

Afrint Project: Reorientation of agricultural policies in Africa?

Final report on Sida support to African researchers' participation in research on agricultural dynamism

In April 2002, after exploratory visits to a number of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, made when starting up our research project 'African Food Crisis – The relevance of Asian models' (*Afrint*), we gained impressions of an ongoing re-orientation of agricultural policies, towards a more active role for governments in promoting agricultural development, being underway in a number of African countries. We then applied for Sida support to the participation of African scholars in a series of case studies forming part of the larger project. The larger project is funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and is affiliated to Lund University.

Background and goal

Although it was too early definitely to characterise it as such, our impression was that a major swing of the pendulum is going on in agricultural policy making.

We pointed to a series of features, which together made up a totality judged to possibly signal an epochal shift:

- The release and diffusion of a series of new varieties of seed with features attractive to commercially oriented smallholders, like Quality Protein Maize (QPM) and improved open-pollinating varieties (OPVs) of the same crop, higher yielding rice varieties being diffused in farmer-managed irrigation systems, primarily in West Africa, improved varieties of cassava diffused in humid and subhumid areas, adaptation of soy-bean for African conditions, etc.
- The above is made possible and also requires rehabilitated national agricultural research systems and extensions services. Especially in the latter respects, interesting development are underway in a series of countries like Ethiopia, Uganda, Malawi and Ghana.
- A part of the reorientation and partly also a consequence of the above is another regional profile to the new thrust, with emphasis on areas that are better endowed, production- and location-wise, and possibly a new but regionally unequal dynamism where distant hinterlands risk being left out of the process, involving and including mainly commercially oriented smallholders in favourable locations.
- Yet another characteristic of the policy reorientation is another 'mix' of market and state in the agricultural sector, which is different both from the anti-market thrust of the period after independence and the ensuing, equally marked, anti-State emphasis of the structural adjustment period. The new 'mix' would be one of *market-and-state*, a development posing new challenges for every actor holding a stake in African food security.

We set out to investigate the above and try to document The research project conducted by our team had a unique opportunity to document and analyse the current phase in agricultural policy-making and development in sub-Saharan Africa, and its implications for the African food crisis.

The African case studies started from the basic formulation of the Asian models made as part of the larger project (Djurfeldt and Jirstrom 2002; Larsson, Holmén et al. 2002). Accordingly, we take the Asian model to be:

a state-driven, farmer-managed and market-mediated process of increasing yields in food grains and staples.

The study was designed to capture the dynamism in African agriculture, if there is any, and to illuminate questions about its driving forces. Thus the overall goal of the case studies is as boxed:

Overall goal:

to illuminate the role of the state and the market in affecting farmers' production behaviour.

African case studies

We signed Memoranda of Understanding with scholars from the following countries and institutions to make intensive country case studies:

- 1) Ethiopia, Addis Ababa University
- 2) Tanzania, Sokoine Agricultural University
- 3) Malawi, University of Malawi
- 4) Zambia, University of Zambia
- 5) Nigeria, International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
- 6) Ghana, University of Ghana
- 7) Uganda, Makerere University
- 8) Kenya, Nairobi University

We explored the possibilities for making an intensive country case study in Moçambique, but failed to find suitable and affordable counterparts.

Methodology

We worked with a two-pronged strategy for collecting data, building simultaneously on qualitative and quantitative methods. The core of the latter is a survey, which gives us the quantitative backbone of the study. In order to add temporal depth to a basically cross-sectional design, the project relied on two strategies, first by drawing as much as possible on diachronic and historical data in the collection of qualitative material and other secondary data. This was done in the macro studies, conducted by the partners in each country and subjected to a comparative analysis by the Swedish team. Second, we attempted to build a temporal dimension into the survey by using the recall method, asking farmers to compare the present situation to earlier times.

In order for the project to produce comparable data, we relied upon the distinction between core variables and dimensions, on which data must be collected in each country, and non-core ones, where the country teams have more leeway in collecting data according to their own priorities. This made it possible for the African case studies to feed into the comparative analysis made by the Swedish team and as part of the larger project.

This methodology was worked out jointly by the entire team in a workshop conducted at Malmö and Lund in May 2002, before launching the field work

Work plan

The official starting date for the African sub-projects was June 1st 2002. The collaborating researchers worked each for 60 days, and undertook to finalise their respective work packets according to the following time-plan:

Work packet	Ending date
Completion of survey	Sep 30, 2002
Completion of qualitative field work	Sep 30, 2002
Draft report on survey	Dec 31, 2002
Draft report on qualitative field work	Dec 31, 2002
Final report on the work packets of each collaborator including a short report on the joint work packet	June 30, 2003

Work packets of African counterparts

The in-depth studies involved the assignment of two scholars in each country. In addition to this, resource persons were added to the team in several of the participating countries. Some of the latter were gender specialists. The scholars were responsible for work packets, as summarised below:

Work assignment, macro-level

- 1) Changes in agricultural policy since Structural Adjustment Reforms. (Qualitative interviews, secondary sources).
- 2) Agro-ecological conditions (e.g. irrigation potential, feasibility of new crop varieties). (Secondary sources).
- 3) Present and historic state forms, existing and historical popular movements (farmer organisations and NGOs). (Interviews, secondary sources).
- 4) The geo-political situation (Structural Adjustment, new WTO negotiations, HIPC debt relief, etc.). (Secondary sources, interviews).
- 5) Nationalist and other ideologies. (Interviews, secondary sources).

Micro-level:

- 1) Survey in two or more sites (to be specified)
- 2) Processes of local agricultural intensification. (Secondary sources, qualitative interviews, survey).
- 3) Distribution and multiplier effects of the agricultural intensification that has occurred in the case study areas? (Survey)
- 4) Interrelationships between institutional conditions (for example regarding gender, land tenure, water management, farmer organisations etc.) and agricultural intensification. (Secondary sources, qualitative interviews, survey)

Joint responsibility of the two collaborators:

- 1) Writing of joint working papers/articles on the country study.
- 2) Together write a chapter on the country in the joint volume to be the end product of the project. The volume is being published by CAB International, London.

Reporting

The draft reports were detailed and technical, and were not judged to be widely accessible for outsiders. Six of the eight reports were delivered as per the contract and were published at the Afrint Home Page (see under [publications](#)). These six partners were invited to draft a chapter to be included in the CABI publication. These were presented and discussed in a workshop organized in Nairobi in January 2004. At this occasion, the project members presented their findings to an audience from Sida NATUR, and some of its partners in Africa.

In addition to this, the Swedish team has produced *Quarterly Progress Reports* from the start of the project to the last quarter of 2004. These were submitted to the sponsors. To these reports were appended working papers produced in the course of research.

Ownership of data

The subcontracts between the Department of Sociology, Lund University and the Universities in the participating countries specifies the following about ownership of data:

“All data and analysis, obtained by the Subcontractor in performance of the Task shall be owned by The Department, which may use them as they see fit. The ownership remains with The Department until they have been published by or through The Department. After publication, the data and analysis are jointly owned by The Department and the Subcontractor and both parties have the right to dispose of the material as they see fit. Whenever relevant the support of the sponsors should be acknowledged in such work.”

This clause makes it possible for the team to share data and results with third parties as the need or wish for this arises.

Overall conclusions

The following conclusions were drafted by the Afrint team when concluding the Nairobi workshop in January 2004:

“Sub-Saharan African agriculture is in deep crisis, creating imminent threats of famine and widespread poverty, among farmers and rural dwellers as well as in towns and cities. The agrarian crisis decelerates development in general and adds to the ecological, environmental, demographic and health crisis of the sub-continent.

Over a short span of time the Green Revolution in Asia eliminated the threat of famine in a number of Asian countries, from the mid 60s and onwards. This was accomplished through the Green Revolution, which was a State-driven process, rather than a technologically driven process, as is the conventional view. This research project attempts to causally explain the Green Revolution and to explore the relevance of the Asian experience for contemporary Africa.

The results in this study underpin the conclusion that the crisis is firsthand economic and political. It is economic in the sense that, despite the need for food, there are weak economic drivers enabling farmers to intensify their production. The vast majority of farmers are

constrained to extensive forms of production, with low productivity and marginal integration into the market.

The African agrarian crisis is political in the sense that governments in the sub-continent have failed to provide the institutional and macro-economic framework that would enable farmers to exploit their production potentials. Non-supportive at best, exploitative at worst, agricultural policies have jeopardised the food security of the poor, especially in the rural areas.

Global food markets compound the crisis. International food-grain markets are in permanent recession, due to the dumping of surplus grain by the European Union and US. This again reflects a betrayal of the African people by the international community. Domestic special interests in the West are allowed, not only to override the interests of the poor in Africa, but to permanently scuttle the chances of Africans to escape the poverty trap by means of their own efforts and hard work.

Overcoming the crisis requires a sustained and long-term commitment on the part of African governments to drive the development of food production, in a manner inspired by the Asian Green Revolution. The donors and the international community need to create the conditions for this commitment to bear fruit.

Getting out of the poverty trap implies lots of work on the part of African farmers, an input that is likely to be supplied, once their efforts are rewarded, once they are supplied improved technologies and are reasonably protected against risk.”

Financial report

The financial report for the project is submitted separately by Lund University.

Lund in February 2005,

Göran Djurfeldt

Professor

Project leader

Annexes:

1. Publications and papers produced.
2. List of documents referred to and available at the project website.

1. Publications and papers produced.

Book:

Göran Djurfeldt, Hans Holmén, Magnus Jirström and Rolf Larsson (eds.) (forthcoming 2005): The African Food Crisis: Lessons from the Asian Green Revolution. London: CABI. ([Order book from publisher here](#))

Papers by the Swedish team:

- Göran Djurfeldt, Hans Holmén, Magnus Jirström and Rolf Larsson (forthcoming 2005): What can sub-Saharan Africa learn from Asian experiences in addressing its food crisis? Stockholm: Sida.
- Hans Holmén (2004): Food Systems and Biodiversity in Africa, Currents, Current Issues in International Rural Development, published by Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Currents No. 35/36, p. 37 - 40.
- Hans Holmén (2004): Why no Green Revolution in Africa? Currents, Current Issues in International Rural Development, published by Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, 34, August, p. 12-16
- Hans Holmén (2003): Reflections on Natural Preconditions for a Green Revolution in Africa. Geografiska meddelanden Nr 14, The Tema Institute, Dept. for Geography, Linköping University.
- Hans Holmén (2003): A Green Revolution for Africa -- Does it need to be so controversial?, ICER Working Paper No. 4/2003, International Centre for Economic Research, Turin.
- Rolf Larsson, Hans Holmén & Mikael Hammarskjöld Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa (Afrint Working Paper No. 1) 48 pages ISBN 91-7267-133-5.
- Göran Djurfeldt & Magnus Jirström Asian Models of Agricultural Development and their Relevance to Afrika (Afrint Working Paper No. 2) 47 pages ISBN 91-7267-137-8.

Journalistic publication:

- Göran Djurfeldt Mikael Hammarskjöld, Hans Holmén, Magnus Jirström and Rolf Larsson (2003): Åtta myter som hammar jordbrukets utveckling. Omvärlden nr. 7, Oktober, 2003, s. 20-23.

Afrint macro studies:

- Akande, T. and Kormawa, P. (2003) Afrint Case Study of Nigeria: Macro Study Report (Final). International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Ibadan, mimeo.
- Bazaara, N. and Muhereza, F. (2003) Afrint Macro Study Report - Agricultural Intensification and Food Security Issues in Uganda. (Draft). Centre for Basic Research, Kampala, mimeo.
- Isinika, A., Ashimogo, G. and Mlangwa J. (2003) Afrint Country Report - Africa in Transition: Macro Study Tanzania (Final). Dept of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Morogoro.

- Milner, J., Tsoka, M. and Kadzandira, J. (2003) Afrint Country Report: Malawi Macro-study (Draft). Centre for Social Research, Univ of Malawi, Zomba (mimeo).
- Mulat, D. and Teketel, A. (2003) Ethiopian Agriculture: Macro and Micro Perspective. Afrint Macro Study (Final). Dept of Business Administration, Addis Ababa, mimeo.
- Oluoch-Kosura, W. (2003) Afrint Country Report: Kenya Macro Study. College of Agriculture and Veterinary Sciences, Dept of Agricultural Economics, Nairobi.
- Saasa, O. (2003) Afrint Country Study: Agricultural Intensification in Zambia. Macro Study. (Final). Lusaka. Mimeo.
- Seini, W. and Nyanteng, V. (2003) Afrint Macro Study: Ghana Macro Report (Final). Institute of Statistical, Social & Economic Research, ISSER, Legon, mimeo.

Papers submitted for publication or in progress

- Göran Djurfeldt and Rolf Larsson (2004): Food security, agricultural technology and policy – the case of maize in sub-Saharan Africa. (Submitted to World Development).
- Göran Djurfeldt and Rolf Larsson (2005): African farm trajectories and the sub-continental food crisis.
- Göran Djurfeldt (2005): Family farming in sub-Saharan Africa – crisis and opportunities. (To be submitted to Food Policy).

Home Page

- <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint>

2. 2. List of documents referred to and available at the project website.

The below documents are available via the internet at the addresses specified.

1. Original project description (<http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/riks9.pdf>)
2. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Ethiopia (file ethiopia.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
3. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Uganda (file uganda.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
4. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Malawi (file malawi.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
5. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Ghana (file ghana.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
6. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Nigeria (file nigeria.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
7. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Kenya (file kenya.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
8. Memorandum of understanding on research co-operation, Tanzania (file tanzania.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
9. Curriculum Vitae and List of Publications of the project leader, professor Göran Djurfeldt (<http://www2.soc.lu.se/~socgdj>)
10. Djurfeldt, G. and M. Jirström (2002). Asian models of agricultural development and their relevance for Africa. Lund, Departments of Sociology and Social and Economic Geography. (file asiamod.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
11. Larsson, R., H. Holmén, et al. (2002). African agricultural development: Discussion notes. Lund, Department of Sociology. (file afrimod.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)
12. Djurfeldt, G. and R. Larsson (2002). Design of the study, methodology and data collection. Lund, Department of Sociology. (file methods.PDF at <http://www.soc.lu.se/afrint/internal/>)