (Cleveland & Soleri eds, 2002). There is, therefore, a need to measure seed system performance in terms of their contribution to wider policy goals, moving away from current policy fragmentation. Flexible, simplified release procedures can thus facilitate the registration of traditional and new varieties, and seed mixtures, which can contribute to yield increases and reduced use of external inputs, in addition to increased crop diversity on farm and on consumers’ plates (Halewood et al., 2007).

**Seeds Banks in Ethiopia**

Giving farmers access to improved seed varieties can have a tremendous impact on yields. In Lude Hitosa, an area of the Oromia Region of Ethiopia, local seed co-operatives estimate that around half of households now have access to higher-yielding varieties of wheat, bean and local grain, teff seeds, through seed banks. Yields from these seeds can be up to twice as high as those that were traditionally used before. Producing these higher-yielding seeds has become a way for some farmers to earn an income. Ethiopia’s national seed bank has been able to return a huge number of plant varieties to communities that have lost them through a combination of drought and displacement by modern seed varieties. These seeds have been collected by working with a network of farmers and scientists across the country to help multiply as many varieties as possible of commonly grown crops like sorghum and maize. One project started in 1989 by working with 500 farmers in north Shewa and Welo regions of Ethiopia. Here farmers could distinguish over 60 traditional varieties of sorghum. To maintain this crop diversity, farmers were supported in growing a number of plant varieties on their farms and then distributing the seeds to other farmers in the region who had also been affected by droughts.

**Land Degradation**

Declining soil fertility is a major constraint to agricultural transformation in Africa (Montpellier Panel, 2014). Roughly 28% of rural Africa’s farmers cultivate land that is considered to be degrading over time (Barbier & Hochard, 2016). As population pressures cause farm sizes to shrink over time for most small-scale farm households, they respond by continuously cropping their fields every year. For example, Togo has been ranked first among the West African countries with an alarming rate
of forest degradation because of its 5.5% rate of total degradation per year (FAO, 2010). Holistic and integrated land management strategies focusing on agroecology are preconditions for sustainable agricultural productivity growth in densely populated rain-fed farming systems of Africa (Kihara et al., 2016).

Climate Variability

Because most Africans' livelihoods and agri-food systems rely on rain-fed farming, Africa is one of the world's most vulnerable regions to climate change (FAO, 2010). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concluded, “climate change is expected to have widespread impacts on African society and Africans' interaction with the natural environment” (IPCC, 2014, p. 812). Climate change is expected to reduce yields from rain-fed crops in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa by 50 per cent as early as 2020, resulting in an additional 24 million undernourished children and putting between 40 and 170 million more people at risk of hunger worldwide (Evans, 2009). Pastoralists are also affected, as climate change will destroy pasture for their livestock. There is need for recognition of the urgency to identify and implement strategies that make food systems more resilient in the face of increasing climate variability in Africa.

Neglect of nutrition sensitive agriculture policies

Nutrition-sensitive agricultural interventions can be a solution to ensure diversified diets from farming systems. Typical strategies include home gardening, aquaculture and small-scale fisheries, small livestock rearing, and dairy development programs, as well as strategies to improve food processing, storage and preparation (Ruel, Harris & Cunningham, 2013). For market-based approaches to be successful, food biodiversity must be accessible, available, affordable\(^{13}\) and acceptable.

For example, in Benin, better access to markets was linked with higher availability of on-farm biodiversity and facilitated the purchase and sales of food biodiversity, contributing to diet diversity of mothers (Masset et al., 2012). In rural South Africa, for instance, a typical household would need to increase food expenditures by more than 30% of total income to eat a healthier diet (Webb & Kennedy, 2014). In East and Southern Africa, the market share of such foods has risen to one-third of the purchased food market, with little differentiation between rural and urban areas (31% vs. 35%) (Bellon, Ntandou-Bouzitou, Caracciolo, 2016).

Acceptability of food biodiversity can be shaped by awareness raising, education and capacity building. For example, 45.2% of households in Kenya that had participated in awareness-raising activities about the nutrient content of some 40 different species of traditional leafy vegetables still reported an increase in consumption 10 years later. Policies that promoted the heavy use of fertilizers as a solution to increase productivity have contributed greatly to malnutrition in the region. Concentration on staple crops such as maize has created monocultures and neglected the production of other high nutrient crops such as sorghum, beans, rice, wheat, barley and vegetables. For example, the government of Zambia through the targeted subsidized Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) and the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) heavily invested in maize.

\(^{10}\)Women are responsible for supplying their families with food and care, they often have special knowledge of the value and diverse use of plants for nutrition, health and income. Consequently, they are frequently the preservers of traditional knowledge of indigenous plants.

\(^{11}\)While women produce more than 50 percent of the food worldwide, they also perform the overwhelming majority of the work in food processing in developing countries. In addition to the time-consuming tasks of grinding and pounding the staple grains, smoking fish and meats, women process and preserve the fruit and vegetable produce from their home gardens and from the forests.

\(^{12}\)Women perform virtually all the tasks required for household food security and ensuring good nutrition and healthy lives. These tasks include gathering fuel and fetching water, cleaning, cooking, child rearing, and caring for the sick.

\(^{13}\)Affordability is key for low-income groups, which figure prominently among malnourished populations, as moving towards healthier diets comes at a price. In rural South Africa, for instance, a typical household would need to increase food expenditures by more than 30% of total income to eat a healthier diet.
“Consensus is growing that freeing humanity from poverty and hunger requires a shift to sustainable and resilient agriculture and food systems in order to ensure food and nutrition security, contribute to poverty eradication and protect natural resources”

— Report of the UN Secretary General 68th Session, Item 19 (A/68/150), 2013

**Entry Points**

Agricultural intensification (Gerland et al., 2014), combined with the growing homogenization of the global food system, has led to a range of negative impacts, including biodiversity loss and environmental degradation (Stoate et al., 2001), decreased dietary and nutritional diversity (Remans et al., 2011) and social impacts such as increased gender inequalities (Chen, Bhagowalia, Shively, 2011). The simplification of the world’s farming and food systems leaves farmers with a decreasing range of resources to draw on to manage threats such as the risks of crop failure due to pests and diseases, declining soil fertility, or the impacts associated with increasing climatic variability.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concluded “climate change is expected to reduce yields from rain-fed crops in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa by 50 per cent as early as 2020, resulting in an additional 24 million undernourished children” (WFP, 2015)

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has set out that a fundamental transformation of agriculture may well turn out to be one of the greatest challenges, including for international security, of the 21st century (UNCTAD, 2013). UNCTAD recommends that the world needs a paradigm shift from conventional, monoculture-based and high external input dependent agriculture to a sustainable regenerative production system, which is holistic and recognizes that farmers are more than just producers, but are also managers of an agroecological system which provides a number of public goods including water, energy, soil and biodiversity (UNCTAD 2013). This transformation has agroecology and organic agriculture at its core to promote food sovereignty as described by the Nyeleni Declaration in 2007. See box.

**Food sovereignty** focuses on food for the people by: a) Placing people’s need for food at the center of policies; and insisting that food is more than just a commodity; b) Values food providers by: i) supporting sustainable livelihoods; and ii) respecting the work of all food providers.; c) Localizes food systems by: i) reducing the distance between suppliers and consumers; ii) rejecting dumping and inappropriate food aid; and iii) resisting dependence on remote and unaccountable corporations; d) Places control at a local level by: i) placing control in the hands of local food suppliers; ii) recognizing the need to inhabit and share territories; and iii) rejecting the privatization of natural resources; e) Promotes knowledge and skills by: i) building on traditional knowledge; ii) using research to support and pass on this knowledge to future generations; and iii) rejecting technologies that undermine local food systems; and f) Works with nature by: i) maximizing the contributions of ecosystems; ii) improving resilience; and iii) rejecting energy intensive, monoculture, industrialized and destructive production methods.
With a deep understanding of what a holistic, ecological view of the food system can be, the change needed to restore sustainability to food systems can occur. Sustainable food systems of the future will largely be made up of innumerable small- to medium-scale agro-ecosystems, each relatively self-contained, adapted to local conditions, and focused primarily on satisfying the food needs, desires and priorities of a local population. The time for Africa to go back to the drawing board is NOW, to have a relook at the recommendations from the International Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD). The IAASTD assessed the impacts of past, present and future agricultural knowledge, science and technology [AKST] on the reduction of hunger and poverty, improvement of rural livelihoods and human health, and equitable, socially, environmentally and economically sustainable development.

The Nyeleni Declaration on Food Sovereignty and the 2030 Agenda on SDGs also provide policy cornerstones that provide direction for the changes that need to be made to ensure food security, food sovereignty and agroecology in Africa. Guidelines can also be drawn from following international policy frameworks: UDHR, SDGs, CBD Aichi Targets (ATs), Paris Agreement on Climate Change, ITPGRFA and supportive guidelines such as the VGGT, VGRtF and VGSSF amongst others.

Fundamental to agroecology discourse is the human rights approach to food. The primacy of food for the survival of humans is a universal premise of this rights-based approach. It should be supported through food policies and legal frameworks. One method of ensuring food security is through the Right to Food, defined by the United Nations as: “the right of every individual, alone or in community with others, to have physical and economic access at all times to sufficient, adequate and culturally acceptable food that is produced and consumed sustainably, preserving access to food for future generations” (de Schutter, 2014). As an alternative legal order, food sovereignty can thus be an engine to achieve sustainable food systems and protect the environment upon which the food systems depend upon. Given the centrality of both agroecology and human rights, food sovereignty can also be considered as a hybrid legal order that addresses both man-nature and state-man relationships.

Business as usual is thus no longer an option for Africa.

“If we do persist with business as usual, the world’s people cannot be fed over the next half-century. It will mean more environmental degradation, and the gap between the haves and have-nots will expand. We have an opportunity now to marshal our intellectual resources to avoid that sort of future. Otherwise we face a world nobody would want to inhabit”

Professor Robert T. Watson, Director of the IAASTD.

Agroecology principles should therefore be formulated and used as the principal guideline to transform and improve the current food system, putting food producers at the centre. What is required is a fundamentally different model of agriculture based on diversifying farms and farming landscapes (IPES-Food, 2016). The opportunity is now to influence the agenda of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) to conform to the 2030 Agenda objectives. CAADP comprises five programs supportive of agroecology and food sovereignty principles if implemented in accordance to SDG 2 recommendations. The four pillars of CAADP are: to extend the area under sustainable land and water; improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access; increasing food supply and reducing hunger, and agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption. Smallholder farmers in Africa require security of land tenure; extension support on nutrition sensitive sustainable agriculture; market access and protection of domestic market; good public utilities such as roads; rural electrification and post-harvest storage facilities.
Conclusions

“Supporting smallholder farmers to play a greater role in food production and natural resource stewardship is one of the quickest ways to lift over one billion people out of poverty and sustainably nourish a growing world population.”

— International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2013

The study concluded that the need to exercise state sovereignty to develop agroecology and food sovereignty policies whilst balancing donor interests has culminated in policy incoherence in Africa. Dominant multilateral corporations such as Syngenta, DuPont and Monsanto wield a disproportionate amount of power, essentially deciding what food is to be grown, where and how it is to be grown. These corporations fund research institutions to push African governments to develop fertilizer and seed policies that protect their intellectual property rights at the expense of farmers’ rights. As a result most African governments, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, relying on food assistance are stripped of their state sovereignty and operate under conditionality favouring opening up of markets, heavy use of fertilizers, and promoting monocultures.

Despite the push for agricultural modernization and industrial agriculture, the recognition of AE and FS has been gaining momentum in the political space. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development provides candid solutions to ending hunger, none other than agroecological approaches. The ‘Feed Africa’ Strategy of the African Development Bank also reiterates “climate smart agriculture is now no longer an option but a core necessity of any strategy to deliver results, even in the near future.” It is now clear that there is undoubtedly consensus at all levels of policy making to scale up agroecological agriculture to end hunger by 2030.

The greatest challenge however is the need to ensure policy coherence of all regional regulatory frameworks to align with the principles of the 2030 Agenda. For example, the 2014 Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihood’s vision to end hunger by the year 2025 must comply with the provisions of SDG Target 2.4 calling on member states to ‘ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters, and that progressively improve land and soil quality by 2030.’ All inconsistent regional and sub-regional policies will have to be amended to ensure consistency.

The SDGs thus provide a good opportunity to influence the review of existing regulatory frameworks on food and nutrition security to move the agenda forward. Member states are required to put in place strategies and policies to facilitate implementation and to report on progress at the High Level Political Forums (HLPF). Given that most countries would want to be seen as making progress towards the implementation of the SDGs, policy advocates must facilitate farmers’ participation in policy making and review processes and provide input in the development of country progress reports, especially in sub Saharan Africa where policy making is hugely influenced by external factors.

Where good initiatives in support of agroecology and food sovereignty exist, such as the EOA Initiative; the UMA Small-Scale Agriculture for Inclusive Development, WAEMU Programme for the Transformation of Agriculture, the Africa Union must establish mechanisms to promote scaling up and replication across the continent. It is important to focus on documenting these best practices for sharing of key lessons and exchange of information across member states. In addition, it is necessary to build the capacity of smallholder farmer organizations to monitor implementation and delivery of agroecological agricultural services.
However, the major challenge in Africa policy-making processes is the absence of adequate consultation processes for affected stakeholders to have a voice. Apart from a strong focus on rights based approaches and policy changes, those impacted by the policies must be provided a platform to engage. This role in shaping the development of policies, strategies and implementation plans is provided for by Guideline 3:8 of the VGRtF which states that: “in developing these strategies, States are encouraged to consult with civil society organizations and other key stakeholders at national and regional levels, including small-scale and traditional farmers, the private sector, women and youth associations, with the aim of promoting their active participation in all aspects of agricultural and food production strategies.” Guideline 3.9 further states that: “these strategies should be transparent, inclusive and comprehensive, cut across national policies, programmes and projects, take into account the special needs of girls and women, combine short-term and long-term objectives, and be prepared and implemented in a participatory and accountable manner.” In addition, Guideline 6.1 encourages States “to apply a multi-stakeholder approach to national food security to identify the roles of and involve all relevant stakeholders, encompassing civil society and the private sector, drawing together their know-how with a view to facilitating the efficient use of resources.”

**Recommendations**

‘WAKE UP BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE: Make agriculture truly sustainable now for food security in a changing climate.’

— Trade and Environment Review 2013, UNCTAD

1. **Identify gaps** in all regulatory frameworks on food systems not in alignment with the transition to agroecology, the 2030 Agenda on SDGs and related international obligations. Promote stakeholder engagement in the review processes to work to ensure that policies remove obstacles and biases such as chemical input subsidies; support agroecological approaches to restore soil biodiversity and soil health; strengthen security of land tenure for small-scale farmers.

2. **Actively engage in international and regional forums on agriculture, food security, rural development and climate change to push forward the AE and FS agenda.** These include meetings of the ITPGRFA, CBD, UNFCCC, Sendai Framework on DRR, High Level Panel of Experts to review SDGs, and CFS/CSM. At the regional level, it is important to engage at conferences on Land Policy in Africa, Expert Group Meetings on SDGs, Africa Economic Conferences, and Symposia on Food and Nutrition Security.

3. **Recognise the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** as a key supportive framework for AE and FS. The 2030 Agenda recognises that sustainable management of natural resources is relevant to achieving all the Sustainable Development Goals, and acknowledges the crucial role of biodiversity and ecosystem services for the well being of people and planet.

4. **Monitor the policy review processes** and encourage them to be truly participative, iterative and transparent process to ensure that those whose lives will be affected, particularly women, are included in creating the policies that govern their livelihoods.

5. **Engage with key stakeholders** such as within UNECA and sub-regional secretariats, and chairs of thematic areas (particularly on natural resources, gender, governance, regional integration and trade) that are leading discussion on agriculture and food security issues.

6. **Encourage** the Pan-African Farmers’ Organization (PAFO) to prioritize Agroecology and Food Sovereignty in its post 2017 strateg

7. **Encourage** the development of cross sector integrated NAFSIP indicators covering issues of land governance, gender, agroecology,
financial inclusion, market access, farmers rights to seeds, delivery of public services to promote sustainable agriculture, social protection and fair trade.

8. **Build the capacity of civil society to engage in consultative policy review processes at national level, and monitor national implementation of SDGs, CBD Aichi Targets and Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and to promote eco-friendly agricultural policies.**

9. **Develop simple communication materials on SDG targets and indicators in support of agroecological approaches - to raise awareness, and build the capacity of local networks to effectively engage with policymakers.**

10. **Recognize and commend countries with active agroecology food sovereignty policy processes, particularly within SADC, EAC and WAEMU regions.**
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Three Case Studies: Country Experiences of Implementing New Policies

This section reviews the extent to which national governments adopt and implement international and regional policy frameworks on AE for FS. For the purposes of this study, an in-depth review of country policies of Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia was done. The purpose of this is to see how these sample countries have developed their policy/legislation and how well or how badly they have domesticated international and regional guidance, and whether other countries have anything to learn from them.

East Africa Case Study: Ethiopia

The food security of the EAC region is driven by strong demographic trends and income growth. The region is characterized by high population growth rates and rapidly increasing urbanization; also, with some exceptions, the region has enjoyed rates of economic growth well above population growth. These strong demographic and economic trends influence both the quantity and the quality of food demanded and the ability of food systems to deliver (EAC Vision 2050). The region has made advances in reducing food insecurity but progress is uneven. The region continues to have unacceptably high levels of chronic food insecurity and is also subject to frequent food shortages and emergencies. Nearly one-third of the population of the region has a level of food intake below that considered necessary for a healthy and active life. Investment in agriculture is also relatively low compared to other regions.

Graph below shows implementation of Maputo Declaration in East Africa

![Graph showing implementation of Maputo Declaration in East Africa]

- Many countries in East Africa spend 5-10% percent of total expenditure on agriculture
- Shares have increased over time in several countries (especially Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sudan)

Source: Godfrey Bahiigwa and Sam Benin, IFPRI, ReSAKSS Conference: 2013
Review of Ethiopia Policy and Regulatory Frameworks

Ethiopia is one of the countries that have suffered tremendously from the effects of El Niño and climate change, plunging it into limited agricultural production, straining livelihoods and exacerbating food insecurity among poor and vulnerable households. An estimated 10.2 million people were in need of food and non-food assistance throughout 2016, up from the 9.2 million in 2015. However, over the years, Ethiopia has witnessed its most rapid growth period in history, averaging growth of 9.5% in the agriculture sector between 2005 and 2009. This growth was stimulated in part by robust public investment and also by some institutional and legal reforms. The country’s level of public investment has exceeded the Maputo target of 10% of budgetary expenditure on agriculture. A number of policies, strategies and laws were designed to support climate resilient agriculture to boost agricultural productivity. Despite these successes, however, many challenges remain in improving opportunities for smallholder farmers.

Agriculture and Food Security Policies, Laws and Strategies in Ethiopia

The 1995 Constitution of the country provides an overarching framework to protect the right to land. Article 35 (3) of the Constitution provides women with the right to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property. The proclamation states explicitly that women have equal rights to men with respect to the use, transfer, administration and control of land (Wabekbon: 2006). In 1997, the Environmental Policy was enacted to provide guidance in the conservation and sustainable utilization of the country’s environmental resources through a combination of reforestation, agroforestry, rehabilitation of degraded areas, re-vegetation, control of free-range grazing and seeking financial support for offsetting carbon dioxide emissions from such activities. To reaffirm its commitments to the UNFCCC, the National Adaptation Program of Action (NAPA) was developed in 2007 to enhance reforestation actions and sustainable forest management, reclamation of degraded lands, controlled grazing and area closures, and creation of forest buffers to halt desertification. In 2009, Ethiopia institutionalized CAADP as its agriculture sector policy; strategy and program formulating framework, with focus on pillar 1 on improving natural resource management and utilization. In 2011, Ethiopia’s Programme of Adaptation to Climate Change was developed followed by the Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy and the Agriculture Sector Policy and Investment Framework, 2010-2020 (FAO, 2010).

Despite the existence of the above environmental policies, Ethiopia is one of the countries that have suffered tremendously from the effects of El Niño and climate change. An estimated 10.2 million people were in need of food and non-food assistance throughout 2016, up from the 9.2 million in 2015. Why remains an unanswered question? The answer is simple, having good policies on paper do not equate to effective implementation.

Lack of policy coherence: The review of the implementation of agricultural policies in Ethiopia identified inadequate inter-ministerial coordination as a bottleneck, which makes policy harmonization difficult given that agricultural sector programs span different ministries and their implementation requires effective coordination. Poor inter-ministerial coordination leads to ineffective institutional partnering and implementation of crosscutting sector policies.
The need for integrated food systems approach: Ethiopia has numerous projects and programmes such as the Humbo project that are conducting and promoting agro ecological practices and technologies. However, these programmes and projects are being implemented in a fragmented project-based manner, which poses a threat to the sustainability of these initiatives. Integrated programming can deliver more.

The need to invest in agroecology research: Another identified gap is lack of adequate investments for research to understand the farming systems for each agro-ecological zone. The farming system in Ethiopia can be classified into five major categories: the highland mixed farming system, lowland mixed agriculture, the pastoral system, shifting cultivation and commercial agriculture (Befekadu & Berhanu, 2000). There is a lack of adequate research for the various agro-ecological zones, soil types, rainfall patterns, farming systems, as well as temperature and moisture ranges. The governments therefore need to support more action and field-based research on food systems to determine what works, as the one-size-fits-all approach undermines SDG efforts.

West Africa Case Study: Togo

Overview of Food Security Situation in the Region

The population of West Africa is about 300 million and it is expected to reach 500 million by 2030, at the current growth rate of about 3% per annum. About 60% of this population live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihood [UN Economic Commission for Africa 2012]. In Nigeria, smallholder farms produce 80% of the total food produced in the country. In Ghana, smallholder farmers with an average farm size of 1, 2 hectares produce 80% of the total farm products, and the agriculture sector employs 55% of the labour force [Curtis M 2011]. Small-scale farms account for 72% of agricultural activity in Burkina Faso, whilst small family farms in Mali dominate the agricultural sector at 68% [Angelucci et al]. The smallholder farmers produce crops such as millet, cassava, yam, maize, and rice.

The Graph below shows that cassava has the highest average production, with Ghana recording an average of more than 14000 metric tons. This is mainly because it can be grown under any climatic conditions. All countries in West Africa produce varying amounts of rice, except for Cape Verde. The average production for yams is also very high, with Ghana recording an average of more than 6 million metric tons, Cote d’Ivoire more than 5 million metric tons and Benin more than 2 million metric tons. Of the selected countries, Burkina Faso and Ghana are the leading producers of millet. The main producers of maize are Benin, Burkina Faso and Ghana. Given the concentration of local crop varieties (such as yam; millet; cassava; and millet) as staple crops in the region, it is clear that AE approaches which support local crop diversity are essential to ensure food sovereignty in the region.
However, despite the region being one that is strongly dependent on agriculture and more so traditional crops, it also one of the poorest regions in the world and it suffers from chronic food shortages and high rates of malnutrition. This is due to a number of factors which include low productivity, low levels of investment in agriculture, poor infrastructure in farming areas, limited financial assistance and unpredictable rainfall patterns caused by climate change.

**West Africa countries Government expenditure on agriculture as a percentage of total expenditure for the period 2005-2012**

*Source: SPEED, 2015*
The graph shows that between 2005 and 2012, Nigeria, Côte d’Ivoire, Cape Verde, and Togo were not able to meet the 10% budgetary allocation target. Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger were able to meet the target in at least 3 years. No data is available for Ghana from 2008 to 2012, but from 2005 to 2007 it was not able to meet the budgetary target in any year. There is no available data for Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Gambia.

The following section analyses in more detail the extent to which Togo adhered to its Maputo and Malabo commitments to increase investments in agriculture to promote food self-sufficiency in the country.

**Review and Analysis of Togo Policies**

The Togolese economy is largely dominated by agricultural activities and services sector contributing respectively on average about 42% and 34% of GDP with only 21% by industry sector (AfDB, 2011). The agricultural sector is the biggest employer, which employs 54.1% of the population and contributes about 42% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 20% of the value of exports (FAO, 2015). The proportion of agricultural land is on average 59% of the total land area while arable land is estimated at only 38% of the land area. The average total cereal production per year is estimated at 498,307 metric tons while the cereal yield is only 0.885 tons per hectare (World Bank, 2016). Forest covers 7.74% of the land area. Poverty is still affecting a significant portion of the population estimated at 61.7% (AFDB: 2011). Before 2003, the average public investment in agriculture was only 2.25% of total expenditure, which is below the average African governments’ agricultural expenditure growth rate from 1980 to 2005 (3.6%) (Fan et al., 2008).

In Togo, the period from 2000 to 2015 was characterized by the strategy of upturn of agricultural production to feed the Togolese population, improve producers’ incomes, gain from the foreign exchange and create jobs. Togo was the first country in West Africa to sign onto the 2003 Maputo Declaration (Bruntrup, 2011). This response was to address challenges in the agriculture and food security sector as compared to other countries within the region. For example, cereal production in Togo in 2010 was only 1.06 million tons while it was about 2.91 million tons in Ghana, 4.54 million tons in Burkina Faso, and 6.34 million tons in Mali (Mindi and Kougbenya, 2012). The low level of agricultural production led to increased expenditure on food imports during the past fifteen years. For instance, in 2014, Togo’s expenditure on food imports reached 185 million USD, while it was only 36 million USD in 2000 (FAO, 2015). In 2015, cereals imports in Togo represented 25% of food imports (Ntagungira, 2016).

To continue with its efforts to achieve food sovereignty, Togo developed a new strategy called the New Vision of Togo 2030. To achieve this goal, Togolese policymakers launched the following projects: a) Programme d’Appui au Development Agricole au Togo (PADAT) financed by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to strengthen agricultural development; and b) Projet d’Appui au Secteur Agricole (PASA). Both projects (PADAT and PASA) are part of the national program of investment for food security project that seek to meet the CAADP target to increase of agricultural annual growth rate, of at least, 6% per annum (Kibaara et al., 2009). These projects aim at improving maize, rice and cassava production as well as strengthening small ruminants and poultry production. They also seek to enhance producers’ capacity building and organizations at local, national as well as regional level. From 2013 to 2017, Togo expected to increase cereals production by 4.5% per year, 3% for tuber crops, 1.38% for meat and 4.5% for fishery in order to respond to food insecurity issues (FAO and MAEF, 2012).

The main challenges facing Togolese government in implementing sustainable food systems include:

**Lack of investment in community public utilities:** Smallholder farmers in Togo lack post-harvest storage and packaging facilities leading households to sell their products cheaply during the harvest periods and buy at high prices in food shortage periods. In response, the Togolese
government launched a public stockholding program under the National Food Security Agency (NFSA) to buy farmers’ products, mainly cereals at the market price during the harvest periods, store and resell it at a lower price when future market price increases. This is a temporary strategy that protects both consumers (when cereals’ prices spike) and producers (when cereals’ prices drop) but does not empower the rural farmers to engage in local value chain development processes.

**Southern Africa Case Study: Zambia**

**Overview of Food Security Situation in the Region**

Agriculture is central to fostering economic growth, reducing poverty, and improving food security in the Southern African region. More than 70 per cent of the rural population depends on agriculture for their livelihoods, and regional economic growth has been constrained by poor performance in the agriculture sector. The table below clearly highlights diversity of crops for food security in the region. The most important food crops in terms of the calorie intake information seem to be maize, wheat, sorghum/millet and cassava. Agriculture support systems should therefore focus on these beyond maize as a staple crop if the region is to be food sovereign.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Food crops of major importance</th>
<th>Other relevant foods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>Cassava; maize</td>
<td>Wheat; rice; sorghum/millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Maize; sorghum/millet</td>
<td>Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Maize; wheat, sorghum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Cassava; rice, wheat, sorghum/millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Cassava, maize</td>
<td>Rice, millet/sorghum, wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Maize, wheat, sorghum/millet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Maize, wheat</td>
<td>Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>Maize, wheat</td>
<td>Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Maize, cassava</td>
<td>Rice, sorghum/millet, wheat, pulses, bananas, sweet potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Maize, wheat, sorghum/millet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Maize, wheat, sorghum/millet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Absence of Agroforestry policies and implementation strategies:** Togo has been ranked first among the West African countries with an alarming rate of forest degradation because of its 5.5% rate of total degradation per year (FAO, 2010).
Review of Zambia Policy and Regulatory Frameworks

In Zambia, the agriculture sector employs over 50 per cent of the workforce (IFAD, 2011). The performance of the sector has been weak over much of the 2000s with smallholder yields remaining low and sectoral growth averaging only around 2 per cent per year for much of this period. The country experiences good rainfall, ranging from 500 mm in the south to 1400 mm in the north, though the country is subject to floods and droughts. Only 20 per cent of the total arable land is cultivated and there is considerable scope for expansion in the area under cultivation.

The Government’s overall agenda for ensuring agricultural growth, poverty reduction and food security is guided by a series of agricultural development policies and strategies, all of which support the National Vision 2030, which is aimed at Zambia becoming “a prosperous middle-income country by 2030”. Its vision for the sector reconfirms that of the National Agricultural Policy (2004-2015), while its goal is “to increase and diversify agriculture production and productivity so as to raise the share of its contribution to 20 per cent of GDP”. The Plan identifies a number of strategic priorities for the crop production, livestock and fisheries subsectors. It also gives emphasis to promoting post-harvest technologies, agro-processing and access to domestic, regional and international markets for agro-products.

Zambia also follows a multi-sectoral system of natural resource governance. It established the National Policy on Environment of 2007 and the Environmental Management Act (EMA) of 2011[19], which are supported by many other policies and strategies developed for other sectors such as the Land Act, Forest Act, the Wildlife Act, the Water Act and the Fisheries Act.

The author identified the following gaps inhibiting on AE and FS in Zambia:
Lack of awareness raising on existing AE policies: Policies, strategies and laws related to climate change and sustainable agriculture must be adequately incorporated into extension guidelines and manuals in a way that the great majority of the rural farming population could understand and participate in their implementation.

Agricultural subsidies must go beyond supporting maize production: The apparent high priority given to the agriculture sector has not generally been reflected in its budget allocation. A substantial share of this budget is used on (i) a targeted subsidized Farmer Input Support Programme; and (ii) a guaranteed maize purchase program by the Food Reserve Agency that has squeezed the budgets for other essential activities such as diversifying local crop varieties; rural development and extension support services. The danger is that maize subsidies create dependency amongst farmer. Crop-specific seed and input policies often result in disincentives for farmers to cultivate other crops, including those that make important contributions to nutritious diets, such as vegetables, small grains, legumes and tubers (Pingali, 2015). In Zambia, small-scale farmers lost up to 30% of their incomes when the scheme was temporarily stopped, with the World Bank noting that the attempt to test and encourage adoption of new technologies had effectively become an income transfer scheme that lowered production costs. Creating dependencies of this nature is dangerous as many rural households could relapse into extreme poverty if or when these subsidies are reduced or removed (ACBIO: 2016).

Limited budget for research: In Zambia less than 15% of annual agricultural expenditure goes to research, compared with the 40 –70% that is spent on subsidies. There is need to strengthen farmer and research institutions such as the Zambia Agricultural Research Institute, the non-profit agency Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust and a range of other public and private agencies conducting research on crops, livestock and fisheries. The Zambia National Farmers Union (ZNFU), together with its affiliate the Conservation Farming Unit, District Farmers Associations must be engaged in the process. It is also important to document lessons for scale up from the Smallholder Agribusiness Promotion Programme (SAPP, 2010-2017) and review the extent to which agroecology and food sovereignty principles were promoted as a way to identify gaps and recommend measures for improving future programs.

Review fertilizer usage policy given the impact on soil fertility: Although agroecological farming practices have been promoted in Zambia since the 1980s, heavy use of fertilizers is causing the soil to lose its nutrients (Weitz et al., 2014). About 55% of farmers now use inorganic fertilizers, and total fertilizer use in Zambia corresponds to almost 30 kg/ha., whereas the average use across 25 African countries is 11 kg/ha (Ibid). However, the response to these inputs is very poor. Currently, about 99% of fertilizers are applied to maize and those provided to smallholders through government programmes are not well adapted to the different growing conditions in the respective agricultural zones (Ibid). The government of Zambia must therefore invest in AE which recent studies have confirmed increases smallholder farmer resilience towards impacts of climate change as well as improve yields produced (Chappell and Agnew, 2004).
This report is part of an AFSA series of three policy studies, focusing on Land Rights, Agroecology, and Seed Sovereignty.

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