
A STUDY TO INFORM THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AFRICA FOOD POLICY FRAMEWORK

FINAL REPORT



**World Food
Programme**



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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
ADFNS	Africa Day for Food and Nutrition Security
AFR100	Africa Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative
AFSA	Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
ARNS	Africa Regional Nutrition Strategy
AUDA	African Union Development Agency
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
ASGTS	Agriculture Sector Growth and Transformation Strategy
AU	The African Union
AU-IBAR	African Union Intra-Africa Bureau for Animal Resources
AUC	African Union Commission
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
COHA	Cost of Hunger in Africa
SD3C	Challenges of COVID-19, Conflict and Climate Change
CFS	Committee on World Food Security
CSA	Climate Smart Agriculture
CRFS	City Region Food Systems
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DDMA	Department of Disaster Management Affairs of Malawi
DREA	Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture of the African Union
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa of the UN
ECF	East Coast Fever
ECOWAP	Economic Community of West African States' Agricultural Policy
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EOA	Ecological Organic Agriculture Initiative
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FFV	Fresh Fruits and Vegetables
FISP	Farming Inputs Subsidy Programme
FNSAP	Food and Nutrition Security Action Plan
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GVC	Global food Value Chains
HC3N	Nigeriens Feed Nigeriens Initiative
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MAIWD	Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Water Development of Malawi
ME	Ministry of Environment of Burkina Faso
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture of Kenya
MALF	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries of Kenya
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium-Scale Enterprises

NAIPs	National Agricultural Investment Plans
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAFO	Pan-African Farmers' Organisation
PNIA	National Program for Agricultural Investments
PNSR	National Programme for Rural Development
PRIASAN	Regional Program for Agricultural Investment and Food and Nutrition Security
RAIPs	Regional Agricultural Investment Plans
RAP	Regional Agricultural Policy
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
S3A	Science Agenda for Agriculture in Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDROP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and other people working in rural areas
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
WHH	Welthungerhilfe
WFP	World Food Program

Executive Summary

1. Introduction

This executive summary discusses the main findings and recommendations of a study that was commissioned to inform the development of an Africa-driven, visionary, flexible and fit-for-purpose, but not a one-size-fits-all Africa Food Policy Framework. The report provides main findings on why the continent needs an Africa Food Policy Framework, recommendations on the main topics that the policy should cover, a process and timeframe for developing it, and how the policy should be governed and implemented. The Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa and the African Union commissioned the study in partnership with the Eastern Africa office of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations and the Africa office of the World Food Programme. It was funded by Welthungerhilfe. The study commenced in October 2020 and initially completed in February 2021. The report was subsequently shared with the African Union Commission (AUC), Regional Economic Communities (RECs), national governments and Eastern Africa office of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), the Africa office of the World Food Programme (WFP), and national governments for broader feedback. The feedback was received in May 2021 and incorporated in this report in May and June 2021.

About 300 people attended an online November 2020 meeting at which the research was introduced. The researchers generated the data for this report from 49 people from different stakeholder groups, of whom 17 were women (34.7 %) and 32 men (65.3 %). The majority of the interviewees were from government and intergovernmental bodies, farmer organisations and NGOs. Interviewees and reviewers were drawn from African government and intergovernmental organisations, African farmer organisations, African Non-Governmental Organisations, African agricultural research organisations, universities, an international policy research organisation and a donor organisation. The study analysed agriculture, food and nutrition policy frameworks and strategy documents developed by the African Union (AU); three Regional Economic Communities, namely, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC) and Southern African Development Community (SADC); and three case countries, Burkina Faso, Kenya and Malawi. In addition, the study reviewed progressive food policies from beyond Africa using a sustainable development framing and an inclusive sustainable food systems approach, which resonate with Africa's Agenda 2063.

2. Main findings

The study identified **five main reasons** why the continent needs an Africa Food Policy Framework, that are summarised below.

- a. **To increase horizontal and vertical policy coherence and give a common direction for Africa food related policies at all levels:** because they currently: (i) are developed independent of each other, (ii) comprise a mix of plans, programmes, strategies and policies that are not clearly defined in terms of authority, hierarchy and development process, and (iii) are often developed by external consultants with a poor understanding of the African context. The main areas of food policy incoherence are in connection with provision for the right to food, farmers' rights and climate resilience building.
- b. **To provide guidance on making food governance structures and systems, human and institutional capacity more transformational towards just and sustainable futures** This is because they currently: (i) tend to privilege the interests of multinational companies and external

fundings at the expense of small-scale food producers, (ii) tend to favour local political and economic elites, (iii) do not listen to the voices of small-scale farmers and other key actors in the food system, (iv) fail to address the root causes of poverty, especially food infrastructure development, (v) are shaped by a neoliberal economic approach, (vi) do not make adequate linkages between agriculture and other sectors and actors in the sphere of food, and (vii) lack analysis of trade-offs inherent in various policy choices. Current governance systems, which are transformational towards more unjust and less sustainable futures rather than the reverse, are fostering power and resource accumulation by investors and local elites at the expense of small-scale farmers – making the poor, poorer and the rich, richer. African countries have entered into transnational agricultural land deals covering 10 million hectares (37 % of global land deals), which leaves small scale farmers worse off. Worse still, Africa’s decisions on food are often unduly influenced by multilateral corporations whose primary interest is to expand their markets in Africa. Finally, there is low political will to support agriculture, as reflected in the low investment in food infrastructure development and the low percentage of countries that have fulfilled their commitment on 10 % budget allocation to agriculture. These governance systems are also privileging the production of food as a commodity for trade, especially for export, over food for local consumption. The individual and institutional capacities needed in inclusive, sustainable food systems are generally inadequate.

- c. **To provide guidance on enhancing food systems sustainability and resilience to climate change and other shocks.** This is because currently: (i) the farming systems degrade the environment and erode agrobiodiversity, (ii) food production and distribution system activities and infrastructure are neither circular nor green, and (iii) food production and distribution system activities and infrastructure are vulnerable to the effects of climate change, climate variability and pandemics such as COVID-19. Africa has high land degradation levels compared to other continents.
- d. **To provide guidance on how food systems can become more culturally, socially and economically appropriate.** Currently they are: (i) based on a productivity paradigm that marginalises nutrition, ecological sustainability and overlooks the cost of production, (ii) delocalised and over-dependent on cheap food imports, (iii) constrained by intra-Africa trade barriers, (iv) characterised by weak and unfair rural producer and urban consumer linkages that favour the latter, (v) not being utilised to drive economic development. Increasing productivity is necessary to feed Africa’s growing population but it needs to be done in a manner that considers nutrition security, food cultures, agrobiodiversity and local agroecological conditions. Africa’s food systems are resulting in Africa’s huge annual import bill of about US\$64.5 billion against food export earnings of US\$35-40 billion. Intra-Africa trade barriers such as food standards that vary between African countries, as well as some countries’ nationalistic trade practices, have in some cases fuelled the need for cheap (subsidized) food imports. However, the opening of the Africa Continental Free Trade Area in January 2021 is expected to boost intra-Africa trade (especially in food), promote industrialisation and create jobs. The other important socio-economic challenge of Africa’s food systems is that they are not driving Africa’s economic development as much as they should.

To provide guidance on infrastructure development, digitalisation of food systems, and on how to increase the production and consumption of enough nutritious food and diversity of diets at all times by everyone. Currently, a high proportion of Africa’s population is food insecure and malnourished, and unable to reach its full potential and human capital development goals because there is: (i) inadequate linkage between different food system activities, especially between

agricultural production, food nutrition security and health systems, food production and processing, and rural development and urbanisation (ii) high post-harvest food losses (due to poor infrastructure to store, process and transport food), (iii) disruption of food systems by conflicts between governments and some groups, and between pastoralists and sedentary farmers in some parts of the continent, (iv) growth of unhealthy food consumption habits related to unavailability and/or unaffordability of healthy diets; and (v) low investment in infrastructure and the digitalisation of food systems. The poor link between agriculture, nutrition and affordability are leading to the consumption of carbohydrates (especially maize, rice and wheat) at the expense of other food types. At the same time, Africa's significant post-harvest food losses of between 20 % and 60 % depending on the food produce and countries, contributes significantly to food insecurity and malnutrition. Africa has the highest proportion of food insecure people in the world, at 52.5 % of the population. Undernutrition is particularly higher in conflict-ridden countries and in countries affected by droughts. In Africa, the prevalence of stunting of children is 29.1%, significantly higher than the global average of 21.3%. Not a single country in Africa is on course to meet the targets for anaemia in women of reproductive age (aged 15 to 49 years), low birth weight, diabetes among men, diabetes among women, obesity among men, and obesity among women. The prevalence of obesity in adults increased from 28.4 % in 2000 to 41.7 % in 2016, that is, 428,527,965 obese and overweight adult people. Obesity and undernutrition are partly a result of mindsets that do not always prefer to buy healthy foods, especially local and traditional foods, and of not being able to grow and/or buy adequate healthy foods. In this regard, urban youth tend to prefer fast foods due to their convenience and clever marketing and advertising.

An Africa Food Policy Framework would add value to CAADP and other existing African food related policy and strategic guidance document in the following ways by:

- Complementing and building on CAADP and related African programmes and strategies. CAADP recognises the need for policy making and associated institutional development.
- Emphasizing the importance of starting from an inclusive sustainable food systems perspective when making effective food related policies in Africa. The Framework would look beyond agriculture by considering food systems drivers and multi-functional outcomes of food systems. The key drivers are environmental and climate change; socio-economic, socio-cultural and demographic; institutional and geopolitical; policies and regulations; science and technology. The intended outcomes of the Framework range from the environmental, and socio-economic to sustainable food and nutrition security. This means that the Policy Framework would provide guidance on a systems perspective to tackling issues such as climate change, (agro)biological diversity, water infrastructure, trade-offs between economic and environmental outcomes, the link between demographic factors, food production and environmental degradation, and value chain systems. For example, in the case of climate change, the Framework would recognise that agriculture is a significant contributor to global warming and can be used as an effective solution to climate change. It would also provide for the integration of climate change and climate change policies, right from context analysis, policy objectives and strategies, to action.

3. Recommendations

The development of an Africa Food Policy Framework should not only address the current and emerging challenges but also recognise and build on the numerous effective and promising practices, initiatives and processes on the continent. These include and are not limited to the following:

- The evolution of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP): including family farming, resilience of vulnerable ecosystems and communities, and mutual accountability.
- Ratifications of a wide range of AU and international human rights instruments by African Member States, including the right to food.
- Establishment and operationalisation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) to accelerate inter-country and inter-regional trade.
- The integration of: (i) nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive food systems, (ii) right to food and multi-level food sovereignty, (iii) regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems, and (iv) food market integration and harmonisation in some of the regional and national food strategies.
- Establishment of national institutional mechanisms that enable an integrated approach to addressing food system drivers, activities and outcomes.
- A growing number of African farmers, fisher folks, pastoralists, indigenous peoples and CSOs adopting a sustainable food systems approach.

3.1 Recommendations on what an Africa Food Policy Framework should cover

The study recommends that the Africa Food Policy Framework be framed at a high visionary level, flexible and African-driven. It should provide direction and guidance on: policy coherence and alignment; transformative and fair governance; culturally, socially, ecologically and economically appropriate food systems that encompass efficient flows of affordable agricultural food products for consumers yet provide fair incomes to producers to strengthen long-term food sovereignty; sustainable and resilient food systems; food and nutrition security; and food safety.

For it to be high-level and flexible, an Africa Food Policy Framework needs to be based on principles. The study also recommends the development of **principles that cover** the following areas:

1. **Philosophical/cultural domain (the spirit) principles** covering: (i) African unity and solidarity, (ii) a rights-based approach, (iii) African cultures, (iv) responsiveness of the African context, and (v) cultural drivers of food systems.
2. **Environment and climate change (the planet and its sustainability) principles** covering: (i) food as a socio-economic, environmental and climate change issue, (ii) transitioning towards agroecology and climate resilience.
3. **Socio-economic (sustainable healthy diets and inclusive wealth) principles** covering: (i) circular value chains, (ii) shorter value chains and more inclusive markets, and (iii) financing of the development and implementation of an Africa Food Policy Framework:
4. **Governance and institutional capacity (power with and power to) principles** covering: (i) building on what is there, (ii) tackling root causes to increase food sovereignty and to reduce overdependence on external markets that may threaten food security in case of shocks (as experienced with the COVID19 pandemic), and (iii) institutional capacity for food policy development, implementation, monitoring and review.

The study recommends that an Africa Food Policy Framework should **cover the following topics**:

1. Vision and principles (including agro-ecological transition, food system perspective, climate change mitigation and adaptation)
2. Policy background, context, rationale, purpose and objectives

3. Governance of food systems (including land, water and conflict transformation)
4. Agroecology-based and climate change resilient food systems
5. Disaster preparedness and resilience building to shocks and stresses affecting food systems
6. Tackling poverty, infrastructure development, and digitalisation of food systems
7. Inclusive, just and circular value chains
8. Enhancing food and nutrition security, food safety and consumption of sustainable healthy diets (including increasing the availability and affordability of nutritious foods in local food markets)
9. Strengthening intra-Africa food trade and markets
10. Human and institutional capacity development for sustainable, inclusive food systems.
11. Trade-offs, partnerships and their management
12. Governance, implementation, funding, M & E and reporting

3.2 Recommendations on how an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed and implemented

The study recommends a principles-driven process of developing and implementing an Africa Food Policy Framework, which includes: (i) a human rights-based approach to people's participation, (ii) using a bottom-up people-centred approach, (iii) African-driven and African-led, serving the interests of Africans and not just the political and economic elite, (iv) building on and supporting existing African policy frameworks such as CAADP, Africa Regional Nutrition Strategy (ARNS) , Right to Food and Nutrition and ongoing initiatives and processes such as the AfCFTA and Draft Model Law and the United Nations Food Systems Summit, (v) fostering policy coherence within and across food sub-sectors (crops, livestock, fisheries, land, water, and trade) , (vi) securing and utilisation of appropriate sources to fund the process and enhance African ownership of the Africa Food Policy Framework and support national food security and nutrition priorities and development goals, and (vii) use of an iterative process to develop the Africa Food Policy Framework and its implementation plan with feedback processes at sub-national, national, sub-regional and continental levels.

The study also recommends the inclusion of the following stakeholder groups in the policy formulation process:

- **Public sector:** parliamentarians at national, regional and Pan-African levels; regional economic community experts in areas such as food, agriculture, health, trade, environment and climate change and energy; technocrats from relevant ministries; standards authorities; local government; and municipalities; and food procurement officials.
- **Civil society sector:** farmers organisations (at all levels); landless people organisations; agricultural worker organisations; indigenous communities; consumer organisations; youth organisations; women organisations; and NGOs involved in land, food, nutrition, health and agriculture.
- **Academia, research and innovation:** food and agriculture, and policy research organisations and universities.
- **Private sector:** Food production, marketing and trade associations; youth and women-led companies; food related MSMEs; and the hospitality industry.
- **Development partners:** Donor organisations and philanthropies who are interested in promoting inclusive sustainable food systems.

Finally, the study also recommends the following steps to be followed in developing an African Food Policy Framework:

0. **June-December 2020:** Build stakeholder groups' awareness and political buy-in of the idea of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework that is Africa-driven.
1. **July 2021:** Share key findings and recommendations from this study to inform initial discussion on an Africa Food Policy Framework.
2. **August-September 2021:** Establish a Steering Committee comprising a mix of African governments and CSOs to develop guidelines and terms of reference for the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework.
3. **October-December 2021:** Establish multi-stakeholder task forces at national, regional and continental level and co-develop a common African position and principles to inform the content and process of an Africa Food Policy Framework to feed into the World Food Systems Summit; and mobilise the necessary resources.
4. **January-December 2022:** Establish multi-stakeholder policy discussion platforms at continental, regional, national and subnational levels to engage in step-wise participatory consultations and produce food policy proposals that are grounded in the multiple food system realities.
5. **January to March 2023:** Steering Committee members and Task Force representatives collect and synthesize policy proposals made in different countries, regions and at continental level.
6. **April-July 2023:** Presentation and adoption of policy recommendations by the Pan-African Parliamentary Body.

Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Institutional arrangements for commissioning the study

This is a report of a study that was commissioned by the Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA) and the African Union (AU). AFSA is a broad continental alliance of diverse civil society organisations whose mission is to influence food policies and promote African solutions to food sovereignty (AFSA, 2017). AFSA is a network of networks composed of networks of farmers, fisherfolks, indigenous people, pastoralists, women, youth, consumers, faith-based institutions and civil society. AFSA values community rights, family farming, traditional knowledge and knowledge systems, agroecology, the environment and natural resources.

The AU is a continental body consisting of 55 Member States that make up the countries of the African Continent. It was officially launched in 2002 as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU, 1963-1999), with a vision of *“An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena.”* (AUC, 2015). The AU’s purpose is to increase cooperation and integration of African states to drive Africa’s growth and economic development (AUC, 2021). The African Union Commission (AUC) serves as the secretariat of the AU and implements the continental body’s decisions, guided by the values of: respect for diversity and team work, think Africa above all, transparency and accountability, integrity and impartiality, efficiency and professionalism, and information and knowledge sharing (AUC, 2021).

In this study, AFSA and AU, worked in partnership with the Eastern Africa office of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) and the Africa office of the World Food Programme (WFP). The FAO sub-regional office is responsible for developing, promoting, overseeing and implementing agreed sub-regional priorities on food policy, nutrition, agriculture and rural development in liaison with the AUC and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The WFP, the world’s largest humanitarian organisation, provides food assistance and solutions, supporting national governments, and is committed to end hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition and build community resilience.

Welthungerhilfe (WHH) supported this study in the context of its multi-country programme entitled *Strengthening Rural Governance for the Right to Adequate Food*. WHH, which is one of the largest private aid organisations in Germany, exists to fight hunger around the world. It focuses its work on Sustainable Development Goal 2: Zero Hunger by 2030. Its work approach is based on the conviction that all people are equal in value, have inalienable rights and should be able to control their own lives.

1.2 Study rationale, objectives and questions

The study was inspired by the: (i) growing need to develop an Africa Food Policy Framework that is Africa-driven and reflects African values – a visionary policy that will be relevant for the years to come, (ii) recognition and valuing of existing Pan-African, sub-regional, and national agriculture, food and nutrition, water and related policies on which to anchor such an Africa Food Policy Framework, (iii) realisation of the lack of a comprehensive, integrated, coherent and holistic continental Africa Food Policy Framework that cuts across relevant levels of governance (continental, regional, national and local) and sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, forestry, environment and biodiversity, health and pandemics, climate change and rural/urban development, and (iv) emergence of innovative ideas and approaches (e.g., food systems) that can contribute towards the development of a fit-for-purpose Africa Food Policy Framework.

The purpose of the study was to:

- Explore the current governance structures and policy frameworks, their fitness for purpose, the information sources and influences on which they are based.
- Strengthen the evidence base supporting the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework.
- Provide an overview of African food systems in both rural and urban settings, their strengths and weaknesses, and the extent to which they address Africa's needs, e.g., nutrition, health, livelihoods, human rights.
- Design a process for consultation and dialogue, and to inform a process of developing and implementing a Food Policy for Africa. The envisaged Africa Food Policy Framework is expected to be more of a guiding framework and not a one-size-fits-all document. Table 1 below outlines the research objectives and associated detailed questions in the study's terms of reference.

Table 1: Study objectives and associated detailed questions

STUDY OBJECTIVE	ASSOCIATED QUESTIONS
To explore the current governance structures and policy frameworks, their fitness for purpose, the information sources and influences on which they are based	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the current legal and policy frameworks at a Pan-African level related to the food systems? What are the existing gaps? • Do these policies address issues of human rights, gender and marginalized people? • Are these policies coherent? How do they complement or conflict with each other? • Are they people centred (i.e., centred on and promoting the rights of small-scale food producers and groups most affected by hunger and malnutrition)? • How do relevant regional and national policies and strategies relate to these Pan-African legal and policy frameworks? Provide examples from Kenya, Malawi, and Burkina Faso. • Does the Malabo declaration and its Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) operationalization instruments sufficiently cover the issues? • How can the operationalization of Malabo commitments be done to ensure that these issues are comprehensively addressed? • How can we ensure that member States own such an instrument as an Africa Food Policy Framework? • What are the power relations at play in African food systems, e.g., the role of multi-national Corporations, trade, philanthropy, and Northern governments?
To strengthen the evidence base supporting the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do we have the key information (production, value addition, distribution, health, nutrition, markets, impact on health, climate etc.) needed to guide food policy? • What are the barriers and opportunities to good food policy? • What significant food policy alternatives have been proposed by civil society before? • Are there good existing policy initiatives that we can learn from? Dos and don'ts? • What are the areas/domains that would need to be covered by a set of principles? • What are the key components and topic areas of a comprehensive food policy, including those that might fall through the cracks e.g., land governance, seeds, infrastructure, etc.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>To provide an overview of African food systems in both rural and urban settings, their strengths and weaknesses, and the extent to which they address Africa's needs e.g. (nutrition, health, livelihoods, human rights)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main food systems related challenges facing Africa e.g., environmental, climate change, health, socio-economic, technological, cultural, security and conflicts, political etc? • Are current trends in Africa food systems supportive of healthy diets, decent livelihoods for food producers and workers, the protection and regeneration of nature, etc.? If not, why not? Where do the problems lie? • What are the governance structures around the food system at sub-regional, national and local levels? • What do our food systems look like in rural and urban settings and what are their interactions? • What is the nature and extent of food losses and food waste? • What can we learn from the impact of and responses to COVID-19? |
| <p>To design a process for consultation and dialogue, and to inform a process of developing and implementing a Food Policy for Africa.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are the various key stakeholders and what are their characteristics? • What should be the roles of the various actors and institutions in the process of development of an Africa Food Policy Framework? • How can we ensure that this process is people-centred, equitable, gender sensitive, and reflective of the struggles and demands of small-scale food producers? • What could be main steps and a realistic timeline for the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework? • How should an Africa Food Policy Framework be governed, implemented, monitored, evaluated and reported on? |

1.2.1 Interpretation of the main research questions

An interpretation of the research questions showed that the main research questions were:

1. Why does Africa need a continental food policy?
 - a. What are the current food systems governance structures and policy frameworks in Africa and what is their fitness for purpose, information sources and influences on which they are based?
 - b. What evidence is there of food system challenges to support the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework?
 - c. What are the main features of African food systems in both rural and urban settings, what are their strengths and weaknesses, and what is the extent to which they address Africa's needs?¹
2. What should be the main pillars and contents of an Africa Food Policy Framework?
 - a. What are the areas/domains that would need to be covered by a set of principles?
 - b. What are the key components and topic areas of a comprehensive food policy, including those that might fall through the cracks, e.g., land governance, seeds, infrastructure)?
3. How should the Africa Food Policy Framework be developed, governed, implemented and assessed?

1.3 Conceptual framing of the study

The study was framed within an inclusive sustainable food systems approach. A food system refers to: (i) the interconnected system of everything and everybody that influences, and is influenced by, the activities involved in bringing food from farm to fork and beyond, (ii) the totality of different types of food systems in different localities and contexts, which acknowledges the huge diversity of food

¹ We developed the three sub-questions, 1a-1c, from three of the four study objectives in the terms of reference.

systems at different scales with differing characteristics, and (iii) a specific locality or context (Parsons et al., 2019). Food systems have also been described as covering all the elements (environment, people, inputs, processes, infrastructures, institutions, policies, culture, etc.) and activities that relate to the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food, and the outputs of these activities, including socio-economic and environmental outcomes (HLPE, 2017). They are constantly being shaped by different forces, drivers and decisions by many different individuals at various levels (CFS, 2020).

Below, is brief explanation of the main elements of an inclusive sustainable food systems approach and their interaction.

Food systems encompass the entire range of actors and their interlinked value-adding activities involved in the production, aggregation, processing, distribution, consumption and disposal of food products that originate from agriculture, forestry or fisheries, and parts of the broader economic, societal and natural environments in which they are embedded. The food system is comprised of sub-systems such as the farming system, interacts with other key systems such as trade systems, and has feedback mechanisms, making it complex and inter-connected (FAO, 2018). A food system comprises drivers, activities and outcomes (Schulte et al., 2020, Lippert et al., 2020). The drivers consist of a range of factors that have an influence over food system activities and outcomes. These include: policies and regulations, institutions, science and technology, infrastructure, natural resources, the economy, the population, socio-cultural, socio-political and geopolitics. Food system activities cover a circular value chain concerned with growing/raising, harvesting, storing, processing, distribution, preparation, consumption and disposal of food and their socio-economic and environmental impacts. The outcomes are: (i) food and nutrition security (food availability, use, access, stability, agency and sustainable healthy diets), (ii) socio-economic (livelihoods and well-being, social justice and equality, economic development and poverty alleviation, human health, and resilience and climate change adaptation), and (iii) environmental (resource efficiency, ecosystem services, conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, and climate change mitigation) (HLPE, 2020; UNEP, 2016; FAO, 2018; Schulte et al., 2020). The interactive relationships among the drivers, activities and outcomes of a food system are illustrated in figure 1 below.



Figure 1: Relationship between drivers, activities and outcomes of food systems²

Source : Schulte et al., 2020, p. 6

A *sustainable* food system is one that ensures food security and nutrition for all in such a way that the economic, social and environmental bases needed to generate food security and nutrition of future generations are not compromised (HLPE, 2014). Moreover, a sustainable food system also needs to be “resilient” to internal and external shocks, for example, COVID-19 and globalized food availability due to climate change. Resilience thinking is a form of systems thinking that embraces the need to adapt to changes to the system in order to survive and live. Adaptations that enhance the system’s resilience to external shocks may be technical, infrastructural, organisational, political, policy and/or social (Tendall, 2016). The International Food Policy Research Institute describes an inclusive food system as one that reaches, benefits and empowers all people, especially the socially and economically disadvantaged members of society (IFPRI, 2020). An *inclusive* food system achieves this by removing barriers to the participation of the marginalised by empowering them to make strategic life choices. Examples include increasing women’s decision-making power within their households and ensuring

² As reflected in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), which has SDG 13 on Climate Change, and SDG 15 to protect the environment and biodiversity, climate change is cross-cutting that it should be cited as a major driver in its own right.

that marginalized people's voices shape food policies, and contribute to improved governance (ibid., p. 9).

In order to transform food systems and make them healthy, sustainable and just, in line with the Right to Food, the following aspects have been suggested to be included: human rights, traditional knowledge, natural resources as means of production, biodiversity and governance. Sustainable healthy diets are dietary patterns that promote all dimensions of individuals' health and wellbeing; have low environmental pressure and impact; are accessible, affordable, safe and equitable; and are culturally acceptable (FAO & WHO, 2019).

1.4 Linking the inclusive sustainable food systems approach to an Africa Food Policy Framework

The study used the inclusive sustainable food systems approach to frame this study because the approach helps to identify transformative pathways towards an inclusive, sustainable food policy (UNEP & One Planet Network Sustainable Food Systems Programme, 2019). This transformative approach acknowledges that food systems are location-context-specific and recognises the importance of considering local factors. These might include local consumption patterns, implementation capacity, political will, policy space, community will and commitment and multi-stakeholder interests (Nguyen et al., 2011; Samji et al., 2018; Bizzotto Molina et al., 2020). Consideration of such factors will help the framing of an Africa Food Policy Framework.

The study found the need to ground the inclusive sustainable food systems approach in the African context, where many relevant but weakly connected policies are already in place, and new relevant initiatives are taking place. The study sought to address this by:

- Recognising, connecting with and building on relevant previous and ongoing policy initiatives so as to overcome the historical and current policy disconnects. The policy instruments include but are not limited to CAADP (2003), the Malabo Declaration (2014), the Africa Regional Nutrition Strategy (ARNS) 2016-2025, and agriculture, food and nutrition related policies at REC and national levels for the case countries. Full list of policies reviewed are in Table 4 in the next section.
- Ensuring that the voices of the historically, new and emerging marginalised stakeholders and grassroots initiatives in food systems inform the study findings (AFSA, 2019).

AFSA (2019) notes that a common Africa Food Policy Framework should align various policies and incentives so as to deliver inclusive sustainable food systems, informed by the knowledge, experience, interests and needs of all key stakeholders.

Section 2: Methodology

2.1 Study design

The study was designed to be participatory and inclusive, iterative and reflexive, and based on contemporary and forward-looking thinking about food policy. It was participatory and inclusive through ensuring the participation of the different stakeholders in Africa's diverse food systems. It was iterative and reflexive to ensure rigour in the generation of evidence on why an Africa Food Policy Framework is needed, what it should contain and how it should be developed so that it is fit-for-purpose. The design was underpinned by an inclusive sustainable food systems approach that enables a comprehensive analysis, which addresses political and socio-economic, food and nutrition security and environmental concerns.

In line with a participatory and inclusive approach, the study used a purposive stratified sampling approach that took account of the: (i) vast size of the African continent, (ii) diversity of Africa's food systems, (iii) number of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and case countries, (iv) wide range of food and agriculture policies across levels, and (v) a wide range of actors involved in African food systems and with a stake in a continental food policy. Consequently, the sample of interviewees comprised actors from farmers' organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), indigenous organisations and consumers' organisations, relevant government ministries, inter-governmental bodies and parliamentary bodies, research organisations and private sector organisations. At the same time, the study also ensured that document analysis covered all three RECs of Africa, and three countries, one per REC, namely, Burkina Faso in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Kenya in the East African Community (EAC), and Malawi in the Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC). These case studies were important for analysing coherence between regional and national policy frameworks and how they are operationalized at the national level; and for establishing their reasonings or rationale for developing food policies.

The study applied a reflexive and iterative approach to continuously improve the study process and outputs at the following three levels:

- The research team met weekly during much of the study period to share and review progress and collectively generate insights.
- AFSA and the research team held a total of four review and reflection meetings, which were helpful in shaping the direction and scope of the research as new opportunities, insights and challenges emerged. In addition, the AFSA team provided feedback on the draft inception report, on the draft presentation on preliminary findings, and the first draft study report.
- The AU and AFSA and their partners met the research team once on 17 November 2020 during an online meeting where the research team presented preliminary findings and received feedback. AFSA and AU and their partners also subsequently reviewed the second draft of the study report in January 2021 and provided feedback that was incorporated in the final study report.

2.2 Data collection

Data collection was preceded by an online inception meeting, which was attended by nearly 300 AFSA and AU stakeholders. The meeting introduced the study and the participants provided recommendations to sharpen the focus, process and direction of the study.

The study utilised in-depth online interviews (due to COVID-19 travel restrictions) with key informants and feedback process (see Section 3.1, last paragraph), with a wide range of key stakeholders to generate primary data; and reviewed relevant documents and literature to address the research objectives and questions. The main secondary data documents that were analysed are listed in Annex and cover African food, agriculture and human rights documents that were consulted at Pan-Africa, RECs and national levels based on selected case countries. The documents were particularly important sources of information on the political economy of an Africa Food Policy Framework. In addition, the researchers attended relevant online conferences to gain insights into contemporary thinking about food and food system policy issues in Africa. The researchers interviewed 49 people from different stakeholder groups of whom 17 were women and 32 men. The majority of the interviewees were from government and intergovernmental bodies, farmer organisations and NGOs. The study could not secure interviews with parliamentarians, consumer organisations, indigenous organisations and the private sector as planned because they did not respond to initial or follow up requests to hold interviews with them. The methodological limitation of fewer than expected people participating in the study was addressed by seeking and obtaining feedback on the draft and final draft reports from some of the major actors on food systems matters on the continent. Feedback to drafts was received in early February and later in May 2021 and has been incorporated into this report.

2.3 Data analysis

The study used an inductive analysis to organise around the three main study questions on why Africa needs a food policy, what the food policy should cover and how the food policy should be developed. In addition, it used a concept/theory-informed analysis (abductive) that is based on an inclusive sustainable food systems approach to analyse data in relation to why Africa needs a food policy and how such a food policy could be developed. The inclusive sustainable food systems approach helped to frame the analysis of research findings related to the question of why Africa needs a continental food policy.

Based on the three kinds of sustainable food systems outcomes/impacts outlined in the introductory section of this report, namely, socio-economic, environmental and food security and nutrition, the researchers used political economy, sustainability and food systems analyses to establish why Africa needs a continental food policy. The study used a political economy analysis to tackle questions concerning actors, power structures, power relations and agency (Pinstrup-Andersen & Watson II, 2011; De Schutter, 2019). This study did this not only because the research objectives and questions required us to do so but also because a sustainable food systems approach is inherently political and ought to tackle power asymmetries in decision-making processes that often marginalise the less powerful actors (FAO, 2017). A political economy analysis provided us with lenses for revealing the lock-in effects of the current dominant industrial model, which also locks out reforms and transformations that are needed (IPES, 2016; AFSA, 2017). The study applied a food systems analysis concept to frame the descriptions of food systems in Africa, their main elements, food systems drivers, trends, events, activities and outcomes – and how they interact. Their interaction provided insights into feedback loops and potentially important patterns that need to be considered when developing an Africa Food Policy Framework. The study utilised sustainability analysis to identify environmental/ecological shortcomings in Africa's food systems (Dekeyser et al. 2020).

2.4 Study process and outputs

The study process had three main phases, namely: (i) inception, (ii) preliminary study and (iii) full-scale study. Table 2 below summarises the activities conducted and outputs produced at in each phase.

Table 2: Study phases, activities and outputs

Phases	Activities	Outputs
Inception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developed inception reports to outline the research design and research plan Obtained client feedback and incorporated in the final inception report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Draft Inception Report Final Inception Report
Preliminary study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conducted initial interviews and document review Prepared PowerPoint presentation on preliminary findings Obtained client feedback and incorporated in the final preliminary findings PowerPoint presentation Made an online presentation for client representatives and partners in a virtual online meeting and obtained feedback 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Draft PowerPoint presentation on preliminary findings Final PowerPoint presentation on preliminary findings
Full-scale study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conducted the rest of the interviews and document analysis Attended relevant online conferences Prepared a draft report on the findings of the study Obtained client and partner feedback of the draft report and produced a final report Prepared a PowerPoint presentation in English and in French (to be presented at a workshop that will be attended by a wider range of stakeholders) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Draft study report with an executive summary Final study report with an executive summary PowerPoint presentations in English and French

2.5 Methodological limitations

The study was unable to generate primary data through face-to-face interviews and meetings due to the travel restrictions imposed as a result of COVID-19. This resulted in primary data being generated through online interviews and feedback workshops. The inability to travel and hold face to face meetings resulted in fewer people than expected being interviewed. Interviewees could only afford to hold conversations for an hour or less in most cases as they had other competing priorities in the reduced work hours. This limitation was addressed through: (i) attending relevant conferences to gather further information, (ii) sharpening the focus of each interview based on the role of the individual or group of key informants, (iii) conducting more document analysis than we had originally planned, (iv) getting the report reviewed by several senior academics, government officials, researchers and policy makers, (v) holding of two-layered feedback workshops.

Section 3: Why Africa needs an Africa Food Policy Framework

The findings in this section are based on an analysis and synthesis of primary data generated and secondary data reviewed during the study. As pointed out in the introductory section, the analysis that underpins the reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework is informed by political economy, environmental and food system approaches, and demographic changes and dynamics. These approaches are inclusive and take into account sustainable food systems. The study established that an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed to address three main areas of challenges (Table 3).

Table 3: Continental challenges and reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework

Area of challenge	Areas of reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework
What are the current food systems governance structures and policy frameworks in Africa and what is their fitness for purpose, information sources and influences on which they are based?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of various food related policy frameworks • Coherence between existing food related policies • Institutional capacity and ownership of the agriculture and food agenda • Food system governance structures and systems • Economic approach that underpins Africa's food systems • External influence on Africa's food policies • Access to food systems information • The evolution of CAADP • Market infrastructure and information
What are the main features of African food systems in both rural and urban settings, what are their strengths and weaknesses, and what is the extent to which they address Africa's needs?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food systems in rural and urban settings (including capacity challenges of rural food systems to continue service urban food systems in view of current demographic changes and urban growth) • Knowledge management
What evidence is there of food system challenges to support the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food insecurity and malnutrition in Africa • Link between agricultural production and nutrition in Africa • Adaptation to climate change and food systems • Epidemics/pandemics (e.g., COVID 19) and Africa food systems • Land degradation, soil health and food systems • Post-harvest losses • Levels of food safety • Food import and export • Governance and food systems • Contradictory rules and regulations about food / food exchanges (between countries) • Conflicts and food systems

Each reason is based on information provided by research participants (interviewees) and draws on secondary data for further evidence or elaboration. In conclusion, this section interprets and makes sense of the implications of this evidence on the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework in terms of either what it should cover or how it should be developed, thereby linking this section to the next.

3.1 Suitability of current food policy frameworks, governance structures, sources of influence and information

This section explains the reasons identified by the study as to why the current food policy frameworks (listed in Table 4 below), governance structures, sources of influence and information are not fit for purpose.

3.1.1 Definition of various food related policy frameworks

During the process of selecting Africa's food related legal and policy frameworks, the study established that there were many types of policy frameworks, ranging across food-related African agreements, policies, agendas, model law, declarations, programmes, strategies and plans as shown in the Table 4 below.

Table 4: Legal and policy frameworks reviewed in the study

Levels	Policies and supportive documents reviewed
Continental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • African Charter on Human and People's Rights – ACHPR, (OAU, 1981) • Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program -CAADP (AU/NEPAD 2003) • The Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods (AU/NEPAD, 2014) • The Science Agenda for Africa – S3A (FARA, 2014) • The Ecological Organic Agriculture (EOA) Initiative (2015 – 2025) (AUC 2014) • The African Regional Nutrition Strategy (ARNS) 2015-2025 (AUC, 2015) • Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want (AUC, 2015) • Extended Programme of Action for the implementation of the Africa Regional Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 (AU 2016) • Land policy in Africa: A framework to strengthen land rights, enhance productivity and secure livelihoods. (AUC-ECA-AfDB Consortium, 2009) • Resolution on Africa Day for Food and Nutrition Security (ADFNS) - Assembly/AU/Dec.327(XV) • Resolution on the Right to Food and Nutrition in Africa - ACHPR/Res.431(LXV) – (AUC 2019) • African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ratified), (AU 2019) • Draft model law on Food Security and Nutrition in Africa (AU, 2020) • Livestock Development Strategy for Africa (LiDeSA) 2021-2025 (AU-IBAR, 2019)
Regional Economic Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SADC Regional Agricultural Policy - RAP, 2013 (SADC Secretariat, 2013) • SADC Food and Nutrition Strategy - 2015-2025 (SADC Secretariat, 2014) • Agriculture and Rural Development Strategy for East African Community, 2005-2030 (EAC Secretariat, 2006) • East African Food and Nutrition Security Strategy, 2018-2022 (EAC, 2018) • East African Community Food and Nutrition Security Action Plan (FNSAP) 2018-2022 (EAC, 2018) • Economic Community of West African States' Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP), (ECOWAS Commission, 2008) • Regional Agricultural Investment Plan and Food and Security Nutrition (PRIASAN, 2016 – 2020), (ECOWAS Commission, 2015)
Case countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malawi National Agricultural Policy (MAIWD, 2016) • Malawi National Resilience Strategy: Breaking the cycle of food insecurity in Malawi (2018-2030), (DDMA, 2018)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture Sector Food and Nutrition Strategy - ASFNS (MAIWD, 2020) • The third Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS III, 2017-2022)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy for Revitalising Agriculture - SRA, Kenya, 2004 - 2014 (MoA, 2004) • Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) of Kenya, 2010 – 2020 (MALF, 2010) • Agriculture Sector Growth and Transformation Strategy - ASGTS, 2018-2030 (MALF, 2018) • Kenya Agriculture Sector Strategic Plan, 2013-2017, MALF, 2013 • Kenya, Vision 2030
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burkina Faso National Program for Agricultural Investments (PNIA) for 2009–2015 (ME, 2008) • Burkina Faso National Programme for the Rural Development (PNSR), 2011-2015, (the Government of Burkina Faso, 2012). • Burkina Faso National Economic and Development Plan (PDNES, 2016-2020)

An analysis of the Pan-African, RECs and national food related policy frameworks in Table 4 reveals that there is a lack of a clear classification/definition of the different kinds of policy frameworks and how they are hierarchically and horizontally related to each other. An important observation is that food and nutrition related policies at national level are considered to be integral parts of agricultural policies residing in and authored by ministries of agriculture. This has led to a focus on productivity gains, mostly on staple foods and commodity production for export, neglecting food security and nutrition outcomes. The new Africa Food Policy Framework will need to integrate cross-sectoral perspectives across health, nutrition, social welfare, agriculture, livestock, fisheries, water resources, rural development, climate change, trade and other sectors. Furthermore, there is no African Union glossary to explain them and to ensure consistency and a common understanding among stakeholders. For example, there is no common definition of a policy, agenda, declaration, programme, strategy, and/or plan. In addition, the hierarchical relationship between the policy frameworks is not defined. As a result, it is unclear whether, for example, a programme has a higher status compared to an agenda or a declaration, or not. This is a gap that ought to be addressed, and that an Africa Food Policy Framework could also tackle. Consequently the study also sought and obtained tentative definitions of some of the types of Africa's food related policy frameworks in the African Union context (Box 1).

Box 1: Tentative definitions of different kinds of Africa's policy framework documents

- **Agenda:** An overarching guiding ambition for achieving a long-term goal or vision of the African Union such as a change in the living standards of Africans (e.g. Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want).
- **Policy:** A course or principle of action endorsed by AU policy organs for informing implementation of programmes, projects or activities in AU Member States and continental interventions.
- **Declaration:** A statement of commitments and call for action endorsed by AU Heads of State and Government or any high-level policy platform such as ministerial conference or special leadership dialogue (e.g. Malabo Declaration)
- **Programme:** A policy framework approved by an African Union policy organ which outlines a set of strategic directions, principles, objectives and targets for fulfilling a continental goal or ambition (e.g. CAADP)
- **Strategy:** A broad definition of best course of action possible for achieving set goals and targets within immediate or long-term timeframes (e.g. ARNS).

- **Plan:** A structured tool that outlines a goal or goals, objectives, strategies, outcomes and timelines for implementing project activities within a defined timeframe ranging from one to 10 years (e.g. Agenda 2063 First Ten-Year Action Plan, 2013-2023)

Source: *Dr Laila Lokosang, Advisor for Food and Nutrition Security, African Union, personal communication, November 25, 2020*

3.1.2 Coherence between existing food related policies

We established that CAADP, which was developed almost two decades ago, has formed the foundation of many food-related policies at national and REC levels, which is commendable. There is strong ‘vertical coherence’ between CAADP and the Regional Agricultural Investment Plans (RAIPs) and National Agricultural Investment Plans (NAIPs). CAADP has evolved especially through the Malabo Declaration, which commits to promoting family farming, resilience of vulnerable ecosystems and communities, and mutual accountability. At the same time, the African Science Agenda (S3A) connects the efforts of regional and national agricultural research institutes as important knowledge and innovation resources for Africa’s food systems.

However, the study’s main finding is that, by and large, Africa’s food related policies are vertically incoherent at continental level as well as between continental and sub-continental levels (RECs and Member States). The findings are based on the analysis of Pan-African; ECOWAS, EAC and SADC; and Burkina Faso, Kenya and Malawi food policies. For example, even though the majority of African countries have ratified international and regional instruments on rights – continental, regional and national food related policies still do not provide for the right to food. Examples of human rights instruments ratified by most African countries include: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; United Nations declaration on the rights of peasants and other people working in rural areas - UNDROP (UNHRC, 2018); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights; and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; Resolution on the Right to Food and Nutrition in Africa (ACHPR, 2019); and ‘Resolution on the Right to Food and Nutrition in Africa - ACHPR/Res.431(LXV)2019’ made by the African Union Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR, 2019). In West Africa, while the right to food is recognised in some national constitutions, it is not recognised in others such as Mali.

The study also established that incoherence between and among Africa’s food related policies stems from a narrow conceptualisation of food policy, which limits the role of food policy to food and nutrition outcomes, and neglects socio-economic and environmental outcomes. This narrow conceptualisation of food and agriculture policy has encouraged a focus on productivity gains, mostly on staple foods and commodity production for export, thereby weakening food and nutrition outcomes. Due to this narrow focus, the development and implementation of food policies is, on the one hand, usually assigned to the ministry responsible for agriculture. Such a ministry overemphasises agricultural productivity that neglects social, environmental and climate change considerations. On the other hand, development and implementation of nutrition policies are mostly assigned to ministries of health and these tend to be disconnected from the food security policies developed by ministries of agriculture. However, this trend is changing, as illustrated by some recently developed food and nutrition policies, such as the *Malawi National Resilience Strategy: Breaking the cycle of food insecurity in Malawi*, (DDMA, 2018). This involves several ministries and is coordinated by the

Department of Disaster Management Affairs (DDMA), which falls under the Office of the President. Such a department has the necessary convening power and authority.

The study analysed the food and nutrition related policy frameworks of the ARNS, three RECs and three Member States. The analysis revealed that the following reasonings guide the development of food systems but not in a holistic or integrated manner, meaning that many of the policies are informed by some of the reasonings and not others. The reasonings are: (i) nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive³, (ii) right to food and multi-level food sovereignty, (iii) regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems, and (iv) food market integration and harmonisation. Against this background the study concluded that policy incoherence arises from the fact that different policy frameworks cover and/or emphasize only some of the reasonings and not all of them. Table 5 below highlights the extent to which these different reasonings have been integrated in three African REC and three African country policies.

Table 5: Integration of different food systems reasonings in REC and country policies

REC examples	Member State examples
<i>Nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive reasoning</i>	
“... it is essential to promote nutrition-sensitive agricultural programs and approaches, both because of the positive and negative impacts of agricultural cycles on people’s population, and because of direct impact (on food production, quality, health security) and indirect impact, through improved income and employment” (ECOWAS, 2016, p. 71).	“This Policy Implementation Framework adopts a lifecycle approach, which focuses on the health and nutrition needs of individuals. The lifecycle approach focuses on the health and nutrition needs of individuals through the six stages of human developmental and physiological lifecycle” (Government of Kenya, 2017, p. 17).
“Both nutrition-specific and nutrition sensitive interventions are needed for the attainment of food and nutrition security in the region” (EAC, 2018, p. 16). The third objective of the EAC FNSAP is “To improve access and utilisation of nutritious, diverse and safe foods” (EAC, 2018, p. 22).	“All beneficiary groups will benefit from nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive interventions because malnutrition in all its forms impacts all wealth quintiles globally and in Malawi” (Malawi Office of the President and Cabinet, 2018, p. 24)
The SADC Food and Nutrition Strategy is developed in order to implement the Regional Agricultural Policy (RAP) in a nutrition sensitive, holistic and multi-sectoral manner (SADC, 2014, p. 14)	
<i>Right to food, and multi-level food sovereignty reasoning</i>	
ECOWAS (2016) bases its food policy on food sovereignty as the right and duty of the region to develop and implement its own policies based on reduced dependence on imports of strategic products in the food systems and a positive trade balance for commercial agriculture and agro-food system.	“The National Food and Nutrition Security Policy Sessional Paper Number 1 of 2012, recognizes food security as a basic human right” (Government of Kenya, 2017, p. 4).
“Develop, review, enact and implement laws and policies that guarantee and protect food as a human right” (SADC, 2014, p. 23)	
<i>Regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems reasoning</i>	

³ Nutrition-specific interventions are those that directly address the causes of malnutrition ... Nutrition-sensitive interventions are those that indirectly address the causes of malnutrition ... and are often addressed in sectors such as agriculture, education, social development, and trade” (EAC, 2018, p. 16)

ECOWAS (2016, p. 28) intended food policy results are production systems and techniques that “are adapted to climate change and the management of natural resources for agroforestry-pastoral and fisheries exploitation purposes is improved and sustainable.” It adopted climate-smart agriculture to increase agricultural production and income, and enhance adaptation and resilience to climate change, which is in line with the objectives of its RAP.

The first and second objectives of the EAC FNSAP are: “to improve sustainable and inclusive agricultural production, productivity and trade of crops, animal and animal resources, fisheries, aquaculture, apiculture and forest products,” and “To strengthen resilience among households, communities and livelihood systems by promoting sustainable utilization of natural resources, environmental conservation and uptake of disaster risk reduction, with enhanced post-harvest and value addition” respectively (EAC, 2018, p. 21)

SADC Food and Nutrition Strategy provides for sustainable fishery and forestry management as achieving sustainable food and nutrition security (SADC, 2014)

“The region is highly vulnerable to climate change because of the heavy reliance on rain-fed agriculture. There is need to identify response strategies for climate change adaptation and mitigation. These strategies should address the region’s ability to cope” (SADC, 2014, p. 17)

Food market integration and harmonisation reasoning

“The policy is in line with the prospect of a strong integration of the regional internal market and external protection differentiated according to the specificities of the commodities” (ECOWAS, 2016, p. 8).

One of the key result areas of the EAC FNSAP is improved trade and market access through: (i) improved smallholders’ aggregation, bulking, testing and grading of produce, (ii) implementation of agreements on technical barriers to trade, (iii) increased institutional capacity to support and harmonize food, feeds, animal, and plant health safety standards and traceability, (iv) enhanced infrastructure and institutional capacity for improved market access, and (v) increased formal Cross Border Trading of agricultural commodities and free movement of goods and services. (EAC, 2018)

“Poor access to markets has impacted negatively on food and nutrition security for the producers and consumers. Strengthening market infrastructure, intelligence and information systems are pivotal to the overall improvement of agri-based value chains and enhancing food and nutrition security” (SADC, 2014, p. 18)

One of its intentions is “To ensure quick recovery from hazards and build resilience in order to reduce vulnerability of the populations to food and nutrition insecurity” (Government of Kenya, 2017, p. 63)

Under Component 1 – Resilience Agriculture – the strategy provides for sustainable irrigation development, agricultural diversification, market development, value addition and exports, strategic grain reserves, drought mitigation and farm input subsidy. Under Component 2, it provides for risk reduction, flood prevention and control, disaster preparedness, response and recovery. Component 3 provides for shock-sensitive social support and improved livelihoods and nutrition. Under component 4 it provides for forest and land restoration, payment for ecosystem services, sustainable energy and forest-based enterprises (Malawi Office of the President and Cabinet, 2018)

“Efficient and effective markets are a pre-requisite for optimum benefit for producers, intermediary traders, processors and consumers” (Government of Kenya, 2017, p. 12).

Value chain development for local and regional markets and exports help drive economic growth, while also creating push-pull mechanisms and providing market entry for smallholders (Malawi Office of the President and Cabinet, 2018. p. 16)

The discourse of sustainable development has inspired the integration of sustainability in development programmes globally and resulted in the development of SDGs in 2015. SDGs have resulted in the establishment of linkages between food and environment sustainability, economic sustainability and access to food, and social sustainability and utilisation of food (Berry et al., 2015).

Similarly, the growing evidence of climate change and its impacts and the emergence of the Paris Agreement have resulted in linkages being made between food systems and climate change adaptation/resilience. Consequently, policies that were developed before and after the introduction of the SDGs vary in their focus, leading to ‘temporal’ policy incoherence. Against this background the study compared food related policy instruments at Pan-Africa, RECs and national level that were developed around the same time. At RECs level, the ECOWAS Regional Agricultural Investment Plan and Food and Security Nutrition (PRIASAN, 2016 – 2020) and the SADC Food and Nutrition Strategy (2015-2025), provide for food security as a human right but the the East African Community Food and Nutrition Security Action Plan – FNSAP (2018-2022) does not. The analysis revealed vertical and horizontal policy incoherence between right to food and food sovereignty reasoning, and regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems reasoning. Vertical policy incoherence exists between food related policies at Pan-Africa, RECs and Members States levels. We also identified policy incoherencies beyond the food related policies listed in Table 4. For example, the provisions of Africa’s Seed Trade Harmonised Regulations undermine farmers’ rights, while the African Model Legislation for the Protection of the Rights of Local Communities, Farmers and Breeders, and for the Regulation of Access to Biological Resources, enhances them (AFSA, 2017).

Primary data revealed that the terms of reference for preparing food-related policy frameworks from different starting points and the delegation of the responsibility to draft policy frameworks to consultants has also resulted in policy incoherence. These terms of reference were described as narrowly focused to specific policy development tasks and disconnected from other relevant policy frameworks. The consultants are hired to do a specific job, which does not include linking the new policy frameworks with the existing policy frameworks. Consequently, the policy frameworks have been developed independent of each other.

Finally, the study established that policy incoherence was inevitable in the presence of many competing interests and needs and the absence of appropriate mechanisms to address conflicting policy interests in Africa, especially at continental and RECs levels. It also established that there is no framework for ensuring coherence between policies at the same levels (horizontal) and between different levels (vertical).

3.1.3 Institutional capacity and ownership of the food agenda

Food governance in Africa takes place at four different levels: continental, regional, national and sub-national. It involves different actors at each level, notably, policy makers (parliamentarians), policy implementers (civil servants), and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), especially farmer organisations. However, the extent to which CSOs, especially farmer organisations, participate has been minimal. Continental, RECs and national policy frameworks, which have been discussed in the preceding section, constitute an important part of the governance system. The role of governance systems is to ensure balance between competing needs and interests – such as those in the social, economic and ecological domains; current and future; and individual, institutional and societal – through developing and implementing policies and decisions. Governance also facilitates accountability, strengthens rule of law, ownership and investment security, increases fiscal resources and builds administrative capacity for policy management and service delivery (UNDP, 2016).

The study established that the combination of lack of African resources to invest in agriculture, linked to the donor dependency syndrome, as well as low levels of institutional capacity to develop and implement food related policies, has undermined African ownership of the agriculture and food

agenda. For example, the initial set-up of CAADP implementation at national level, which comprised of one or two individuals as CAADP national focal points, lacked a comprehensive and well-resourced institutional support mechanism. But the subsequent establishment of a CAADP Focal Point and CAADP Country Team is more appropriate and worth learning from when establishing food policy implementation teams. The CAADP Country Team comprises of individuals from different sectors, disciplines and institutions who work as a community of practice to steer and coordinate implementation of the programme (NEPAD, 2016). The categories of actors that should be represented in CAADP Country Teams include Ministry of Agriculture and other government ministries, farmer organisations, the private sector, CSOs and development partners (ibid.). However, the ministry that should host a food policy needs to be one that has the mandate and convening power to bring all the relevant stakeholder groups together. For example, Malawi's *National Resilience Strategy on Breaking the Cycle of Food Insecurity* is under the Office of the President and Cabinet. Such a ministry or department is likely to vary between countries.

Another challenge is a narrow focus on national interests and sovereignty and the non-interference policy inherited from the OAU. Many African countries import food from outside the continent when there is surplus food available for trade in a neighbouring African country. It is therefore commendable that the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) has been established. It will help accelerate intercountry and inter-regional trade on the continent. AfCFTA was established by the African Union and signed by African Heads of States in 2021. It creates a single market for goods and services and a custom union with free movement of capital. The Chairman of the African Union Commission noted that the AfCFTA has a market of market of 1.2 billion people and a combined GDP of \$3 trillion and offers an opportunity to utilise the abundant resources of the continent for the benefit of its people (Ighobor, 2020).

Against this background, an Africa Food Policy Framework ought to be built on African values and principles that foster unity, a shared destiny, just transitions and the African philosophy of Ubuntu.

3.1.4 Food systems governance structures and systems

The study found that a combination of a neoliberal approach and governance systems that favour the powerful and well-resourced is locking Africa into food systems that foster policy capture by political and economic elites. At the same time, these systems are locking out potentially more inclusive, fairer and more sustainable food systems. The study established that **power relations** in the policy making space are skewed in favour of the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) and big international organisations. Consequently, these organisations exercise their power through influencing policy formulation processes and financing the policy implementation, in such a manner that serves their interests. The private sector within the countries, which usually ally with the elite, also receive money and institutional support, and have power to tilt policy towards serving their interests.

A neoliberal approach proposes that human well-being is best advanced through liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and capacities within an institutional framework of strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). It assumes that economic growth and global market integration is the solution to the world's ills, including food insecurity (McKeon, 2011). Neoliberalism is corporate-friendly but reduce state autonomy (Pechlaner & Otero 2010, 181). It makes people see themselves as producers and consumers and not as citizens and activists capable of challenging structural conditions and developing alternatives (Alkon & Mares, 2012, p. 335). Research

participants noted that the downsides of neoliberalism which disadvantage developing countries are that: (a) developed country governments oversell the power and fairness of the market, and undermine the crucial role that governments and civil society can and should play in making necessary interventions in the economy; and (b) there is apparent hypocrisy in the actions of the leading G7 group, who promote neo-liberalism in developing countries while openly or secretly protecting products and services which are sensitive to citizens in their own domestic markets. For example: the USA spends billions of dollars in agriculture subsidies to its farmers to enable them to be more competitive in global markets; and Europe applies zero tariffs for raw food materials such as cocoa and very high tariffs for processed foods such as chocolate.

In this power dynamic, farmers sometimes produce a lot of food in response to a specific policy directive but since their power is limited and they have low influence, they eventually get the least out of such policies. This is mainly due to market imperfections that the elite people do not address. There are no minimum price standards, no subsidy for compensation in cases of food prices falling below cost of production and yet, in the liberalised economy the farmers have to compete with international companies which are also allied to the local elite. The smallholder farmers, therefore, are price takers. The existing governance systems often undermine their ability to exercise agency through lock-in effects created by the system.

Research that has been conducted on Africa's land governance suggests that agricultural and food policies emphasising the agricultural modernisation and industrialisation agenda and the associated use of modern technologies and production methods, are being designed and implemented in such a manner that advantages commercial and corporate investors and local elites. These actors use their power and resources to dispossess the smallholder farmers of access to land (Kuusaana 2017; Bluwstein et al. 2018). On the one hand, this undermines inclusive sustainable production systems through marginalising and dispossessing smallholder farmers and enhancing the dominance of political elites. On the other hand, it leads to misallocation of government subsidies to win electoral votes and keep the elite in power, whereas the real greater need is long-term investment in rural infrastructure (Mdee et al., 2020). For example, agricultural modernisation policies and donor-funded modernisation and commercialisation of agriculture, such as the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) Programme, the Green Belt Initiative in Malawi, and the farm block initiative and out-grower schemes in Zambia, have resulted in local elites and companies accumulating land at the expense of smallholder farmers (Mdee et al., 2020).

Interviewees, especially farmer representatives, indicated that they have not yet experienced benefits arising from Pan-African, and related REC and national food and agriculture policies. They pointed out that: (i) CAADP may be good but its benefits are not reaching the people: the increase in budget allocation is not reaching the ordinary farmer; (ii) existing policies and governance systems under-invest in the production of healthy and nutritious foods and in the realisation of the right to food. They attributed these challenges to: (a) the low levels of farmer (smallholder farmers, fisher folk, pastoralists, indigenous people, and youth) participation in policy formulation and governance, (b) the privileging of 'scientific' knowledge at the expense of practitioner knowledge and values, and (c) lack of government and elected leaders' accountability to the rural electorate.

An Africa Food Policy Framework would develop appropriate governance mechanisms that ensure that the interests of the marginalised, and the lock-in effects of unfair governance systems, are tackled

and appropriate incentives and resources are generated from sources that do not undermine the set of intended outcomes of an inclusive sustainable food system.

3.1.5 Economic approach underpinning Africa's food systems

By and large, African countries pursue a neo-liberal economic approach, hinged on an open market system. This has resulted in agricultural production being geared towards export markets while domestic markets are opened to unfair competition with international corporations and massive importation of cheap food, which undermines the development of local food systems (van der Ploeg, 2020). Further, some interviewees pointed out that many of Africa's funders work with a development paradigm that is located in liberalised market thinking, which prioritises commoditisation of agriculture and food products and emphasises productivity and trade as the most important goals.

An important impact of liberalisation and globalisation of trade is the deepening of commodification of food products beyond the traditional export crops of coffee, cotton, tea, cocoa and sugar. Today, food commodities from Africa which form part of the Global food Value Chains (GVC) include staple foods such as rice, Fresh Fruits and Vegetables (FFV), and fish, among others. This situation has led to many countries on the continent depending on only a few commodities for export. Once specific commodities are part of GVCs, the value derived from a commodity by any chain actor depends on the power of the actor within the value chain (Vermeulen et al., 2008).

For example, coffee, "the black gold", has grown in business volume and returns over the past decades, especially after liberalisation of trade. Yet, while producer earnings first increased soon after liberalisation of coffee trade, mainly due to more of the world prices being passed to them and entry of dynamic private actors, this soon changed when the downstream chain actors started capturing more of the value from the food chains, while the producers got less and less in real terms, leaving them poorer and poorer (Akoyi, 2017). We also established that some foreign countries which envisage future food shortages, have developed strategies to produce that food in Africa. In this regard, Nolte et al. (2016) note:

Africa remains by far the most targeted continent, with 422 concluded agricultural deals involving a total of almost 10 million hectares ... Asia has the second largest number of deals, with 305 deals involving 4.9 million hectares. Eastern Europe has only 96 deals but in terms of total size accounts for more than 5 million hectares while Latin America is represented with 146 deals and 4.5 million hectares. (p. 16)

Africa's already weak voice in the international trade of these commodities has been muted by liberalisation. In 2015 Africa's global share of trade was only 2.4 %. This weak position stems from several factors, which include: (i) being a source of raw materials for developed countries, (ii) low levels of industrialisation which were worsened by international trade liberalisation, through which cheap imported goods undermined local manufacturing, (iii) low levels of international competitiveness, partly as a result of low levels of trade between African countries, which could have enhanced competitiveness, and (iv) low capacity to invest in manufacturing and marketing infrastructure (Asante & Nani, 2019).

Currently, African and other developing countries need more and more commodities to earn the same amount of foreign exchange. This has created a double crisis of deteriorating terms of trade and declining economies (Akiyama et al, 2003). It has also left the smallholder producers much poorer in real terms and in a weaker position in the market (Fafchamps & Hill, 2008). Interviewees pointed out

that this does not mean that food production should be just for the family and fellow citizens – household or local self-sufficiency. Food production, however, should meet multiple objectives of decent livelihood for producers through regional markets, Pan-African and surplus for global food markets; and food and nutrition security and care for the environment on which its production depends. The game changer is the persistent power imbalance against Africa in international trade relations. At the same time, Africa also presents a great opportunity as a huge market for African commodities.

The study noted that this dominant economic model not only delocalises food production, but also maintains the colonial relationships between Africa and its former and new colonisers. It imposes monoculture, monopoly, control and the subsequent devastation of culture, people, landscapes and water (Forum for Food Sovereignty, 2007). Some studies suggest that UN bodies such as the FAO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the UN Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, have made efforts to reform neoliberal approaches by embracing a rights-based approach and tackling rural poverty and food security, but the Bretton Woods institutions have greater power and influence (McKeon, 2011). Interviewees noted that the corporate interest in the control of food systems is partly because this offers an important source of both economic and political power. The study established the need to develop big enough markets in-countries and between African countries to address some of these market issues, and to develop trade policies that ensure a more even distribution of risks and benefits between the different actors in the food systems.

3.1.6 External influence on Africa food policies

Many interviewees noted the undue influence of the development paradigms of multinational corporations and philanthropists on Africa's continental, RECs and African member states' food-related policy framework formulation and implementation. This situation is worsened by African governments' low political will to invest in agriculture, in spite of their commitments to do so. It is illustrated by the fact that many member states have not yet allocated the 10 % of their national budgets to agriculture, about 17 years after making the commitments to do so in the Maputo declaration. Some interviewees gave the example of the European Union Multi-Donor Trust Fund that was administered by the World Bank to illustrate donor influence on Africa's policies and their implementation. They noted that most of the RAIPs and NAIPs were developed between 2009 and 2013 when the fund was available, and implementation of many of these has not been sustained after the ending of the funding. While the agricultural investment plans addressed some of the regional and national priority needs, they were not approached comprehensively. Consequently, some of the countries experienced challenges in utilising the funds, while others who invested in increasing productivity (e.g. Malawi) created surplus produce that the countries' storage, transport, marketing and trade was ill-prepared to absorb. This illustrates inadequate attention to a systems and value chain approach to food policy design and/or implementation. In the same vein, interviewees pointed out that the implementation of REC (e.g. ECOWAP) and national food and agriculture policies has been undermined by lack of resources.

Some interviewees noted that many people who write Pan-African policies are foreigners, and often lack the necessary first-hand information and local experience, making it difficult for them to understand the real issues, let alone to compile transformative policy. In addition, the policy development processes do not adequately seek and take into account the views of non-legislators and non-technocrats. For example, one interviewee pointed out that approximately 80% of the food

consumed in Africa is distributed by Micro, Small and Medium-Scale Enterprises (MSMEs) and yet, these MSMEs are rarely involved in food policy development processes.

In Africa, the decisions of what food is to be grown or raised, where and how is often unduly influenced by multilateral corporations such as Syngenta⁴, Corteva⁵ and Bayer⁶ whose primary interest is to expand their markets to African countries and benefit from their own intellectual property rights rather than promote and protect the rights of farmers and consumers (AFSA, 2017). The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which has made the highest investments in the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa and funds agricultural projects in Africa also “lobbies African governments for the development of policies and market structures that promote the adoption of Green Revolution packages ... actively pushes policies that open doors to Green Revolution inputs, including seeds and pesticides, and prevents alternative approaches such as agroecology from receiving support” (Mkindi et al., 2020, p. 4). We also established that multilateral corporations influence the development of food policy frameworks and undermine the agency of stakeholder groups such as small-scale farmers, fishers, indigenous people, and youth. The effect is that the development of appropriate food systems that are African-driven and are based on African values, is undermined. For example, the Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa’s Farming Inputs Subsidy Programme (FISP) has been criticised for not seeking and addressing farmers’ choices and for running expensive and ineffective subsidy programmes that do not address the small-scale farmers’ needs, tackle hunger and malnutrition, and help farming communities adapt to the impacts of climate change (Mkindi et al., 2020). Insights from sustainable food systems-based policies suggests that an Africa Food Policy Framework would benefit from developing and/or investing in: (i) sustainable trade agreements, (ii) citizen protection and corporate accountability, and (iii) diversified territorial and regional markets (IPES-Food, 2019). Sustainable trade agreements entail building and diversifying domestic food production and the broader economy; emphasis on the development of territorial markets; short, clean supply chains; and ethical trade (ibid.).

Against this background, an Africa Food Policy Framework is needed to reframe food production systems and ensure that they serve the interests of Africa, African citizens and the farming communities. As some interviewees pointed out, this entails localisation of food systems at different scales and the promotion of local shops, local markets, and food storage facilities. Above all, an Africa Food Policy Framework should put respect for human life, human dignity and the right to food at its centre.

3.1.7 Information, knowledge management, and digitalisation

Finally, the study established that while there is data and information at different nodes of the food system, but it is not well organised, not well documented and largely in people’s heads. The information available does not show the inter-connectedness of different aspects of the food system. Such information can be collected by asking the right questions, following up, compiling, cleaning it, processing it into usable information, analysing it, packaging and communicating to the different

⁴ Syngenta was founded in 2000 and acquired by the China National Chemical Corporation (ChemChina) in 2015.

⁵ Corteva, Inc. is as an independent American public company, dealing in agricultural chemicals and seeds. It was the agricultural unit of DowDuPont, following the merger between Dupont and Dow.

⁶ In 2018, Bayer acquired the American agrochemical and agricultural biotechnology corporation, Monsanto, as part of its crop science division.

groups of people in the right format. Developing an Africa Food Policy Framework will offer the opportunity to improve the quality and make use of such data and information, combining it with existing and relevant pieces of policy in order to make a holistic food policy fit for guiding countries to meet contemporary food related challenges.

The process of developing it should bring together producers and consumers, and upstream and downstream food system actors in all their diversity, including in terms of gender and age groups. Respondents argue that many food habits are still rooted in old practices of importing foods (wheat flour, powder milk, chicken, etc.) and an Africa Food Policy Framework is needed to support a “cultural component” valuing African food cultures, also involving the catering industry (chefs, vocational schools and tourism). The policy, which should encourage Africa’s ‘culinary pride’ in African foods, ought to be promoted not only among the elite and middle class, but also and more importantly among the majority of consumers. One of the important sources of inspiration and information for healthy and nutritious diets, are elders in rural areas. These too should be targets. Another important area that an Africa Food Policy Framework ought to cover is how to address food loss in the context of agricultural production systems that are largely seasonal, consumption that is perennial, and climatic conditions that are extreme in terms of temperature and precipitation, posing storage and transportation challenges.

Digital technologies are becoming increasingly important tools for transforming agriculture and food systems. They can be used to improve food systems through (i) farmers digitalizing their farm operations to get an overview of farm processes and informed decisions on time, (ii) generation and analysis of big data covering complex topics such as weather patterns, land degradation and infrastructure utilisation, (iii) enhanced communication between food system actors, (iv) enabling greater, quicker and cheaper access to financial and market information (Malabo Montpellier Panel, 2019), and (v) digitalization of agricultural input prescriptions by agricultural extension workers in order to provide higher quality services to farmers and to promote resource use efficiency on farms (Oyinbho, et al, 2020). The study established that COVID-19 has accelerated the use of digital technologies in Africa. These benefits are already being reaped in the food systems of African countries such as Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, Rwanda and Senegal (ibid.). CTA (2019) notes however that digital tools are not a replacement for physical infrastructure, human networks and interaction, that will also need to be invested in.

3.1.8 The evolution of CAADP

The evolution of CAADP in terms of scope by including family farming, resilience of vulnerable ecosystems and communities, and mutual accountability suggests that existing governance and policy frameworks, which are already operational, can serve as important foundations for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework. The Framework should also build linkages between existing policies that cover different elements of a food system, such as trade and marketing, food quality control, and food import and export, among others.

At the same time, an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed to foster vertical and horizontal policy coherence. This calls for the development of mechanisms and frameworks to guide the tackling and resolution of conflicting interests and needs. Such policies should consider not only the multiple food systems in Africa but also the multiple levels at which food policy may be implemented: continental, regional, national and sub-national. At sub-national level, decentralisation

policies give provincial and/or district authorities some responsibilities for implementing and collecting local taxes and levies that can have a high level of influence food systems. In addition, and equally important, it ought to consider and work with all the four types of food policy reasonings identified in this study.

3.2 Main features of African food systems and responsiveness to Africa's needs

3.2.1 Food systems in rural and urban settings

Africa is becoming increasingly urbanised and the number of mega-centres is also increasing. This has implications for food policy, especially given that, by and large, urban dwellers depend on rural food systems for consumption, due to limited urban spaces for adequate food production. Urban dwellers however, also depend on food from shops and supermarkets, some of which is imported. The different food production potentials of the diverse agroecological systems in Africa also means that rural populations partly depend on other farming communities for some of their food needs, though to a lesser extent than urban dwellers. For example, pastoralists buy grain and vegetables from crop producing farmers. The same crop producing farmers will buy fish from fisherfolk or from supermarkets.

In general, the interaction between rural food producers and urban food consumers has tended to advantage the latter, mainly because the agriculture labour force, including agricultural producers, is remunerated far less compared to other sectors. Many countries have deliberately implemented food price policies which ensure food subsidies and low prices for urban consumers with the aim to appease the urban electorate, and maintain urban social stability and power holding arrangements by elites. These policy choices however, have disadvantaged the rural food producer and weakened the symbolic link that builds a national social contract between rural and urban citizens through the rural feeding the urban, who in turn provide incomes and social services to the rural. Marketing boards, price support and other types of farm support were dismantled under Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and not reinstated or replaced by another set-up. The new Africa Food Policy Framework will need to address fairness and equity issues for smallholder farmers in food price policy reform.

The study also established that farmers now need more labour to produce the same portion of wealth produced by other economic sectors. One of the effects of this is that the youth do not find the agricultural sector attractive enough to work in. This situation is exacerbated by the rising cost of living in the current neo-liberal arrangement. Earnings are rather low, and yet, everybody has to pay for social services, especially health care and education, previously subsidised by government.

Another challenge identified in the study is that, on the one hand, urban food systems are increasingly adopting fast foods in response to different kinds of pressure, which include work and limited time to cook. On the other hand, the slow food concept involving chefs and activist networks, also provides a new sector with a niche market, which is growing among a small proportion of urban consumers. The majority of urban consumers have been slow in adopting it because of lack of food preparation convenience. For example, consumers find it more convenient to buy rice or maize meal from a shop and then cook it, compared to preparing cassava or finger millet. The use of maize and rice is linked to the ease with which they can be prepared as compared to small grains such as pearl millet, finger millet and sorghum. So, if a family wants to consume more millets or sorghum, it will need to use more effort and energy, usually involving women and girls to process these small grains. This makes access

to appropriate agro-processing facilities and energy an important issue for the Africa Food Policy Framework.

A final challenge identified through the study is that the more nutritious food is more expensive, especially in urban areas, and affordable to fewer people. This is partly because the majority of urban dwellers have been increasingly finding it difficult to afford healthy and nutritious food due to income depletion, especially since the introduction of SAPs in the 1990s. This is a catch-22 position because for the prices of healthy and nutritious food to be affordable there has to be effective demand for it; and there is not enough being produced because of lack of demand. This is worsened by limited availability of fresh nutritious food due to poor food storage, processing, transportation and marketing infrastructure. Some interviewees traced the current food consumption patterns, that consider local African foods as inferior to that from Western countries, to go back to colonisation. One of them gave the example of somebody who is taking tea without milk and with a bun being viewed as eating better or more sophisticated food than someone taking milk with sweet potatoes.

The study established that an Africa Food Policy Framework could benefit from working with a City Region Food Systems (CRFS) approach. This refers to the complex network of actors, processes and relationships engaged in food production, processing, marketing, and consumption in a particular territory or geographical region. This area covers an urban centre and the surrounding peri-urban and rural areas in which flows of people, goods and ecosystem services are managed (Jennings et al, 2015). The United Nations Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat, 2019) also provides potentially effective principles to guide the development of fair and sustainable urban-rural linkages. The 10 principles of this programme include a rights-based approach, locally grounded interventions, financially inclusive, functional and spatial system-based approach, environmental sensitivity and integrated governance (ibid.).

Against this background, it is important for an Africa Food Policy Framework to provide for the reduction of rural-urban inequalities, strengthening of linkages, connectivity and the inclusivity of food agricultural value chains, adoption of territorial or CRFS approaches and creation of decent livelihood opportunities in food systems, and for the enhancement of remittance flows (Hussein & Suttie, 2016). It should also provide for the decolonisation or demystification of consumption habits that is essential to address in an African Food Policy.

3.3 Evidence of food systems challenges that justify the need for an Africa Food Policy Framework

3.3.1 Food insecurity and malnutrition in Africa

Africa still faces high levels of malnutrition, hunger and poverty. The AU (2020) says extreme poverty and inequality remain higher in Africa, which had 429.1 million extremely poor people in 2018, than in any other region of the world. This is partly because the consumption growth of the poor has grown too slowly for them to escape poverty, despite the continent's unprecedented growth between 2000 and 2016 (ibid.). The study concluded that the distribution of benefits of economic growth have not been equitable. At the same time, Africa had about a third of the world's malnourished children in 2017 consisting of 59 million children, whose mental development is likely to be negatively affected. To make matters worse, the proportion of Africa's malnourished children has increased between 2000 and 2016 (UNICEF et al., 2017). Previous studies have shown that Africa experiences the double burden of malnutrition, which includes undernutrition and obesity. Undernutrition is high and growing

in conflict-ridden countries and in countries affected by droughts (FAO et al., 2019). The prevalence of obesity among children and adolescents stood at 3.5 % in girls and 2.1 % in boys in 2016, while that of adults increased from 28.4 % in 2000 to 41.7 % in 2016 – that is, 428,527,965 obese and overweight adult people (WHO, 2018). Furthermore, in 2018, Africa had the highest proportion of food insecure people (52.5%), experiencing both moderate and severe food insecurity (FAO et al., 2019). A child born in Africa today will not reach his/her full potential in terms of health, education, productivity and contribution to the national economy. A study on the cost of hunger in Africa (COHA) established that some countries lose between 1.9 % and 16.5 % of their GDPs (costs of health, education and productivity) as a result of child undernutrition (AUC, NEPAD, UNECA & WFP, 2014).

An analysis of Africa's top 10 food secure countries: Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Egypt; Gabon, Ghana and Senegal; and Mauritius, South Africa and Namibia shows that the countries are: (i) at peace, (ii) enjoy pro-poor governance and the absence of armed conflict, (iii) are capable of assuring food security even when agricultural production has been undermined by natural disasters, and (iv) are perennial food exporters (IOA, 2017). The Africa Food Policy Framework can draw and build on (further) lessons from these countries.

One purpose of an Africa Food Policy Framework that is based on inclusive sustainable food systems is that it will be better able to provide for citizens to have access to and engage in eating healthy, nutritious food and diverse diets that will reduce/eliminate the huge burden of various forms of malnutrition. This requires the tackling of food system drivers and conditions that undermine food security and nutrition.

3.3.2 The link between agricultural production and nutrition

The study established that current policies and practices are focused on **increasing productivity** and do not adequately pay attention to nutrition. This situation is leading to the promotion of high external input agriculture, which encourages farmers to become increasingly dependent on agro-companies for seed, fertiliser, pest and disease control products. This dependency in turn leads to the erosion of farmers' influence on food value chains. Admittedly, some of the inputs increase productivity and others reduce the workload. Some of the inputs, however, harm the environment and all the inputs increase the cost of production, which is not adequately factored in the selling price of produce.

The productivity paradigm is also encouraging farmers to focus on high-yielding varieties that may help them to earn more profits but are not necessarily more nutritious. It also encourages the promotion of monocultures that are not good for the environment. Interviewees noted that the policies which are geared towards increasing productivity have marginalised farmers' needs for diverse seeds and for low external input agriculture that is adapted to their agroecological conditions, such as climate and soils. Consequently, farmer dependence on multinational corporations is reinforced and this situation in itself fosters poverty. For example, maize growing has been expanding over the years at the expense of small grains that are more nutritious and more adapted to African agro-ecological conditions. Yet seeds, fertilisers, pest and disease control products are mostly purchased from multinational corporations.

Some interviewees noted that crops such as maize, which require high rainfall, are increasingly grown where the annual rainfall is as low as 400 mm, leading to food insecurity. Some interviewees pointed out that the food balance sheets in many countries is about cereals. This overemphasis on cereal production and therefore consumption is resulting in malnutrition. Other interviewees attribute the

food system challenges in Africa to a mindset, which has been conditioned to think that exotic foods are better than local and traditional foods. This mindset goes beyond the agricultural fields to the broader landscape where indigenous fruits are being replaced by exotic fruits or crops (Dhehwa, 2019). Beyond this mindset, Africa's food production and consumption attitudes and practices are being influenced by the corporate sector's clever marketing and advertising of both agricultural inputs and food products.

In order to better integrate cross-cutting issues affecting production and nutrition, some countries have already created original institutional set-up that cut across various departments. For example the study noted that in Niger, for more than ten years, the High Commission for the initiative 3N (les Nigériens Nourissent les Nigériens (HC3N) has been directly answerable to the President's Office. The purpose of HC3N is to ensure that Niger people can feed Niger people through their own production and organizational efforts, through reducing cereal and fodder deficits, improving the nutritional quality of household meals, especially for children, and providing regular supply of agricultural produce and guaranteeing their accessibility to different groups of consumers.⁷ The HC3N has played a commendable coordination role between the main donors and set up a national M&E system that assesses progress and challenges. Such initiatives could easily host a think tank to develop a National Food Policy aligned with an African Food Policy Framework.

An Africa Food Policy Framework is essential to better harness agriculture for improved nutrition outcomes, by integrating nutrition in agricultural support policies (i.e. nutrition sensitive agriculture). It is also important for establishing and promoting the value of indigenous food, and for supporting research into local crop varieties and animal breeds that are vanishing.

3.3.3 Adaptation to climate change and food systems

There is consensus among scientists that climate is changing and global temperatures are rising. Food systems affect and are affected by agriculture, with agriculture being the second largest economic sector contributing to greenhouse gas emissions (IPCC, 2019). The impact of agrochemical production, transport and storage, agro-processing and retailing significantly contribute to Green House Gas (GHG) emissions from food systems (FAO, 2016). This is happening at a time when the world population is increasing and along with it, there are ever increasing demands for food, feed, fibre and fuel. Not only does agriculture contribute greatly to climate change, but climate change also leads to many negative impacts on food systems the world over, including Africa.

A recent study on the impact of climate change in Africa concluded that: (i) climate change will worsen existing water shortages on the continent, (ii) climate change will interact with non-climate drivers and stressors and worsen the vulnerability of agricultural systems in semi-arid areas, (iii) current efforts at managing climate change and variability risks to food production are insufficient to address the long-term impacts of climate change, (iv) climate change will increase human health vulnerabilities, food insecurity, and poor access to safe water, (v) continental and national government governance systems' responses for adapting to climate change are not yet fully prepared to coordinate the range of adaptation initiatives needed, and (vi) conservation agriculture can contribute to the strengthening of agroecosystem and livelihood resilience (Niang et al., 2014, pp. 1202-1203). The severity of climate change impact will be (and are already) high in Africa because two-thirds of the continent is arid or semi-arid (FAO & ECA, 2018). Some of the specific food-related negative impacts

⁷ <http://www.initiative3n.ne/historique.php>

are rising temperatures, which will threaten wheat production⁸ and cause soil moisture depletion. In North Africa this will in turn undermine forest productivity, wildlife and non-timber resource availability. It will also lead to reduction of cereal yields and forage availability and reduction of fish production in Sub-Saharan Africa (FAO & ECA, 2018). Climate change aggravates violent conflicts in communities whose livelihoods are dependent on agriculture, forestry, fisheries and livestock keeping, as has been the case in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa.

Climate change has contributed to the following food related challenges in Africa in 2020 alone: (i) floods in Nigeria that washed away two million tonnes of rice in a country that is the second-largest importer of grain (Olurounbi, 2020), (ii) floods in South Sudan, which displaced one million people (Ajak, M. & The Associated Press, 2021), (iii) Cyclone Gati, which hit Somalia and disrupted the livelihoods of some 180,000 herders, farmers and traders, submerged houses and damaged the transport infrastructure (Mukami, 2020) and (iv) the emergence of a new generation of locusts – whose breeding conditions have been improved by climate change – has resulted in the ravaging of crops and pasture in eastern Africa, worsening the food problem in a region where 35 million people are already hungry (Seyum & Wegayehu, 2021). In 2019 Cyclone Idai killed at least 157 people in Zimbabwe and resulted in 300 people being declared missing (Manatsa et al., 2020). Climate change impacts are also suggesting the importance of climate-proofing infrastructural development. National Determined Contributions of countries in Africa show that sustainable and climate smart agriculture (CSA) is a common strategy for African countries to address their commitments under the Paris Agreement. Beyond this, some countries have embarked on climate smart agriculture programmes and strategies. For example, Zambia developed and is implementing a CSA Strategy Framework, to promote climate-smart agriculture practices and increase productivity, enhance resilience and reduce GHG emissions (World Bank, 2019).

An Africa Food Policy Framework should provide guidance on how Africa's food systems could strengthen the continent's preparedness to adapt to climate change and variability challenges.

3.3.4 COVID 19 and food systems

COVID-19 has revealed the shortcomings of neoliberal export-oriented food production that also depends on cheap food inputs and weakens local food systems when the cheap imports kill local initiatives to develop a specific value chain. For example, Giudice et al. (2020) concluded that localisation of food systems has the potential to foster sustainable food systems by minimising waste and promoting sustainable production and consumption. Similarly, a Pan-African Farmers' Organisation (PAFO) study (Kanyangoga, 2020) on the impact of COVID-19 on Africa's food systems, concluded that the pandemic has revealed the need for prioritising: (i) investment in local food production and sourcing, (ii) family farming and family-based production models, and (iii) stimulation of intra-African agricultural trade through the AfCFTA. At the same time, the HLPE (2020b) study on the policy responses needed in response to Covid-19 impacts also suggests the need for "moving from a singular focus on increasing food supply through specialized production and export, to making fundamental changes that diversify food systems, empower vulnerable and marginalized groups and promote sustainability across all aspects of the food supply chains, from production to consumption" (p. 10) and for building positive interlinkages between food systems, economic systems and ecological

⁸ Beyond this FAO/ECA observation, we note that increasing temperatures will not just harm wheat production, but all staple crops including maize, millet, sorghum when temperatures get beyond a certain critical threshold.

systems. Similarly, an FAO international study on the impact of Covid-19 underlined the need to develop evidence-based inclusive policies and plans on food systems' preparedness and resilience to shocks, extreme events and protracted crises; promoting local food production and short supply chains, and a greater degree of self-sufficiency; and facilitating access to food for the most vulnerable groups of people (FAO, 2020, p. 5). Interviewees confirmed that Covid-19 illustrates the risk for Africa of depending on external markets, which may be affected by food trade/exchange restrictions when borders are closed during such pandemics.

3.3.5 Land degradation

Sixty percent of the world's cultivated arable land and over a third (715 million ha) of the world's degraded land with potential for restoration is in Africa (Gnacadjia & Weise, 2016). Land degradation – any reduction or loss in biological and economic productive capacity of land resource base (including soil erosion, nutrient loss and salinisation) – and desertification are causing serious threats to Africa's food systems. Africa's land degradation is driven by the high proportion of drylands (66%), exposure to recurrent severe droughts, widespread poverty, deteriorating terms of trade and external indebtedness, heavy reliance on natural resources and political instability, and weak institutional and legal frameworks (UNCCD, 2012). The cost of controlling soil erosion through sustainable land management, are far lower than the cost of inaction (ELD Initiative & UNEP, 2015).

In addition to those mentioned above, many parts of Africa are experiencing water scarcity and changes in the timing of water availability, which undermines agricultural production in many parts of the continent. Examples include increasing and changing patterns of: the distribution of invasive plants such as the water hyacinth in Uganda and Mali; the prevalence of pests and diseases – in Zambia, the East Coast Fever (ECF) in cattle is expected to expand due to the distribution of the tick *Rhipicephalus appendiculatus*, the main vector in ECF transmission; increased salinisation – in Senegal resulting in the death of many woody species; land acidification which is eliminating vegetative cover; and erosion, which is reducing plant biomass and degrading soil fertility, leading in turn to the emergence of parasitic plants such as *Striga* species (FAO, 2019). All these factors negatively affect the productive capacity of African food systems.

Interviewees pointed out that an agro-ecological approach, which is the science, practice and politics of sustainable agriculture, is better suited for inclusive sustainable food systems. This approach goes beyond the current framing of traditional, mixed and modern food systems. Interviewees pointed out that the green revolution is not working because it is perpetuating poverty, the depletion of natural resources, pollution of water and other natural resources and contributing to rural-urban migration. Some scientists and practitioners confirm the importance of agro-ecology in providing solutions to some of the negative impacts of climate change on African food systems, mainly due to the key principles behind it, namely: increased recycling of biomass, enhancement of functional biodiversity, providing good soils through organic matter management, enhancing conservation and regeneration of soil and water resources, and agrobiodiversity, diversifying species and genetic resources and promoting key ecological processes and services (AFSA, 2016). Food system activities should be designed to cause the least harm to the environment.

One of the promising land restoration initiatives in Africa is the Africa Forest Landscape Restoration Initiative (AFR100) whose target is to restore 100 million hectares of degraded land by 2030. By 2018, 27 African countries had committed to restore a total of 96.4 million hectares (Mbugua, 2018). Even though many of the pledges are yet to be realised, Rwanda has already restored nearly 35 % of its

two-million-hectare commitment (ibid). The Africa Food Policy Framework should recognise and build on such initiatives.

3.3.6 Post-harvest food losses

The study identified several challenges that lie between food production and consumption. One of the most important gaps is in the lack of technologies and infrastructure for the processing, storage, packaging and transportation of food and other goods. Governments and funders have under-invested in the development of rural infrastructure, which is needed for economic viability and to reduce unnecessary food loss. Consequently, a lot of food is lost between the producer and the consumer, or reaches the consumer when the quality has declined and as a result, the smallholder farmers often lose out. Recent studies on the sustainability of some food value chains (e.g. Mukute, 2016) show that there is need for green production, processing, transportation and marketing to foster sustainability. Post-harvest losses are of particular concern in African food systems. For example, the Science Agenda for Agriculture in Africa indicates that Africa's post-harvest losses amount to between 20 % and 60 % depending on the food commodity and country, and require more efficient post-harvest handling and storage systems (FARA, 2014). Some interviewees noted that there is practically no support for primary processing at the micro scale level which can reduce the quantum of post-harvest losses. At the same time, distant markets tend to result in higher food losses. The need to reduce post-harvest losses will increase as Africa becomes more urbanised and more food must be moved from rural to urban areas (ibid.). The study also established that food packaging is not designed for sustainability to promote recycling and minimise waste and pollution from food (Ellen MacArthur Foundation & McKinsey and Company, 2014).

3.3.7 Levels of food safety

Africa has the highest world per capita incidence of foodborne illnesses causing 91 million people to fall sick and killing 137,000 people annually (WHO, 2015). Food safety is also a trade issue in Africa (AU-DREA, 2020). It is especially critical for international trade between countries that are far apart and has resulted in the recent rapid growth of private sustainability standards in global food value chains (Schuster & Maertens, 2015; Akoyi & Maertens, 2018). One interviewee noted that while in the past, Africa has been concerned about food safety for exports, the importance of food safety for consumers in producer countries has gained recognition. The food index included in the CAADP monitoring report for 2019 has now captured food safety issues but this was not the case in 2017. The three indicators recently adopted by the AU are: (i) the Food Safety System Index (FSSI), which measures a country's performance against international best practice and Codex Alimentarius international food safety standards, (ii) the Food Safety Health Index (FSHI), which is concerned with reduction of foodborne illnesses from exposure to contaminated foods, foodborne deaths and liver cancer caused by exposure to aflatoxins, and (iii) the Food Safety Trade Index (FSTI), which measures the proportion of export food commodities rejected due to food safety violations (AU-DREA, 2020, p. 6). Interviewees attributed this problem to unclear food policy guidance on integration of food safety food and nutrition strategies. The other challenges identified were inadequate food safety information and lack of clear communication mechanisms concerning food-related disease outbreaks within the continent. Increased access to safe water is an important part of ensuring food safety. An Africa Food Policy Framework that provides guidance on food safety is critical.

3.3.8 Food import and export

It is important to note that most imported food is cheap because governments in the country of origin subsidise their farmers. Africa's annual food import bill is about US\$64.5 billion against food export earnings of US\$35-40 billion (Ntirenganya, 2020). The African Development Bank says the food imports comprise wheat, sugar, rice, beef and soybeans – food products that Africa can produce. Considering that most African economies are agrarian, this situation is unsustainable. Countries that account for most of Africa's food imports are either oil-rich or conflict ridden (Fox & Jayne, 2020). At the same time African member states' nationalistic attitude undermines food and other forms of trade. This has resulted in unhealthy competition and the establishment of trade barriers between countries in the same region. For example, South Africa, Botswana and Namibia fight over beef exports. Maize cleared by Uganda has failed to meet standards in Kenya, and this can be attributed to lack of common or harmonised standards in the EAC. This reduces trade within and between RECs. In this regard the study established that in Africa, progress in continental policy making, movement of people, goods and services and integration, is rather slow.

Against this background, an Africa Food Policy Framework is needed to support the reduction of current dependence on food imports and enhance food independence, enhance income generation from food production by crop farmers, fisherfolk, livestock keepers and custodians of natural resources, guarantee food quality and safety, and address junk food problems known to contribute to overweight and obesity, and associated non-communicable diseases such as diabetes.

3.3.9 Conflicts and food systems

We identified two main kinds of conflicts in the context of food systems: (i) between some groups and national governments, and (ii) between pastoralists and crop farmers. Both conflicts are driven by disagreements over resource distribution. They give rise to insecurity and disrupt food production, distribution and consumption. We established that lack of security in conflict-ridden rural areas, particularly in border areas, has become highly detrimental to the whole and already fragile food security situation for countries in the Sahel and in the horn of Africa. Conflict-ridden areas do not attract investment as they have more risks against success. The recent initiative – Challenges of COVID-19, Conflict and Climate Change (SD3C) – developed by the G5 Sahel commission (Senegal inclusive) with the support of the three Rome-based UN agencies (FAO, IFAD, WFP) may provide a new forum for multi-stakeholder platforms to discuss such issues and encourage the investment needed. This initiative aims at tackling the three challenges of COVID 19, conflict and climate change effects on rural producers, aiming at improving their economic opportunities and livelihoods through the adoption of sustainable production practices and inclusive social cohesion approaches. Interviewees from farmer organisations also pointed out that some of the conflicts in Africa are between sedentary farmers and nomadic pastoral farmers and attributed this challenge to Africa's adoption of Western models of agriculture which are not suited to African agro-ecological conditions and culture. An Africa Food Policy Framework will need to provide for tackling conflicts from a food systems perspective. Some initiatives such as the Sahel Resilience Programme (WFP) address interconnected issues and link different sectors (land restoration, school feeding, nutrition, capacity strengthening) to ensure multiple effects on the humanitarian-development-peace nexus. Such initiatives contributed to the WFP being awarded the 2020 Nobel Peace Prize.

3.4 Conclusion

This section summarises the implications of the reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework on what it should cover and how it should be developed. The development of an Africa Food Policy Framework should consider the following:

- Pan-African values and principles that foster unity, a shared destiny, just transitions and the African philosophy of Ubuntu, including values and principles that promote African foods.
- An economic and development paradigm that reframes food production systems and ensures that they serve the interests of Africa, African citizens and the farming communities, while at the same time regenerating the productive capacity of the land.
- Greening, localisation and shortening supply chains at different scales and the promotion of local processing, territorial markets, and food storage facilities.
- Linkages between the Africa Food Policy Framework to existing food-related policies, and starting to contribute to the development of both vertical coherence between continental, regional and national policies, and horizontal/territorial policy coherence, particularly between environment, climate change, food security and nutrition, agriculture, trade and health.
- Ensuring stronger integration between the four types of food policy reasonings that are being used on the continent, but not yet in an integrated manner, namely: (i) nutrition-specific and nutrition-sensitive, (ii) right to food and multi-level food sovereignty, (iii) regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems, and (iv) food market integration and harmonisation.
- The development of appropriate governance mechanisms that ensure that the interests of the marginalised and the lock-in effects of unfair governance systems are tackled, and that appropriate incentives and resources are generated from the right sources through adapted taxation frameworks enhancing regional food supply and consumption;
- The further integration of RECs to foster the trade of local agricultural products, strengthening trans-border trading areas and regional mutual reliance to tighten solidarity links and promote regional peace.
- The definition of food policy frameworks and how they are related to each other.

The reasons underlying the process of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework suggest the following considerations:

- Ensuring the participation of producers and consumers, upstream and downstream actors and those who occupy the space between in all their diversity. It will be particularly important to ensure that the voices of groups that are currently marginalized in policy making processes are sought, heard and taken into account.
- Building linkages with other on-going and future parallel global consultation processes – Family Farming Decade, UN Food Systems Summit and global response to COVID-19 – to take advantage of synergies and common agenda.
- Building on existing policies and frameworks.
- Ensuring the participation of Pan-African, regional and national parliamentarians to ensure that the policy will be translated into national programmes fully resourced by national budgets and complemented by technical and financial partners.

- Avoiding funding that could compromise the integrity of the policy formulation process through process of elite and/or state capture.
- Building on current realities and circumstances of production, availability (supply), access and consumption of food, to outline the overarching principles to guide the Africa Food Policy Framework.

Section 4: Recommendations on Africa Food Policy Framework principles and thematic areas

4.1 Introduction

This section seeks to address the research question: What should be the main pillars and content of an Africa Food Policy Framework? By so doing, it also addresses two related interview questions, namely:

- What are the areas/domains that would need to be covered by a set of principles?
- What are the key components and topic areas of a comprehensive food policy, including those that might fall through the cracks, e.g., land governance, seeds, infrastructure, etc.?

The section is also guided by an intention to develop an Africa Food Policy Framework that is more of a guiding framework and not a one-size-fits-all document.

The areas/domains that need to be covered by a set of principles were identified from primary data generated through the interviews in direct response to the interview question, as well as from the conclusions that we made from addressing the first research question – Why Africa needs an Africa Food Policy Framework? We also reviewed two important African Policy Frameworks to identify some of the domains that are covered and specific principles that have been articulated, which an Africa Food Policy Framework could draw on.

The study identified key components and topic areas of an Africa Food Policy Framework through analysis of responses that were received from the interview question as well as from other relevant responses. It recommends that the topic areas be further elaborated and clustered to form different pillars of an Africa Food Policy Framework in subsequent processes.

4.2 Areas/domains that should be covered by principles

The study uses the term ‘principle’ in two senses in this document. Under this section (Section 4.2), it refers to principles that should be included in the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework. Under Section 4.3, it refers to principles that are already in place in the AU and can be built on. The study identified four kinds of principles that should guide the development of the content of an Africa Food Policy Framework: (i) philosophical and cultural (spirit), (ii) environmental and climate change (planet), (iii) socio-economical (sustainable health diets and inclusive wealth), and (iv) governance and institutional (power with and power to).

4.2.1 Philosophical/cultural domain principles

The following principles are proposed to address the spirit underpinning the content of an Africa Food Policy Framework:

- *African unity, integration and solidarity*: Interviewees suggested that food security, food self-sufficiency and food sovereignty should not be viewed from a national or REC level, but at a Pan-African level. This vision does not exclude local or national levels but embeds them. In order for this to happen, it is necessary for African values and principles of unity and solidarity to be reinforced and put into practice. It also entails subsidiarity, which ensures that decisions are taken at levels as close to citizens as possible. This suggestion is identical to one of the inferences that were made from reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework,

which identified the need for Pan-African values and principles that foster unity, a shared destiny, just transitions, the African philosophy of Ubuntu and promote African foods.

- *Rights-based approach:* Some farmer representatives suggested that an Africa Food Policy Framework should include the rights of small-scale crop farmers, pastoralists, fishers and those of indigenous populations. This suggests that the rights of people who produce the food and take care of the land – including pastoralists – should be provided for in the principles of the policy. This recognizes also the endemic traditional and local knowledge of food systems Apart from the standards set on those specific topics and for those groups, principles for an African Food Policy (and the process towards it) need to include the **human rights principles** of participation, accountability, non-discrimination, transparency, human dignity, empowerment and rule of law, that are mentioned above (see Section 4.3).
- *Drivers of food system activities:* In-depth review of existing food policies at Pan-African and REC levels indicate that there are key missing aspects of drivers of food system activities around which principles should be developed. They include: bio-physical and environmental drivers especially biological diversity and waste management; infrastructure in the broad sense including roads, railway, telecommunication, water and sanitation, socio-cultural and gender issues; and demographic issues, especially those relating to youth unemployment and lack of interest in agriculture, increasing population and to urbanization. For each of these drivers, principles could be developed taking into account the desired food system outcomes – food security and nutrition, socio-economic, and environmental, within specific regional contexts.
- *African food cultures:* The revival and protection of African food cultures, which are being eroded but have the potential to contribute to the strengthening of Africa’s food systems. The revival of Africa’s food systems would affect various activities along food value chains and within food systems, with the potential to make them more socially just as well as economically and ecologically sustainable.
- *Context-specific policy:* A principle is necessary for ensuring that an Africa Food Policy Framework is grounded in the social and ecological realities of the continent. Another element of such a principle is the recognition of the different food systems on the continent. Some of the important contextual considerations that were spelt out earlier in the report concern violent conflict and its impact on food systems, tensions between farmers and pastoralists, the wide range of food systems and cultures, and the different levels of economic development between African countries, among others.

4.2.2 Environmental and climate change (the planet and its sustainability)

The following principles are proposed to address the planet domain of an Africa Food Policy Framework:

- *Food as a socio-economic, environmental and climate change issue:* Interviewees underlined the importance of treating food as a socio-economic, environmental and climate change issue, not limited to food security and nutrition only. This holistic approach would cover governance, economic, livelihoods and food culture issues (including treating food as part of people’s identity), seed issues and associated rights, the right to food and the sustainability of food systems, as well as how different food systems can contribute to socio-economic development, mutual responsibility, accountability and benefit, and more just ways of distributing the costs and benefits of food systems.

- *Transitioning towards agroecology and climate resilience:* Interviewees suggested the need to invest in food producing practices that heal the land, restore ecosystems and produce ecological services such as recharging water tables and increasing the land's productive and carbon-sinking capacity. Others underlined the need for reducing GHG emissions as another important area that a holistic food policy would cover. This suggestion is closely tied to the idea of regenerative, resilient food and livelihood systems.

4.2.3 Socio-economic (sustainable healthy diets and inclusive wealth)

The following principles are proposed to address the sustainable healthy diets and inclusive wealth domain of an Africa Food Policy Framework:

- *Circular food value chains:* Interviewees underlined the importance of making sure that the food policy framework provides for storage (tackling post-harvest losses) and strategic reserves, agro-processing, transportation, packaging, marketing, consumption and waste management. They pointed out that food should not just be treated as something to eat, but also as raw material for the agro-industry, and as a tradeable commodity that can be used to grow the economy, improve livelihoods and take care of the environment. However, interviewees also underlined the importance of prioritising food for human consumption of local, national, regional and Africa's populations over food for exporting to other continents. This means that while Africa should aim to produce for export, it should not do this at the expense of feeding its own people.
- *Shorter value chains and more inclusive markets:* Some interviewees suggested the need for a principle to guide the definition and linkages between viable and more inclusive territorial markets that are based on family farming. Territorial markets are to be considered as key local spaces linking production systems to food systems with a whole range of stakeholders whose inclusion is crucial to ensure that they align their activities with a food policy. In addition, they recommended the development of regional and continental food markets based on regional integration and of enabling free movement of food and people.
- *Financing of the development and implementation of an Africa Food Policy Framework:* Interviewees indicated that if Africa wanted to be successful in solving food system-related challenges, it needed to invest more of its own resources in the development and implementation of an Africa Food Policy Framework. Such funds should also be adequate for the purposes. In addition, Africa should mobilise additional resources from sources that do not put conditionalities that undermine African interests and development. A principle on this would guide the mobilization of necessary resources and their deployment into areas of need, including needs in cases of emergency.

4.2.4 Governance and institutions (power with and power to)

- *Building on what is there:* Primary data emphasized the importance of taking into account the commitments that have already been made by African countries and addressing what needs to be put in place to ensure their implementation. This way, the policy would be contributing to the development of a culture of continuous learning, improvement and policy coherence. This suggestion is consistent with the identified need for building linkages between the Africa Food Policy Framework and existing food-related policies, thereby contributing to the development of both vertical and horizontal policy coherence highlighted in the previous section.

5. *Tackling root causes of food system challenges:* Some interviewees stressed the importance of tackling structural issues that undermine the achievement of Africa's food system outcomes with a view to increasing food sovereignty and to reducing overdependence on external markets that may threaten food security in case of shocks (as experienced with the COVID19 pandemic). Such a principle would cover issues of the political will of governance to address poverty and infrastructure development, which were identified as root causes of current food system challenges. It would also address human and financial resource allocation, sustained buy-in and promotion. Other interviewees suggested the need to re-territorialize the governance of food systems, which follows an ecosystem approach, to ensure proximity between the producer and the productive capital. The suggestions resonate with the inferences made concerning the need for the development of appropriate governance mechanisms which ensure that the interests of the marginalised, and the lock-in effects of unfair governance systems, are tackled and appropriate
- *Institutional capacity for food policy development, implementation, monitoring and review:* Many interviewees suggested the need for a principle that would ensure that Africa invests the necessary human and financial resources in the strengthening of institutions that are responsible for developing and implementing food policy at multiple levels. Such capacities cover governance, technical knowledge, multi-stakeholder coordination, implementation, reporting, ongoing learning and improvement, generation, and the provision and use of real time information for decision making and action.

4.3 Principles that already exist in African policy frameworks

The Draft Model Law on Food Security and Nutrition in Africa provides potentially useful principles that can guide the framing of an Africa Food Policy Framework. This draft law was developed in 2019 by the African Union's Pan-African Parliamentary Committee on Rural Economy, Agriculture, Environment, and Natural Resources, in order to guide countries wishing to develop national or sub-national legislation on similar issues. The human rights principles are around participation, accountability, non-discrimination, transparency, human dignity, empowerment and rule of law, also known as the PANTHER principles that are part of FAO's right to food principles. Each of these principles is briefly explained, based on the Draft Model Law:

- *Participation:* Free, informed, full and effective participation of all stakeholders, including local women, men, elders and youth, in decision-making, implementation and monitoring processes relating to food security and nutrition.
- *Accountability:* Inclusive and context-sensitive feedback channels, effective grievance mechanisms in relation to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of FSN policies, laws and programmes.
- *Non-discrimination:* Avoid discrimination on the grounds of race, language, religion, sex, age, political belief, national or social origin or another status, especially of vulnerable groups, with a view to ensuring equality in the enjoyment and exercise of the right to adequate food.
- *Transparency:* Ensure that the process and outcome of decision-making at every stage is clearly defined and adopt context-sensitive strategy for communication with all stakeholders, particularly the target population.
- *Human dignity:* Respect the dignity or inherent worth of all human beings.

- *Empowerment*: Enable rights holders, particularly vulnerable and marginalized people, to claim their right to adequate food and to play a primary role in ensuring their own food and nutrition security.
- *Rule of law*: Ensure that public authority is exercised based on law and that independent administrative, judicial and quasi-judicial mechanisms of accountability are put in place.

The study also found that the CAADP principles are worth looking at and drawing on. These principles cover: liberalised exchange and trade systems; cross-border trade; national and sub-regional investment and trade centres; public-private sector collaboration; entrepreneurship; micro, small and medium scale industries; the financial sector and investment in agriculture; and infrastructure development (AUC/NEPAD, 2003, p. 11).

In the process the study established that building on existing policies should not just be about accepting what is there, but also identifying what needs to be changed. Interestingly, the study found some of the suggested areas of principles development to be similar or the same (e.g., on cross border trade). However, there seems to be a shift in what is being emphasized. For example, in the case of infrastructure development, the new idea is to make investment in infrastructure development and not just to make it more efficient.

4.4 Themes/areas that should be covered by an Africa Food Policy Framework

The study identified the following topics as essential to be covered in an Africa Food Policy Framework: (i) vision and principles, (ii) policy background, context, purpose and objectives, (iii) food system governance (including land, water and conflict transformation), (iv) agroecology-based food systems, (v) disaster preparedness and resilience building, (vi) inclusive, just and circular value chains, (vii) tackling poverty, infrastructure development and digitalisation of food systems, (viii) enhancing food and nutrition security and healthy consumption, (ix) strengthening intra-Africa food trade and markets, (x) human and institutional capacity development for sustainable inclusive food systems, (xi) trade-offs and their management, and (xii) policy governance, implementation, funding, M & E and reporting.

Table 6 below elaborates on each of these topics, linking them to the reasons for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework, and to research participants' responses to the question of what should be included in an Africa Food Policy Framework.

Table 6: Topic areas suggested for an Africa Food Policy Framework

Recommended topic	Specific interviewee suggestions on what should be covered
Vision and principles	Encourage a food sovereignty approach at regional and continental level (rather than national) while at the same time considering national contexts. Adopt a more holistic approach to food policy. Consider the different outcomes and impacts of food systems: food and nutrition, socio-economic and environmental. See food production as a stimulus to social and economic development. Incorporate essential elements of the right to food. Principles are important to develop as an Africa Food Policy Framework will deal with multiple food systems and should not be a one-size-fits all.
Policy background, context, purpose and objectives	Build on existing food related policies and commitments. Recognise Africa's potential and achievements, the diversity of Africa's agroecological zones and food cultures. Recognise the different sources of food (agriculture, livestock production, inland and marine fisheries and forestry). Recognise the multiple outcomes of food systems and

the major obstacles to their achievement. Align the policy purpose and objectives to the vision, principles, background and contexts.

Food system governance (including land, water and conflict transformation)	Protect farmers, livestock keepers and indigenous communities, and women from land grabbing, displacement and dispossession by the more powerful and better resourced. Address land conflicts between different groups of local users. Ensure government support for innovation and entrepreneurship in food systems; invest in infrastructure development, national and regional logistics and last mile connections to agri-industrial parks and warehouses; and reform financial and tax systems to attract domestic and international investments in food system development.
Agroecology-based food systems	Adopt agroecology to address the need to increase production and productivity, sustainability, resilience to climate change and nutrition sensitive practices while at the same time ensuring the regeneration and protection of land and ecosystems, and improvements of the livelihoods of those who depend on land. Build food production knowledge, drawing on different knowledge sources, including indigenous and traditional, and on innovations. Protect and enhance farmer seed, farmer knowledge about seed and farmer seed enterprises. Work towards seed sovereignty and reduce corporate takeover of the seed value chain.
Disaster preparedness and resilience building	Strengthen early warning systems and advisory services. Protect, restore and improve livelihoods threatened by climatic, biological and economic stresses and shocks. Strengthen socio-economic resilience. Diversify food production systems, develop and produce heat and drought tolerant varieties and breeds. Restore degraded land. Conserve water resources, and develop water infrastructure for water storage and flood control. Shorten supply chains and re-territorialise food systems while at the same time making them fairer and more sustainable.
Inclusive, just and circular value chains,	Fully consider post-harvest management, agro-processing and value addition to local products, linkages between producers and consumers, reduction of food loss and food waste, the establishment and expansion of food reserves, risk management, and access to upstream factors of production. Address the need for an equitable and empowered position of women, men and youth in the food systems with particular attention to marginalized lands, as well as more social inclusion by involving people with disabilities, adolescents, women and youth, and other marginalized groups in the whole food sector including the agro-processing industry. Address the economic and social inclusion issues in food aid by ensuring the most vulnerable groups, including refugees and/or Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) get access to the food. Create demand for and produce more healthy and nutritious food. .
Tackling poverty, infrastructure development and digitalisation of food systems	Address overreliance on food aid and food imports, and inadequate recognition of and support for farmers as producers. Poverty, poor infrastructure (dams, irrigation, transport, storage and processing facilities) and poor land governance are root causes of food system challenges in Africa. The link between the rural agricultural communities that produce food and urban consumers is undermined by poor infrastructure development for the storage, processing/manufacturing and transportation of food. Address conflicts and security issues that undermine food systems. Create opportunities for rural transformation and promote food systems as a driver of economic development, social cohesion and sustainable use of natural resources. Promote productive alliances between producers and agro-food companies to encourage fair joint ventures. Promote the use of digital technologies to make food systems more productive, inclusive, sustainable and resilient to climate and economic changes.

Enhancing food and nutrition security and healthy consumption

Diversify food systems and factor in nutrition security while empowering women (and especially young mothers) to allow them to decide upon, access and propose balanced diets in households and in the formal and informal catering industry. Increase food production, reduce food loss, establish food storage facilities and reduce trade barriers between African countries. Tackle food safety in food related policies and strategies. Advance the common implementation of the right to adequate food. Address access to healthy diets rather than merely serving the interests of the corporate sector. Increase availability and affordability of nutritious foods in local food markets, including local and traditional African foods and address the growth of junk food consumption and encourage the consumption of healthy foods by all. Work with those who prepare food and those who procure food for large government institutions such as prisons, hospitals and educational institutions to foster healthy eating practice. Increase the convenience of preparing and consuming healthy foods that are based on locally produced food.

Strengthening intra-Africa food trade and markets

Internal African borders are too harsh on the movement of goods within the region and discourage the effective development of transnational trade corridors. Phytosanitary and other standards for commodities, including food, need to be harmonized between African countries. Map and develop territorial markets that are inclusive and viable. Strengthen partnerships between states and various public and private actors, including local authorities. Invest in sustainable trade agreements, citizen protection and corporate accountability, and diversified territorial and regional markets. Work with fair and sustainable urban-rural linkage principles, and approaches such as City Region Food System (CRFS). Foster regional integration and the free movement of people and goods.

Human and institutional capacity development for sustainable inclusive food systems

Review relevant curricula and non-formal education to integrate inclusive sustainable food systems thinking. Integrate local, traditional and indigenous knowledge on food production, processing and preparation while ensuring women's empowerment. Invest in individual capacities for: information generation and use, conceptualising problems and potential solutions, conducting research and development, and communication, outreach and information sharing in relation to production systems, markets and institutions and policy systems. Invest in institutional capacities to commit and act, deliver on development objectives, learn from doing and adapt, relate to external stakeholders and achieve coherence across different levels and stakeholders (Babu & Blom, 2014). Capacity building and information sharing with the stakeholders is a preamble to compensate for the asymmetry of knowledge.

Trade-offs and their management

Identify and find the most effective ways of tackling contradictions (e.g., between productivity, regeneration and resilience to climate change and social justice; short-term and long-term interests; national, regional and continental interests; and producer and consumer needs, interests and benefits). Develop guiding principles on making choices where trade-offs are involved. A trades-offs section could help answer questions such as: Which combination of policy choices reduce trade-offs to the barest minimum? And at what cost? What are the advantages and disadvantages of choosing specific trade-off levels? Which are the guiding principles for countries to enable them to choose the most appropriate trade-off levels according to their situations?

Policy governance, implementation, funding, M & E and reporting

What appropriate governance mechanisms will be developed at national, regional and continental levels? How will horizontal and vertical policy coherence be fostered? How will the policy be operationalised at continental, regional and national levels? How will policy implementation be funded at different levels? How will the achievement of policy goals be evaluated? How will real-time, quality information be generated and shared for decision-making and adaptive implementation of the policy?

Section 5: Recommendations on how an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed

5.1 Introduction

This section of the study report addresses the third research question, which is concerned with the process by which an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed. This question also required the study to identify the actors who should be involved in the policy development process and the ways in which they should be involved; and suggest the timeframe for conducting this work. Aligned with this, this section seeks to address the fourth research objective: To design a process for consultation and dialogue, and to inform a process of development of a Food Policy for Africa.

Against this background, this section covers the following areas: (i) principles to guide the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework, (ii) groups of actors to be involved in the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework and their respective roles, and (iii) the process by which an Africa Food Policy Framework should be developed, the timeframe and associated outputs. The findings and suggestions are largely based on the inputs of study interviews, a review of previous Pan-African processes, and new insights about the process of transformation.

The Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition (2020, p. 159) identifies the following three key challenges for transitioning to sustainable food systems: (i) the complexity of food and environmental systems in a context of siloed policy actions on food, health, agriculture, and climate, (ii) competing policy priorities for governments, private sector investment choices, and household food purchasing choices, and (iii) uncertainty about and mistrust of scientific evidence. The Global Panel (ibid.) suggests the following transition steps, which the Africa Food Policy Framework development process could draw on: (i) engaging politically with collective global agendas, (ii) involving multi-stakeholders in developing the vision and process of transforming food systems, (iii) managing difficult trade-offs in catalysing change across multiple policy domains, (iv) articulating costs and benefits and distributing them equitably among stakeholders, and (v) developing innovative ways of resourcing the transition.

5.2 Principles to guide the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework

The study interpreted the following principles – from the interviews that were conducted, and from process insights that were identified in section 4 of this report and from relevant Pan-African documents – as necessary for guiding the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework:

- a. *Rights-based approach*: This approach is included in the Draft African Model Law for Food Security and Nutrition, and covers participation, accountability, transparency, non-discrimination, human dignity and empowerment of right holders and marginalised people (AUC, 2020; See 4.2b).
- b. *African-driven*: Ensure that the process is led by Africans, serves the interests of Africans and not just the elite but also the civil society, and draws on Pan-African values and principles that also ensure protection of the land, water, biodiversity and ecosystems upon which current and future generations will depend.
- c. *Leadership*: Consensual agreement on a mixed group of people who should provide leadership to develop the policy. The multi-stakeholder group of people should have a necessary combination of expertise on and experience of key aspects of the African food system, legitimacy, regional spread across the continent and an ability to listen to different points of

view and take them into account. While parliamentarians and government employees are expected to assure leadership, co-ownership of the process with all food system stakeholder groups should be established.

- d. *Build on existing African policy frameworks:* Recognise previous and current policy initiatives and ensure ownership of the process and the outcomes. The starting point for the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework should be the existing national and sub-regional policy instruments, with a clear link to CAADP, the Malabo declaration and agenda 2063 which have already been ratified and owned by heads of state.
- e. *Build linkages with relevant initiatives and processes:* The process of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework should be connected, feed into and benefit from on-going and future parallel global consultation processes – family farming decade, global food summit and global response to COVID-19 – to take advantage of synergies and common agendas.
- f. *Multi-stakeholder participation:* The process should be participatory and inclusive of all the various categories of people being targeted, especially the groups that have been marginalised from participating in policy making processes in the past and groups that make law. These include and are not limited to: small scale farmers, MSMEs, youth, indigenous communities, consumers and chefs. The groups that make law are: Pan-African, regional and national parliamentarians, and local councillors should also be involved to ensure that the policy will be translated into national programmes fully resourced by national budgets and complemented by technical and financial partners.
- g. *Bottom-up and people centred process:* The process of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework should start from the bottom in the member states, then RECs and then the continental level so that it takes into account the different contexts and realities of these levels, while at the same time building a sense of ownership of the resultant African policy. This also entails putting food producers and consumers, as well as their roles in environmental protection, at the heart of the policy development considerations. This in turn means that the process should create conducive environments for their effective participation and contribution to the policy formulation process. It entails building the necessary awareness about the issues and context, and supporting preparation and consultative processes among consumers (who are not yet well-organised beyond national level), farmers and indigenous groups, using language and ways of communication that they are comfortable with.
- h. *Iteration:* The process of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework should be iterative, able to bring together views from various stakeholders at the grassroots to the experts at the top, and views and insights from the experts to the grassroots, so that a mechanism to validate information gathered is gradually built. The iteration should also link the various levels through this feedback mechanism – national, sub-regional and continental.
- i. *Appropriate sources of funding the process:* African governments and citizens should form an important source of funding for this Pan-African process. The other sources of funding should be screened to ensure that there is no conflict of interest with the Pan-Africa Food Policy Framework agenda, or that it is not intended to benefit certain groups of people such as the elite and the corporate sector at the expense of other groups of people.

5.3 Actors who should be involved in the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework

Interviewees identified a range of stakeholders who should be involved in the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework at national, regional and Pan-African levels in a way that reflected the multi-stakeholder participation principle. The stakeholder groups were identified as:

- Parliamentarians: Parliaments are responsible for legislation and law making. They are the natural 'guardians' of universal human rights including the right to food, due to their legislative powers, their role as national, regional and Pan-African debating chambers, their oversight function for government programs and their budgetary responsibilities which facilitate implementation of programs.
- REC experts in areas such as food, agriculture, health, trade, environment and climate change, energy and policy development should play a crucial role in initiating policy development and mobilizing political good will at the REC level. They are an important category of stakeholder in bridging the national and REC level and link to the pan African level.
- Government ministries as policy implementers, who are also technocrats, invest in infrastructure development and the creation of an enabling environment. Government civil servants, being experts who formulate policies based on laws enacted, play a key role in ensuring that whatever program has been agreed upon by the legislative and executive arms of government is actually operational. This makes them key actors in operationalizing such an Africa Food Policy Framework.
- Standards authorities play an important role of formulating and promoting the use of standards. According to several interviewees, this is one of the weakest points in African food systems because focus has been mostly on food exports, yet Africans have suffered in many ways from lack of standards in their domestic food markets. These experts are crucial in the formulation of the Africa Food Policy Framework because of their responsibility in setting and enforcing standards in protection of the public health and safety and the environment against dangerous, counterfeit and substandard products, as well as ensuring fairness in trade. Different food standards being applied to food products in different countries in Africa has been highlighted as an important barrier to intra-Africa trade and is now more important considering the recent launch of the AfCFTA.
- Local government and municipalities that manage land and water resources, develop and enforce tax laws with a bearing on food systems, and who are also involved in waste collection and management. Furthermore, local governments are an important target in formulating the Africa Food Policy Framework, especially because the elite may form alliances that disenfranchise marginalized groups of land, involving local government leaders in some cases. But they can also serve to play a role that enables the empowerment of the people they serve.
- Farmer organisations as food producers, who must derive livelihoods from the food system and play a central role in caring for the environment, in producing ecological services and adapting to climate change and also exercise their agency to influence policy. Farmers also are important sources of agricultural and natural resources management knowledge and innovation (Mukute, 2015). Landless people comprise another important group of food producers or potential food producers and should also be involved in the policy development process.

- Workers in the food systems, especially those who work in food value chains. This will include workers, such as food transporters and food vendors, in the informal sector who comprise a big proportion of people employed in African food systems.
- Indigenous communities who often look after land that provides necessary ecological services, are custodians of local social ecological knowledge, traditional and cultural practice, including agrobiodiversity protection and improvement.
- Consumers' groups who influence food production practices based on demand and who also manage food waste, and whose consumption choices have implications on their health. Consumers with specific dietary requirements, such as those who eat Halal meats, are important for influencing labelling and traceability of foods.
- Civil Society organizations, including NGOs and faith-based organisations (FBOs) who support farmer organisations in advocating for policies that enhance social justice, ecological sustainability and food and nutrition security. NGOs by their very nature of operation are involved in innovative practices that generate policy alternatives geared towards solving specific food systems problems.
- Academic and research organisations such as public universities and private sector think tanks that generate new knowledge and innovative solutions, and recommend appropriate food policy processes, concepts and practices.
- Private sector organisations including MSMEs and large food corporations, who drive key activities in food value chains and control the distribution of benefits along these chains. They are involved in input supply and participate in agricultural value chain activities (production, storage/bulking, agro-processing, transportation, packaging, marketing and distribution to consumers) in ways that can enhance fair distribution of costs, benefits and ecological sustainability.
- Food procurement personnel in large public sector organisations who have an influence in the potential greening of the food value chain.
- Chefs and cooks in the hospitality industry who have an influence on consumers, their tastes and the food they end up buying.
- Institutions such as schools, hospitals, prisons and army barracks.
- Media, which plays an important role in communicating information to the general public as well as in influencing public opinion and creating demand.
- Young women and men who constitute the majority of Africa's population and whose future is impacted on more by current choices and actions in food systems.

Another important finding – which is closely tied to the leadership principles outlined above – concerns the question of who should lead the process of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework. Interviewees suggested that a task force comprising high level female and male experts and stakeholder representatives from different parts of Africa should lead the policy formulation process. The task force should be guided by set of shared Pan-African values and principles, which include building synergies with relevant existing/new initiatives and processes (e.g., Committees for the Decade of Family Farming).

5.4 Proposed steps and outputs for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework

Table 7 below outlines the steps for the development of an Africa Food Policy Framework, the intended outputs and timeframes. The steps are based on how the study interpreted suggestions

made by interviewees, as well as on the principles that were identified for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework (Section 5.2). One of the key considerations in suggesting the timing of the steps is the intention to ensure that the policy making process contributes to Africa's position and contribution at the United Nations World Food Systems Summit in September 2021.

Table 7: Proposed Africa Policy development steps, timeframes and outputs

Proposed step	Proposed timeframe	Output
Step 0: Build stakeholder groups' awareness and political buy-in of the idea of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework that is Africa-driven and is based on African values, principles and serves Africa's interests and needs (through task forces and multi-stakeholder food policy-making platforms). This was conducted through national consultation processes last year.	June-December 2020	Awareness and buy-in for the idea of developing an Africa Food Policy Framework using a sustainable food systems approach
Step 1: Share key findings and recommendations from this study to inform initial discussion of an Africa Food Policy Framework.	July 2021	An agreed process for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework
Step 2: Establish a Steering Committee comprising a mix of African governments and CSOs to: (i) develop a theory of change and process for developing an Africa Food Policy, and (ii) identify necessary structures (e.g. task forces, multi-stakeholder policy discussion platforms, resource mobilisation) and develop terms of reference for them to drive the policy formulation process at Pan-African, regional and national levels.	August-September 2021	Structures, guidelines and strategies for developing an Africa Food Policy Framework
Step 3: Establish multi-stakeholder holder task forces at national, regional and continental level and co-develop a common African position and principles to inform the content and process of an Africa Food Policy Framework to feed into the World Food Systems Summit; and mobilise resources to support the policy formulation process.	September-December 2021	Key food systems challenges faced by Africa and proposed solutions to addressing them A common Africa position on the values, principles, and framing of an Africa Food Policy Framework Adequate and appropriate financial resources
Step 4: Establish multi-stakeholder policy discussion platforms at continental, regional, national and subnational levels to engage in step-wise participatory consultations. Use the task forces to facilitate the dialogues at the different levels by identifying policy issues that an Africa Food Policy Framework should address, drawing on stakeholder contributions, reviews of existing policies and insights from relevant and ongoing processes. The consultations at each level should be dialogical and iterative to allow for rigour, collective learning and collective policy proposal development.	January - December 2022	Empowered historically marginalized stakeholders who are better able to exercise their agency and contribute to policy development Policy proposals that are grounded within multiple food system realities and linked to existing food-related policies Policy proposals to inform an Africa Food Policy Framework A glossary of terminologies and concepts agreed upon among various stakeholders.

Step 5: Steering Committee members and Task Force representatives collect and synthesise the policy proposals made in different countries and contexts, regions and at continental level	January to March 2023	Refined and integrated food policy proposals reflecting the interests and values of key stakeholder groups including farmers, consumers and indigenous communities.
Step 6: Presentation and adoption of policy recommendations by the Pan-African Parliamentary Body	April - July 2023	Fit-for-purpose, Africa-driven and Africa-owned food policy proposals
		Africa Food Policy Framework recommendations adopted

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Annex 1: List of interviewees and reviewers

Names and contact details		Position	Organisation	Gender	
				M	F
GOVERNMENT AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS					
1.	Dr Laila Lokosang; Lokosangl@africa-union.org	Advisor for Food and Nutrition Security	AUC	X	
2.	Dr Godfrey Bahiigwa BahiigwaG@africa-union.org	Director of Rural Economy and Agriculture	AUC	X	
3.	Dr Simplicie N. Fonkou Noualas@africa-union.org	Head of Agriculture and Food Security Division	AUC	X	
4.	Musonda Mofu	Deputy Executive Director	National Food and Nutrition Commission, Zambia	X	
5.	Christopher Mbewe	Chief Agricultural Economist	Ministry of Agriculture, Zambia	X	
6.	Felix Njumbe; fejumbe@gmail.com	Chief Executive Officer	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC)	X	
7.	Nana Thiombiano	Nutritionist	Ministry of Health, Burkina Faso		X
8.	Elizabeth Kamau; Elizabeth.Kamau@fao.org	Resilient Food and Livelihood Systems Sub-Programme Leader	FAO Kenya		X
9.	Fanny Grandval-Kindoho; f.granval@ifad.org	Senior Regional Technical Specialist, Rural Institutions Sustainable Production, West and Central Africa Region	IFAD Coastal Hub		X
10.	Lazare Hoton Lazare.Hoton@fao.org	FAO's Investment Centre, Africa Service (CFIA)	FAO, Rome	X	
11.	Amegbeto Koffi	Senior Policy Officer & Regional Manager	FAO, RAF	X	
12.	Mustakim Waid mustakim.waid@wfp.org	Strategic Partnerships Advisor	WFP	X	
13.	Abdub Jirmo abdub.jirmo@wfp.org	Strategic Partnerships	WFP	X	

14. Chris Toe chris.toe@wfp.org	Senior Advisor for Corporate and Country Strategic Engagement	WFP	X
FARMER ORGANISATIONS			
15. Fatma BEN REJEB; ceo@pafo-africa.org	Chief Executive Officer	Pan-African Farmers' Organization (PAFO)	X
16. Fatimata Kone; fatimata_kone@yahoo.fr	Agricultural Economist	ROPFA – West Africa	X
17. Imelda Agondanou; imelda.agondanou@gmail.com	Sociologist	ROPFA – West Africa	X
18. Ousseini Ouedraogo; coouedraogo@yahoo.fr	Secrétaire Exécutif	ROPFA – West Africa	X
19. Sessi Rostaing Akoha; r.akoha@roppa-afrique.org	Monitoring and Evaluation Principal Officer	ROPFA – West Africa	X
20. Arthur Zogan arthurzog@yahoo.fr	Secrétaire Exécutif/CTOP, member of the regional board	ROPFA – West Africa	X
21. Issoufou Porgo; issouporgo@yahoo.fr	Secrétaire Permanent et member of the regional board ROPFA	Confédération Paysanne du Faso, Burkina Faso	X
22. Elizabeth Nsimadala; elizabethnsima@gmail.com	Chairperson	East African Farmers' Federation (EAFF)	X
23. Joel, Mzinga; joemzinga@gmail.com	ESAFF Regional Coordinator	East and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers' Forum (ESAFF)	X
24. Dr Sinare Y. Sinare; drsinare@gmail.com	Chairman and President	Southern African Confederation of Farmers' Unions (SACAU)	X
25. Elizabeth Mpofu; eliz.mpofu@gmail.com	International Coordinator	La Via Campesina	X
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS)			
26. Fassil Gebeyehu; fassil@africanbiodiversity.org	National Coordinator	African Biodiversity Network	X
27. Zachary Makanya; makanya@pelum.net	National Coordinator	Participatory Ecological Land Use Management Association (PELUM) Kenya	X
28. Denis Kyetere; D.Kyetere@aاتف-africa.org	Executive Director	African Agricultural Technology Foundation	X

29.	Dr Chris Macoloo; cmacoloo@wn.org	Regional Director for Africa	World neighbours	X
30.	Karen Nekesa Samukoya; karen.nekesa@gmail.com	Advocacy and Communications Coordinator	ReSCOPE	X
31.	Mr. Stefano Prato; stefanop@sidint.org	Executive Director	Society for International Development	X
32.	Charles Dhehwa; charles@knowledgetransafrica.com	Executive Director	Knowledge Transfer Africa	X
33.	Stacia Nordin; Nordin@illinois.edu	SANE Nutrition Education Specialist,	Feed the Future Malawi Strengthening Agricultural & Nutrition Extension (SANE)	X
34.	Laurent Levard; levard@gret.org	Responsable de programme	GRET, Partners for a sustainable development	X
35.	Damien Lagandré lagandre@gret.rog	Chargé de Projets / Project Officer	GRET, Partners for a sustainable development	X
36.	Dr Million Belay million.belay@afsafrica.org	Coordinator	Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA)	X
37.	Bridget Mugambe bridget.mugambe@afsafrica.org	Programme Coordinator	AFSA	X
38.	Michael Farrelly michael.farrelly@afsafrica.org	Programme Officer	AFSA	X
39.	Peter Gubbels pgubbels@groundswellinternational.org	Director	Groundswell International	X
40.	Tom Mugisa	Director	ADRA, Uganda	X
RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS AND UNIVERSITIES				
41.	Dr. Jemimah Njuki; J.Njuki@cgiar.org	Director for Africa	International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)	X
42.	Mr. Fahari Marwa; fmarwa@eachq.org	Principal at the EAC Secretariat Agricultural Economist at the EAC secretariat	The East African Community Secretariat	X
43.	Prof. Mamadou Goïta; mgoita@irpadafrique.org	Directeur Exécutif	IRPAD/Afrique	X
44.	Chantal Clément; Chantal.clement@ipes-food.org	Deputy Director	International Panel of Experts on Sustainable	X

			Food Systems (IPES-Food)		
45. Professor Sandy Thomas	Professor/Director	Global Panel on Agriculture and Food Systems for Nutrition, UK		X	
46. Bob Baulch; b.baulch@cgiar.org	Senior Research Fellow /Leader of Malawi Country Strategy Program	IFPRI Malawi		X	
47. Kenneth Ayuko: ayukokenneth@gmail.com	Executive Director	AgRisk Research and Advisory		X	
48. Professor Joyce Kinabo	Professor	Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tanzania		X	
DONORS					
49. Andrea Sonntag; Andrea.Sonntag@welthungerhilfe.de	Senior Advisor for Nutrition Policy and the Right to Food	Welthungerhilfe (WHH)		X	
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