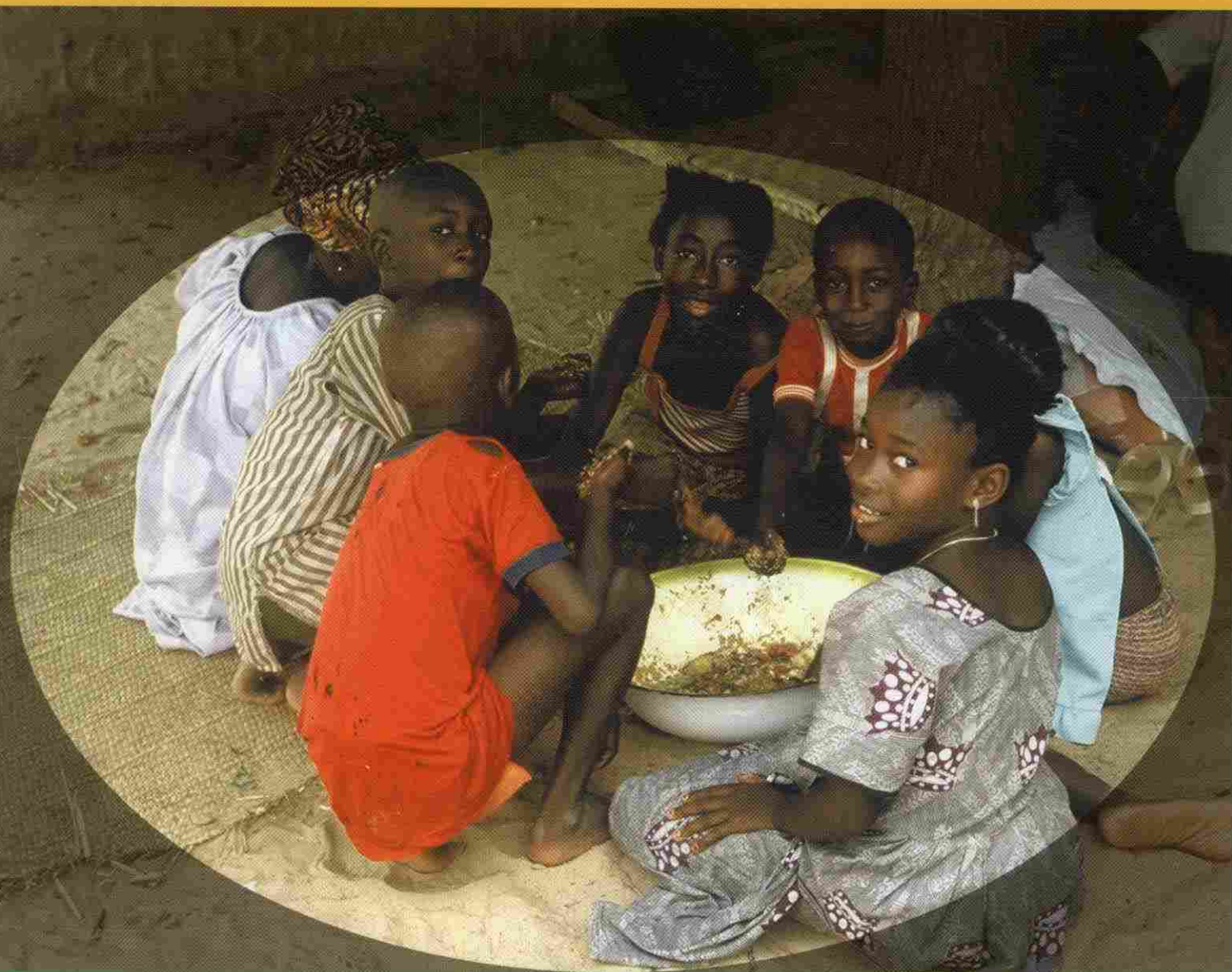


SAHEL 21:  
*No to poverty,  
opting for sustainable food security*

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PERMANENT INTER-STATES COMMITTEE  
FOR DROUGHT CONTROL IN THE SAHEL



CILSS







One Sahelian out of two lives below the poverty line, and every day one out of three experiences the pangs of hunger and malnutrition. Nearly 3 billion people in the world live with less than two dollars a day and more than 800 million people still suffer from hunger.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, the international community pledged to cut by half the number of poor people and individuals starving in the world. In the Sahel, food insecurity has been the sub-region's central pre-occupation since the major droughts of the 70s and 80s.

Despite the progress made in 20 years, we are forced to note that the legitimate right of every Sahelian to food has not yet come true. Large-scale food insecurity is sapping our societies, undermining the foundations of socio-economic development and standing in the way of sustainable management of natural resources.

The population of the Sahel doubles every 25 years. It is a more and more urban population whose eating habits are changing. The social bases that used to give crucial importance to solidarity are now in full change. The democratisation and liberalisation process has caused our States to pull out, to the benefit of the civil society and private sector actors. Our environment, our culture and our economy have to take up many challenges posed by the globalisation. All these developments have significant impacts on the food security conditions. We have therefore no choice but to promote new approaches that take into account the complex nature of the causes of food insecurity and its various forms, and empower all the stakeholders.

The formulation of the sustainable food security strategy for poverty reduction in the Sahel, and of the national and the regional strategies was based on a process of constant dialogue between the States, the civil society and the private sector actors, the professional organizations and the international partners. This process now opens new prospects. It is now up to each and everyone to learn the lessons. Guaranteeing food security is first of all a collective responsibility.

The local communities and the civil society and private sector actors are those who live next to the problems. They are in

close contact with the crises, and they lay the foundations for a sustainable development. It is of general interest to build their capacities so that they can fully play their role.

On the government's side, it is our responsibility to ensure, on a day-to-day basis, that food related issues occupy a central part in any decision we make and are integrated into our public policy reforms. It is incumbent on the States to harmonize the policies within the regional zones. It is by doing so that public action will be made effective. It is at this cost that we can build a strong political zone, a buoyant economic and trade zone for the producers and the companies, a social area that guarantees solidarity and the reduction of inequalities. It is also at this cost that we shall be able to carry weight in international negotiations.

On the international community's side, the responsibility is very important too. Food related issues are a challenge for international trade regulations, agricultural policies in the developed countries and development cooperation policies, of course. The coherence and coordination of the international partners will be a determining factor for the future of Sahelian societies.

A food security based primarily on the use of local resources and turning the back on increasing dependence vis-à-vis international markets is achievable in the Sahel. It fits within a broader perspective that includes poverty reduction, sustainable human development and regional integration.

This is the option that all the public and private actors have chosen to promote. It's the only option that can help restore the dignity of every man and woman of the Sahel.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'Amadou'.

Amadou Toumani TOURÉ

President of the Republic of Mali  
Current Chairman of CILSS







Foreword

Ending hunger...

Summary

Abbreviations and acronyms

1<sup>st</sup> BOOK: Food security in the Sahel: Appraisal and recent developments

INDEX A	Food security in the Sahel
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INDEX A2	The information strategies

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The key figures

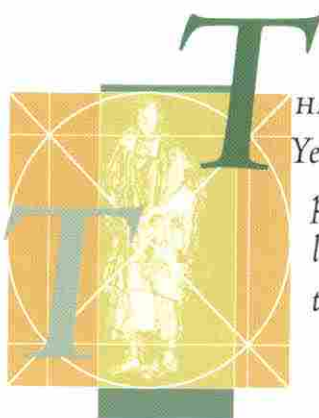
Bibliography and internet sites

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACMAD	African Centre of Meteorological Application for Development
ACP	African-Caribbean-Pacific group
ADB	African Development Bank
AEDS	European Agency for Development and Health
AGRHYMET	Regional Centre for training and operational applications AGRo-HYdro-METeorological (CILSS)
CASPAR	Agro-Sylvo-Pastoral Unit for Food Security
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CET	Common External Tariff
CILSS	Permanent Inter-States Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel
CIPV	International Convention on Crop Protection
CMRP	Cereal Market Restructuring Programme
DC	Developing Country
DIAPER	Permanent Diagnosis
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EMPA	<i>Empresa Pública de Abastecimiento</i> – Public Supply Enterprise
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
EWS	Early Warning System
FAIMO	<i>Frente de Alta Intensidade de Mão de Obra</i> – Labour intensive activity programme
FAO	United Nations Organisation for Food and Agriculture
FEWS	Famine Early Warning System (USAID)
FSF	Food Security Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IEWS	Integrated Early Warning System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INRA-ESR	National Institute for Agronomic Research – Department of Rural Economics and Sociology
INSAH	Sahel Institute (CILSS)
IRAM	Institute for Research and Development Methods Application
IRD	Development Research Institute
LDC	Least Developed Country
MIS	Market Information System
MOAVE	<i>MOAgem de Cabo Verde</i> – Cape Verde Flour Mill
NAP-CD	National Action Programme-Combat Desertification
NEPAD-NOPADA	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIE	International Livestock Organisation
OPVN	Niger Food Products Office
OTC	Technical Trade Barriers
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PREGEC	Support Unit to the "Prevention and Management of Food Crises" (CILSS)
PR-PRS	Poverty Reduction-Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSF	Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
R(s)DS	Rural (Sector) Development Strategy
REFESA	Sahelian Women's Network
ROPFA	Network of West African Farmer Organisations and Agricultural Producers
SAED	Senegal River Delta Land Development Company
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SMIAR	World Information and Rapid Warning System on Food and Agriculture (FAO)
SRAP-WA	Sub-Regional Action Programme to Combat Desertification in West Africa and in Chad
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SWC-SPR	Soil and Water Conservation-Soil Protection and Rehabilitation
TRIPS	Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights Agreement
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UMA	Union of the Arab Maghreb
UNCTAD	United Nations Convention on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organisation
WFP	World Food Programme
WMO	World Meteorological Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation



# Food security in the Sahel



**T**HANK GOD the Sahel has not been exposed to famine in the last 20 years. Year in, year out, the agricultural production has managed to match up the population growth. Nevertheless, hunger still remains a day-to-day problem for one out of every three Sahelians. Food insecurity is essentially linked to poverty and constantly handicaps development prospects.

Deeply marked by images of populations and animals decimated by the major droughts of the 70s and the 80s, the international public opinion often tends to associate the Sahel to drought and famine. Nevertheless, for twenty years now, the Sahel has not been exposed to a major food crisis. Despite a very rapid population growth, the quantity of food available per inhabitant has remained stable on the whole, because essentially of the increase in agricultural production in the region. This overall picture should not make one forgetful of the fact that a large segment of the Sahelian population cannot feed themselves adequately. The conditions that allow to satisfy these needs in a sustainable way are still far from being met.

## 17 MILLION MALNOURISHED SAHELANS

It is estimated that 17 million Sahelians, or 23% of the total population, are exposed to chronic food insecurity that takes different forms: under-nourishment (calorie consumption below minimum requirements) or malnutrition (micro-nutrient, vitamin deficiencies... often caused by unbalanced diet). Children, pregnant women and old people are the groups most affected. Some available data give an idea of the gravity of the phenomenon:

- the percentage of malnourished children of less than five years of age varies from 22 to 43% (except in Cape Verde where this rate is much lower);
- the most populated Sahelian countries experience neonatal weight gap between 10 and 21%;
- for the CILSS countries as a whole, nearly 40% of the population suffer from temporary food insecurity.

Malnutrition undermines the capacity of the Sahel to develop itself in the future, because it reduces the physical and intellectual capacities of the children and increases their vulnerability to diseases. Moreover, under-nourishment and malnutrition affect

the productivity of the adults and thus their capacity to secure adequate resources to meet their household needs.

## CHRONIC AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL FOOD INSECURITY: THE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME EVIL

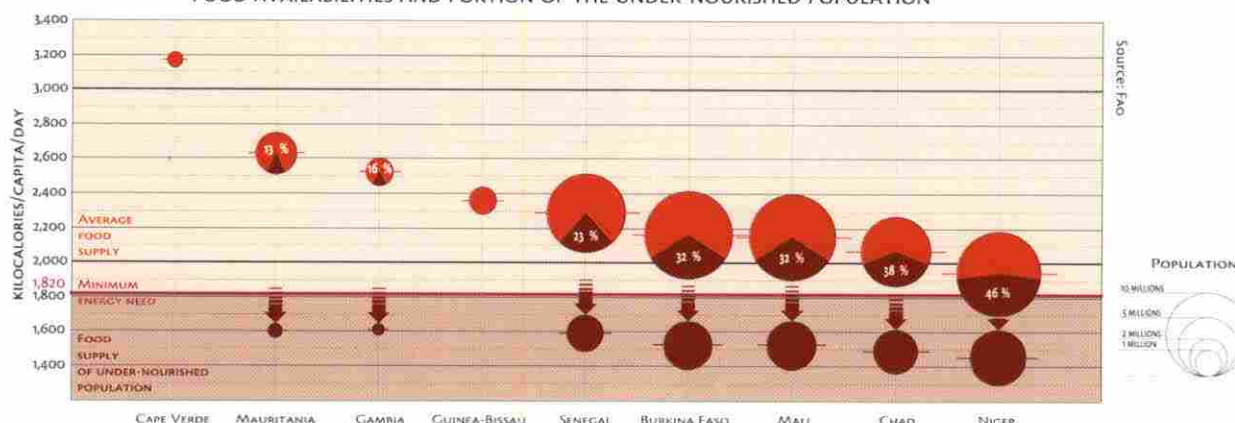
Throughout the Sahel, food insecurity has two dimensions:

- chronic or structural food insecurity, which is the result of large scale poverty. Poverty is all the more prevalent as agriculture and stock rearing — the main pillars of almost all the Sahelian economies — are confronted with big problems. Moreover, the wealth created by the other sectors of activity is not dynamic enough and is moreover unevenly distributed. Thus, all in all, structural food insecurity of the Sahelian households is more a problem of accessibility (low income) than of inadequate availability of foodstuff on the markets;
- circumstantial or cyclic food insecurity corresponds to difficulties that periodically affect certain categories of the population at varying intensity (from limited food shortages, in time and space, up to widespread crises). The populations most vulnerable to this risk of shortage are the rural households living in zones where agricultural production is uncertain — owing to the low level of rainfall and its strong variability — and where alternative sources of income are limited. The poorest urban

*"Out of the blue, I think I am hungry. But, 'hunger' may not be the proper word. A righter and more fitting expression to describe my present experience would no doubt be: a fucking voracity tying my insides in knots. [...] Hunger hits me very hard. Hunger knocks me out with its presser foot. Hunger makes fun of me. Have I already mentioned the fact that I have not eaten anything for more than three days? So what? You would say. But I have lived in worse situations than that! Four days ago, for example, I had eaten nothing in five days [...] I would become blind, mad or even dead if I fasted a longer time."*

ROBERT MCLIAM WILSON, Ripley Bogle, 1989 (translated from the french)

FOOD AVAILABILITIES AND PORTION OF THE UNDER-NOURISHED POPULATION





of the cereal market has resulted not only in a stronger integration of the markets but also in an increase in intra-annual instability of both the producer and consumer prices. Such instability weighs heavily on the food security of the poorest households, in the cities and the countryside as well.

#### BOX n°3 : INCREASED FOOD DEPENDENCY

The average cereal availabilities per capita have significantly improved under the double effect of the increase in the Sahelian supply and extra-African importations. As low as 300,000 tonnes in the beginning of the 1960s, the extra-regional importations were close to 13 million tonnes throughout the 1980s. Despite good harvests on average since the beginning of the 1990s, the sub-region imports between 1.5 and 2.2 million tonnes. Mauritania and Senegal alone account for 60% of total importations of the CILSS zone.

Rice production increased by 30% over the last ten years, partly in response to the appreciation of the place of rice in people's eating habits. On the other hand, the production of coarse cereals (millet, sorghum and maize) only increased by 15% during the same period. Whereas the latter accounted for 80% of cereal consumption at the end of the 80s, they hardly represent 75% ten years later, to the advantage of rice and wheat.

In short, over a ten year period:


- the total production increased by 19%;
- the production per capita dropped by 6%;
- the total importations increased by 65%;
- the imports per capita has increased by 32%.

#### A REGION THAT FORMS A SYMBOL FOR FOOD POLICIES


The impact of the 1973-74 famine on western public opinion resulted in a strong mobilisation of the international community in favour of the Sahel. In the first place, this took the form of massive donations of food aid. Very quickly, the pernicious effects of this form of assistance were felt and denounced particularly by the NGOs: it discourages local producers, destabilises the markets, develops a beggar mentality, etc. The dialogue initiated between the Sahelian countries and the donor community, particularly within the framework of the Famine Prevention Network (CILSS-Club du Sahel-OECD), contributed to bringing about some change in the contents of the policies in support of food security. Food aid in kind (initially a major component) thus became a minor aspect of the food security strategies under the combined effect of improved food availabilities in the Sahel and a more judicious use of food aid.

Starting from the beginning of the 1980s onwards, the cooperation agencies gave greater importance to supports aimed at improving the market, in keeping with the liberalisation and State divestiture rationale: support to information systems (see Index A2), to the reform of cereal boards, to sectoral policies that contribute to strengthening the role of the civil society and private sector stakeholders. These strategies have put cyclic food crisis prevention in the forefront and have given priority to early warning and crisis management: mobilisation of security stocks, from the surplus production zones to zones experiencing shortage of cereals, or putting in place "food for work" programmes.

For several years now, some donors have been providing support to the Sahelian countries for the definition of much more integrated food security strategies, by favouring an approach linking the reduction of poverty and that of structural food insecurity. The adoption of the sustainable food security strategy



**CILSS**



**Club du Sahel**

OCDE

### Texte officiel de la Charte de l'Aide alimentaire

Ce document a reçu l'adhésion unanime des États membres du CILSS et des pays donateurs membres du Club du Sahel (Canada, Communauté Économique Européenne, États-Unis d'Amérique, France, Pays-Bas, République Fédérale d'Allemagne). Il a été formellement approuvé par les chefs d'État du CILSS au cours de leur réunion au sommet de Guinée-Bissau le 10 février 1990.

#### Les parties concernées

- 1 - considérant l'importance de l'aide alimentaire pour lutter contre la faim et la malnutrition ;
- 2 - considérant l'opportunité de faire de l'aide alimentaire une composante active du dispositif général d'aide au développement visant à créer la capacité nationale de disposer des denrées alimentaires nécessaires, soit en les produisant, soit en recourant à des importations commerciales ;
- 3 - considérant le souhait exprimé par les donateurs et les bénéficiaires d'améliorer l'utilité de cette aide, en s'appuyant sur les leçons de l'expérience acquise et les réflexions engagées à son sujet ;
- 4 - considérant la nécessité d'adapter, sur les plans qualitatif et quantitatif et dans la mesure du possible, l'aide alimentaire aux besoins des populations cibles, dans des conditions telles que les productions locales n'aient à souffrir ni de dépréciation en valeur ni de difficulté d'écoulement ;
- 5 - considérant que pour répondre dans les meilleurs délais aux besoins il convient de mettre en œuvre des procédures rapides et souples, susceptibles de favoriser la fiabilité au meilleur prix de l'acheminement des aides par voie maritime, terrestre ou, en dernier recours, aérienne ;
- 6 - considérant la nécessité de ne pas aggraver la dépendance extérieure, par des actions susceptibles de modifier à long terme les habitudes alimentaires au détriment des céréales de production locale ;
- 7 - considérant que les surplus alimentaires peuvent, tout autant que les déficits, déstabiliser les prix, revenus et disponible alimentaire, et qu'il convient d'intégrer l'aide alimentaire aux politiques commerciales régionales pour que le marché puisse mieux réduire les fluctuations locales en disponible alimentaire ;
- 8 - considérant qu'il n'est de véritable solution aux problèmes posés par l'aide alimentaire sans un consensus entre les donateurs, eux-mêmes en accord avec les bénéficiaires, en vue de coordonner les efforts et les actions ;

**déclarent adhérer aux dispositions suivantes :**

#### I. Définition des objectifs de l'aide alimentaire

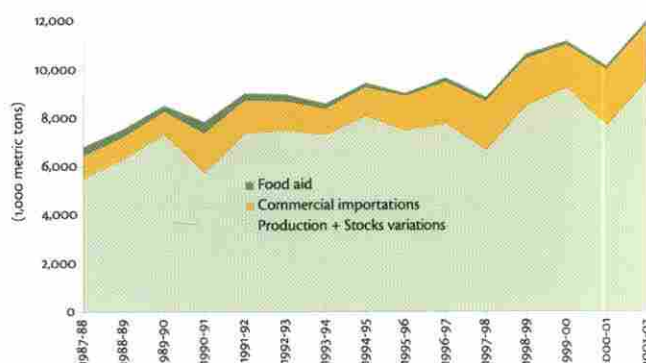
L'objectif général de l'aide alimentaire est de contribuer à assurer la sécurité alimentaire en répondant en temps voulu et de manière appropriée aux situations de pénurie ou de déficit alimentaires, qu'elles soient le fait d'insuffisances structurelles ou de situations de crise résultant de l'insécurité alimentaire, d'insécurité alimentaire...

paper within the perspective of poverty reduction in the Sahel<sup>1</sup> made it possible to widen the scope of this approach to include all nine Sahelian countries and to supplement the national strategies with a regional one (see 3<sup>rd</sup> book).

<sup>1</sup> Adopted by the second forum of Sahelian societies and the 13th conference of Heads of State and Government of CILSS member countries-November 2000-Bamako.

Many food security policy innovations have been experimented in the Sahel which is trying once again, in conjunction with its international partners, to implement policies that take into account the complexity of food security problems and to provide lasting solutions.

Evolution of the sub-regional cereal balance-sheet (CILSS zone)





# The change in food policies



FOOD SECURITY POLICIES IN THE SAHEL have deeply changed in the last 20 years. The keywords during the period are: State withdrawal, market liberalisation and rationalisation of food aid, promotion of State-donor dialogue, development of information systems and strengthening of intervention plans in case of crisis.

In the 1960s and especially during the 1970s, the majority of Sahelian States opted for food self-sufficiency policies giving a predominant role to state intervention. The private sector was excluded from (wholesale) domestic trade and from external trade in agricultural commodities.

## THE 1960S AND 1970S: THE PREDOMINANT ROLE OF THE STATE

The State used to exert a strict control on the economy by fixing authoritatively the prices and margins of the products at all levels. The quantities placed at the market were also closely controlled through monopolies (in particular state-owned companies of the rice sector: the Office du Niger in Mali, SAED in Senegal, RINI in Niger...) and "monopsones" (cereal marketing boards) as well as by means of license and quota systems for both the imports and exports.

In addition to the role they play in the regulation of domestic trade over which they often enjoy monopoly, the cereal marketing boards also played a key role in the management of food aids. The marketing boards were responsible for the storage and free distribution, in most cases, of the food aids. They were required to buy the cereals at a price which is lucrative for the farmers and to sell them to the consumers (mainly the civil servants) at prices compatible with the purchasing power of the latter, that is to say, subsidised prices. In these circumstances, the cereal marketing boards were in structural operating deficit.

The State also used to strongly intervene in the production sector through a public agricultural credit institution, an agricultural input distribution system (often subsidised) and the creation of farmer organisations (cooperatives, village associations...) closely controlled by the Government.

There was however some discrepancy between the theoretical role of the state and its actual hold over the economic activity. In many countries, it was estimated that the cereal marketing boards controlled only 20% to 30% of cereal trade over which they enjoyed total monopoly theoretically. For reasons of price levels and especially payment deadlines, the farmers preferred to sell their produce to the private sector operators even if this meant for them running the risk of paying fines.

From the beginning of the 1980s onwards, it appeared that these policies did not have the effect expected in terms of the intensification of agricultural production. Moreover, they contributed significantly to public deficits which were becoming more and more unbearable and led to the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAP). Imposed by the donors, the Bretton Woods institutions in particular, these eco-

nomic reforms aimed at significantly improving the main macro-economic aggregates by cutting down public expenditure and promoting a market economy.

## SINCE THE 1980S: DOMESTIC LIBERALISATION...

In fact, the liberalisation policies implemented in the Sahel, like in many developing countries, within the framework of the SAP encompassed three different processes which have been often confused:

- the transition from an administered economy to a market economy, which was the short term objective of the SAP;
- the transition from oligopoly-managed economy to a competitive economy, which is the ultimate goal of liberalisation policies. To achieve this goal implies changing the rules of the economic and social game: improvement of the rule of law, guaranteed access to information, strengthening of the negotiating capacity of the farmers, extended access to financial markets...;
- the transition from a subsistence economy to a trading economy. This transition takes a much longer time than the other two and is performed in different paces according to the categories of actors. It is linked to the development process as a whole.

Concerning more particularly the cereal markets, the reforms implemented in the 1980s aimed at several results, in particular:

- to raise cereal prices, which should entail an increase in the farmers' income and in production, in the long term;
- to liberalise cereal trade, which should cater for a more fluid supply of the markets;
- to eliminate direct State interventions on the markets and to promote the private sector, which should allow to cut down marketing costs and contribute to absorbing public deficits. Once they are back in a better financial position, the States would be in a position to re-adjust the salaries of civil servants thereby making the rise in cereal prices more bearable to the latter.

Some improvement of the food security, at both the rural household and country levels as a whole, was expected through this series of "virtuous circles". However, these measures that formally seemed to be alike in all of the countries did not yield identical results because of the specificity of national problems. For example the protection of the national cereal production in Mauritania — a structurally importing country — does not represent the same challenges as in Mali, a country that records production surplus in certain years. Therefore, the regulation modal-



BOX N°2 : THE REGIONAL FOOD CRISIS PREVENTION  
AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

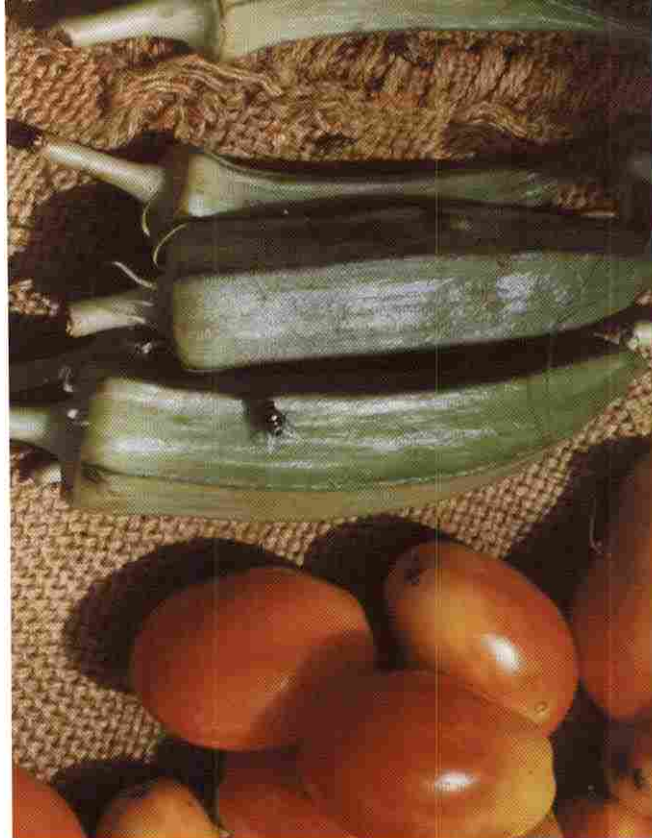
CILSS coordinates the regional mechanism for the monitoring of the food situation whose objectives are the following:

- to assess accurately and to regularly adjust the agricultural and food situation at the national and regional levels;
- to identify the vulnerable zones and population groups;
- to determine the necessary assistance and support actions in order to avoid a food crisis or limit its magnitude;
- to mobilise the national systems, aid agencies and NGOs for implementing the interventions deemed to be most appropriate for each situation. The system uses all the information produced by the various information systems at the national (agricultural statistics, MIS, EWS) regional (CILSS, FEWS NET) and international (FAO-SMIAF) levels, as well as data gathered by NGOs or donors like the WFP and bilateral agencies.

The monitoring system is marked by three main stages during which the information is presented and analysed at the regional level, at key moments of the cropping and food season:

- the regional meeting on the monitoring of the agricultural and food situation takes place in March: it makes a preliminary assessment based on the final data of the previous harvest; it identifies the zones and populations that are potentially "at risk" during the coming lean period and thus develops a strategy for mitigating those risks;
- the restricted meeting of the regional information systems takes place in June. It makes a preliminary assessment of the interventions initiated on the basis of the diagnoses and recommendations formulated in March, and re-assesses the situation and the needs. It prepares for the close monitoring of the rainy season (field missions, support to national systems, etc.);
- the regional meeting on the monitoring of the agricultural and food situation and the harvest outlook of the current cropping season takes place in mid-September. It provides an opportunity to assess the interventions conducted in the zones in aid to the populations at risk. The meeting makes (based on the profile of the season and the information about its progress in each country) preliminary harvest assessments (optimistic, average and pessimistic scenarios) in order to anticipate any risk of major crisis. It issues a notice on the agricultural and food situation.

The system mobilises the major food security stakeholders at the regional level. Thus it performs a coordination and consultative function, which enables to better anticipate crises and improve the solutions found to address them.



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governing the use of this instrument so as to limit its adverse impacts on the functioning of the national markets and the capacity-building of the vulnerable groups.

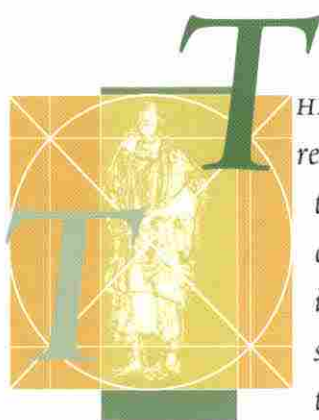
After all the changes that have been introduced in them, the food security policies of the Sahel countries are now faced with a major challenge: to arrive at a genuine coherence between food crisis prevention and mitigation actions and those aimed at improving the structural food security. Very often, short-term interventions thwart the results pursued by long-term actions be it in the area of strengthening civil society organisations, or natural resource management or improving the functioning of markets... The importance of this challenge is further increased by the poverty reduction strategies adopted by all the countries of the region.



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# The information strategies



THE FOOD SECURITY INFORMATION SYSTEMS in the Sahel are known to be relatively efficient and effective compared to other developing regions. This is the result of 25 years of many initiatives developed at the national and especially, at the regional level, by the sahelian countries with the support of the international community. However, the permanence of these information systems is rarely guaranteed even though they have to meet new needs related to the poverty reduction strategies.

Up to the end of the 1970s, information on food security remained fragmented. The aim is basically to provide statistical data on agricultural production to meet the needs of national accounts.

## EVER CHANGING INFORMATION SYSTEMS

In the course of the 1980s, CILSS supported, with the assistance of the Permanent Diagnosis<sup>1</sup> project, the drawing up of annual cereal balance-sheets. By quantitatively assessing the various components of the supply and demand for cereals, the cereal balance-sheets seek to determine the importation needs (commercial imports and food aids) of each country. At the same time and subsequent to the 1984-1985 famine, the early warning systems (EWS) emerged as a tool for targeting relief aids. Some cropping season monitoring tools (agro-meteorology, hydrology) were also developed during that period mainly by AGRHYMET (CILSS) and SMIAR (FAO).

At the end of the 1980s, the liberalisation of cereal trade led to the creation of market information systems (MIS). Then in the 1990s, national coordination systems charged with analysing all the information (production, price, vulnerability...) were set up in order to strengthen the management of food security policies.

If almost all these information systems are integrated into public bodies, at the national level, and into CILSS' specialised centres, at the regional level, we have been witnessing for a number of years now the emergence of new information systems aimed at satisfying the specific information requirements of cooperation agencies or NGOs and, more recently, of socio-professional organisations.

## CEREAL BALANCE-SHEETS:

A REFERENCE COMMON TO ALL NINE CILSS COUNTRIES

Each year, the CILSS countries draw up a national cereal balance-sheet in a double perspective: to anticipate the marketing of cereals and to detect early enough the risks of food difficulties, based on an early estimate of the volume of harvests; to monitor the cropping season. To that end, the provisional balance-sheet drawn up, in the first place, on the basis of harvest estimates, is

updated in the course of the season on the basis of the final results of the agricultural survey.

This balance-sheet is based on a quantification of the various components of the supply of cereals (production, stocks of the preceding year and imports) and the various demand items (losses after harvests, human, livestock and industrial consumption, exports). The national cereal production is estimated on the basis of a statistical survey which, before harvest, rests on the declarations of the farmers (estimate) and, later, assesses the actual output of a sample of plots. The methodology for these annual agricultural surveys is the same for each of the CILSS countries. The peasants and farmers' stocks are assessed from surveys whose reliability is generally considered lower than that of the agricultural survey (only public food security stocks are known with accuracy, but they represent only a small part of total stocks). Imports are assessed on the basis of customs statistics which record relatively well the purchases made on international markets but seriously under-estimate cereals coming from the neighbouring countries. This under-estimation of the regional cross-border trade also poses a problem in assessing the "exports" item of the cereal balance-sheet. Finally, human consumption is assessed on the basis of a consumption norm (expressed in kilogrammes per year and per capita) that is specific to each country and is identical from one year to another. The levels fixed for these national norms are periodically challenged by different observers.



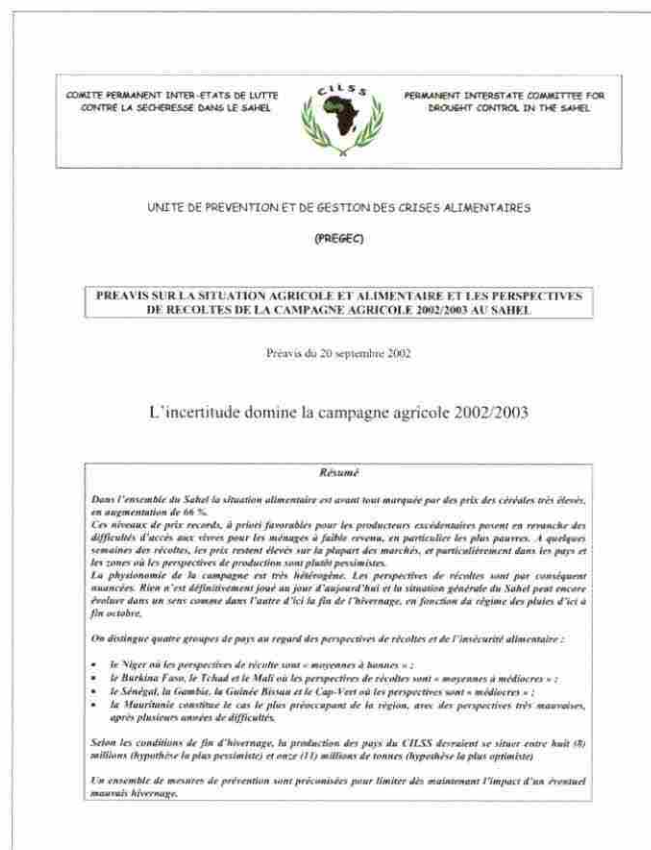


other hand, inadequately equipped to monitor the vulnerability of minority socio-economic groups and appraise the repercussions of other sources of food insecurity like urban impoverishment, instability of vital commodity prices, armed conflicts and political unrest... A more precise understanding of the causes and effects of food insecurity must help to better articulate the emergency actions with development interventions.

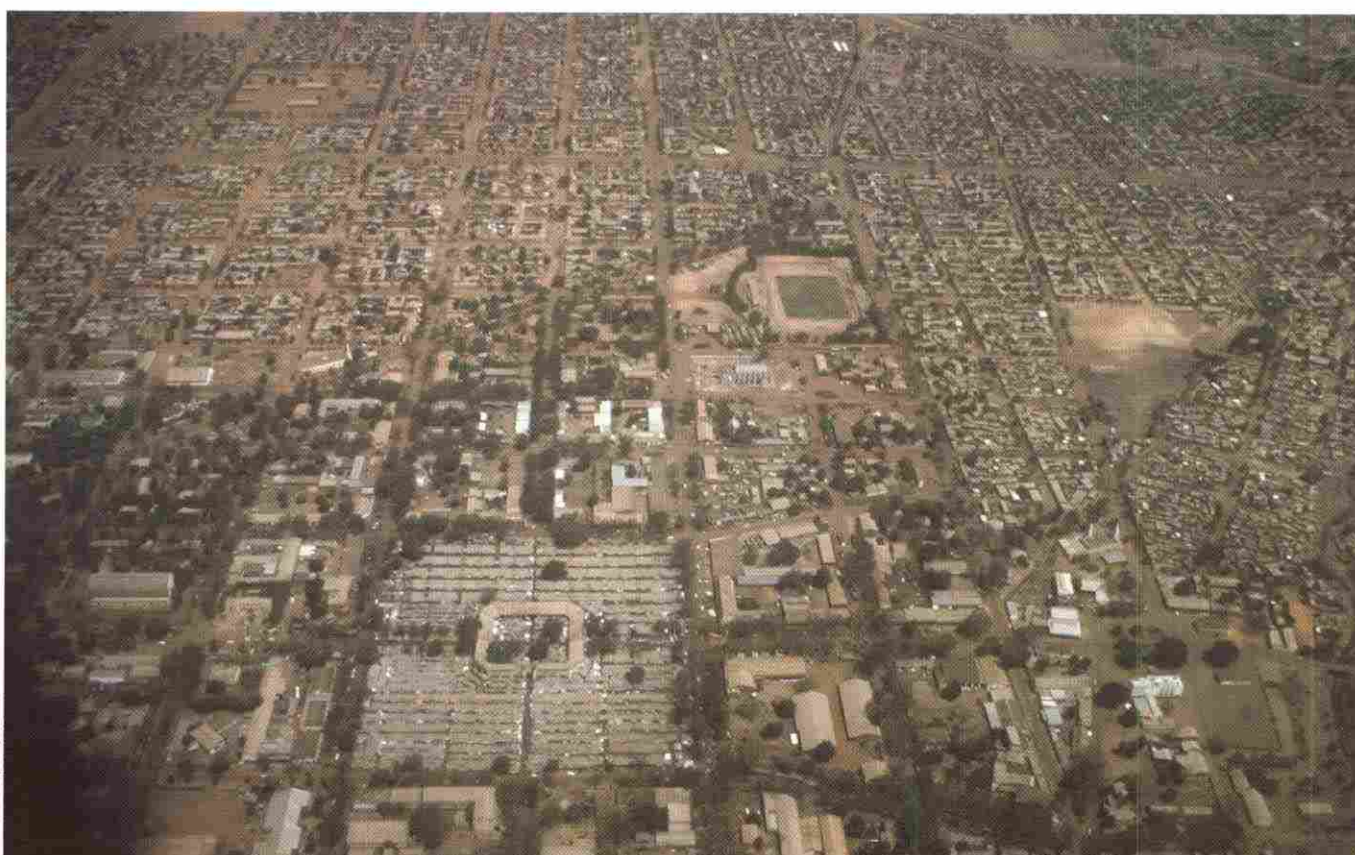
The information on food supply, vulnerability and markets has improved the understanding of some determinants of food security. Price trends on the markets, the evolution of the harvests of the main agricultural productions or the monitoring of the poverty profile have become necessary information for the management of the food security policy. This would become even more effective through improved integration of regional and international data, through more availability of analyses per agricultural production subsector, the incorporation of data on the inequalities and HIV-Aids or better still through improved monitoring of the impacts of programmes and projects carried out. Thus, the dialogue between the public and private actors could be made more dynamic if ever more information were gathered, processed and disseminated at the infra-national level and if more regular investigations could allow to better monitor the dynamics of food insecurity factors.

In order to significantly increase the quality of information, it is necessary, as a preliminary step, to make the operation of the bulk of the information systems secure. The permanence of the vast number of them is far from being guaranteed because of financing problems and precarious institutional situations. After a period of massive investments by the external partners, it has been often difficult to actually internalise the survey mechanisms.

The priorities accorded today to poverty reduction and food security give henceforth new prospects to information systems. But, to be able to seize these opportunities in order to develop a new generation of information systems, it is crucial and vital to address some central questions: how to improve the capacity of the information systems to respond to the users' diversifying

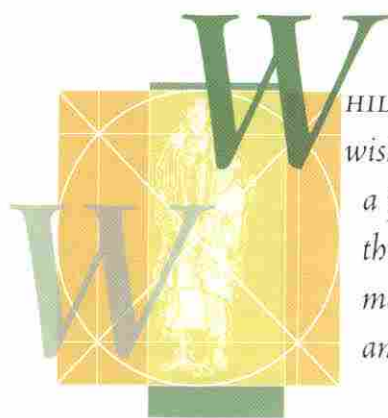


needs? How to make information a real tool for a policy dialogue on public policies at the decentralised, national and regional levels and a management, coordination and monitoring-evaluation tool for the interventions? What are the consequences to be drawn from the internalisation and financing strategies of the mechanisms? How could the quality of information be secured and its independence guaranteed even though it is becoming again a strategic element in the actors' interplay within the Sahel on the one hand, and between the Sahel and the International community on the other hand?





# Feeding 100 million Sahelians in 2025!



*WHILST THE SAHEL cannot feed its present population, it would seem sheer wishful thinking to consider that this objective could ever be achieved with a population that doubles every 25 years. This is nevertheless the option the civil society and the leaders of the Sahel have deliberately adopted. But many challenges will have to be taken up in order to restore dignity to each and every Sahelian.*

Food security is achieved when each household can constantly get food for itself (see box n°1). Taking this definition into consideration, it appears that the reduction of food insecurity is both a strategic objective and a means. It is an objective in a sense that meeting one's food needs is one of the fundamental Human rights and a Nation cannot structurally exclude a sizeable part of its population without running some major risks of social, environmental and political destabilisation. It is also a means, because when food requirements are met, this represents a real potential for economic development.

This twofold aspect of the food security concept has led many developing countries, particularly those in the Sahel, to consider food security as coming under the field of public action through the definition and implementation of food security strategies and policies. Such policies will only reach their objectives in the Sahel if they successfully address several challenges, notably: adaptation of the food supply to match a fast growing and more and more urban population, bringing about the conditions for a sustainable intensification of agricultural production, taking into account the various food insecurity conditions, adaptation to changes brought about by administrative and political decentralisation, ensuring real coherence with the poverty reduction strategies, providing reliable and adapted information and, finally, the need for coupling national policies with regional actions.

## MEETING THE NEEDS OF A FAST GROWING AND MORE AND MORE URBAN POPULATION

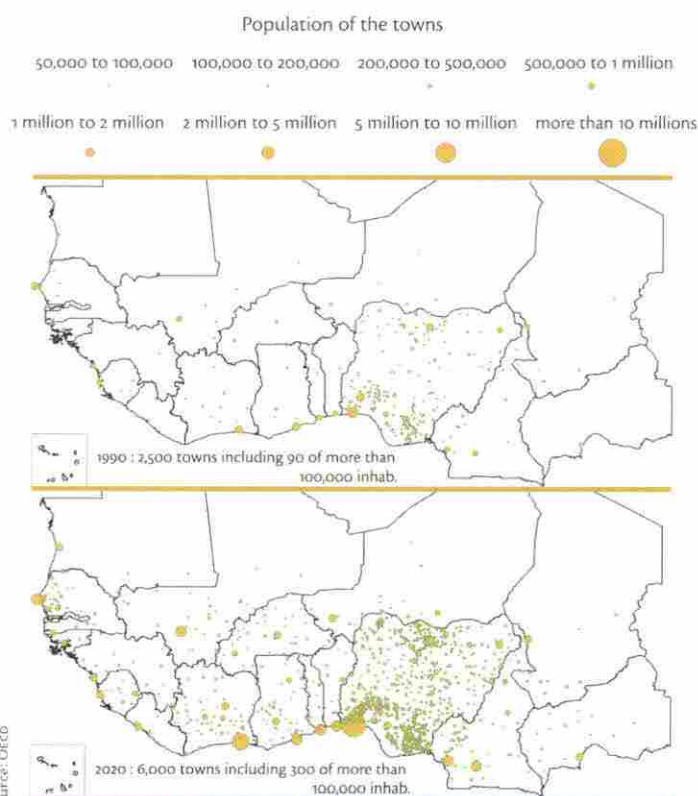
The Sahel that had 55 million inhabitants in 1999, will have to feed a population of about 85 million people in 2015 and some 100 million in 2025. In most countries of the region, the demographic transition has not started yet and the population growth rates are among the highest in the world: 2.7% for the Sahel region as a whole, whereas the average for the whole of sub-Saharan Africa is 2.4%.

This rapid increase in total population is accompanied by even stronger growth of the urban population. It is estimated

that the urban population will increase threefold between now and 2025, bringing it to 50 million inhabitants, that is to say half of the total population.

With regard to the food security objective, this fundamental transformation of Sahelian societies represents both a big constraint and a major opportunity. It is a constraint in a sense that considerable means will have to be put in play in order to improve the provision of basic public services (health, education, sanitation...), which nowadays are already well below standard, be it in the urban or rural area. It is an opportunity at the same time for the acceleration of urbanisation, by expanding the size of the agricultural markets, will encourage agricultural development and the intensification of farming systems. Agriculture is intensifying and becoming more and more diversified (with an increase in farmers' income) at the moment around many cities in West Africa. This intensification and diversification is stimulated by the urban demand and encouraged by the conjunction of favourable factors (land tenure security, access to credit, technical support, relatively abundant water resources...).

## EVOLUTION OF TOWNS WITH MORE THAN 100,000 INHABITANTS IN WEST AFRICA – 1990 AND PROJECTION 2020



## BOX N°1: FOOD SECURITY

"There is food security when all human beings have, at all times, physical and economic access to sufficient, healthy and nutritious food making it possible for them to satisfy their energy requirements and food preferences in order to live a healthy and active life."

Extract of the declaration adopted at the World food summit, held in Rome from 13 to 17 November 1996.



rent droughts — to find common answers to the crisis. Initially devoting its efforts to the coordination of emergency aid, the institution progressively organised itself, with the support of the Club du Sahel, in order to address the most structural causes of food insecurity. Today, this cooperation is more than ever necessary and must take up several challenges (see also Index B3 and B4), particularly:

- to contribute to improved management of the interdependencies between the countries; such interdependencies correspond to the sectoral policies implemented in a country and which have direct or potential effects on the conditions whereby food security can be achieved in other countries (for example: management of river waters, commercial standards, inputs subsidies...);
- to allow for economies of scale in solving problems common to several countries. When a problem arises in a similar way in several countries, the latter can be interested in coming together to seek and develop common solutions. Such an approach touches on research-development, the definition of methodologies for diagnosis and action in strategic fields such as water control, rehabilitation of degraded lands, prevention of food crises, etc.
- to encourage a more efficient management of economic relations between the region and the rest of the world. At a time when the negotiations between the ACP countries and the European Union are about to start around the future regional economic partnership agreements and the WTO agricultural agreement is being renegotiated, it is absolutely necessary for the Sahel countries to define and defend common positions and to emphasise food security-related issues at stake in the course of these negotiations.

All of these regional cooperation ventures must contribute to building a regional zone of coherent integration. Regional eco-

nomie integration is indeed a positive factor towards food security especially by tapping the complementarities between the various agro-ecological zones and expanding the size of the markets on which the farmers can sell their produce. As an outcome of the two preceding effects, regional integration also improves the conditions for investment in production, agricultural produce processing and marketing which, in a long run, can lead to increasing (on the whole and per producer) the quantities produced and, theoretically, to a drop of foodstuff prices. When regional integration is accompanied by some protectionist measures vis-à-vis imported food items, it progressively strengthens the competitiveness of the food subsectors by developing competition within the regional zone. This development also contributes to lowering food prices and can result, in some cases, in additional exports earnings being generated.

In order for the current regional integration process in West and Central Africa to have positive effects on food security, they must take up several challenges, in particular (see also Index B3):

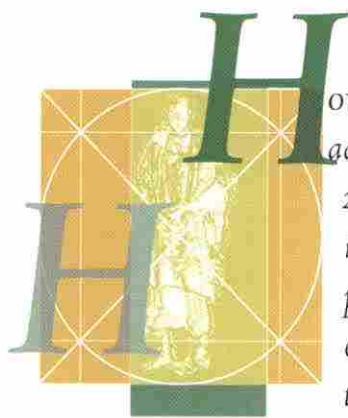
- to harmonise the national trade policies and to strengthen the coherence between the various integration projects (especially between UEMOA and ECOWAS);
- to develop transport and telecommunications infrastructures;
- to establish institutions (information systems, standards, settlement of disputes) that will stimulate regional trade by overcoming the inadequacies or weaknesses of the market;
- to support all the initiatives taken by the private sector actors to boost regional trade.

Finally, regional cooperation and integration must contribute towards the emergence of a zone of security and peace, which are decisive factors helping to avoid situational food crises and to build a structural food security.





# An opportunity for agriculture



*HOW TO FEED 100 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE SAHEL? How to proceed to take advantage of a regional market of over 430 million consumers in the next 20 years? These are the challenges the Sahel proposes to take up while relying on a sustainable use of its resources. Developing investments, making producers feel secure, organising the various production sub-sectors and ensuring coherence of public policies are all ways and means of achieving this objective.*

The decline of the contribution of agriculture to the economies and job creation is nowadays a heavy trend all over the world. The Sahel is no exception to the rule. On the other hand, and despite a population dynamics resulting in rapid growth of the number of Sahelian city-dwellers, the number of people living in the rural areas will not decrease. According to available forecasts, the Sahel will count about 50 million city-dwellers and as many rural people in year 2020, compared to 16 and 38 million respectively now.

With a rural population accounting for more than 70% of total population, it goes without saying that the potential domestic market available for each producer is extremely narrow. It cannot remunerate labour and finance modern farming systems. This is the reason why the food systems on the whole respond first to a strategy based on family self-consumption, and possibly on convenience trading. The increase in the size of the rural families leads therefore to an increase in cropped areas, without any drastic change in the farming system so long as land reserves allow it. When pressure becomes too strong, soil fertility degrades because of shortened fallow periods not offset by alternative techniques such as cultivated fallow lands or land enrichment. Improving income then rests on the diversification of activities outside the agricultural sector, or on the intensification and development of productions that benefit from a buoyant market, but only on part of the plot. Only cereal farms in the Sudanian zones register regular surpluses that supply the national and regional markets as well.

Yet, there is no direct linkage between urbanisation and agricultural development. The most urbanised countries are also those countries whose food dependency vis-à-vis importations from the world market is highest. The countries of the Gulf of Guinea are, in this regard, a counter-example.

Several conditions must be met before a country can take advantage of the growing demand. The first requirement is that the productive base should be able to effectively meet this development of the demand by relying on a potential of adequate arable land resources. Cape Verde, for instance, is handicapped on that level. But, at the level of the Sahel as a whole, there is still a potential of development especially with the production areas that exist in adequately watered or irrigable zones. However, this implies that be developed a regional vision of the connections between production and consumption areas, and that official policies should give priority to regional integration rather than to low cost supplies from the global market.

The second requirement is that the farming systems — often oriented towards self-sufficiency purposes, or conversely, towards export-bound productions — should be transformed in order to meet domestic demand.

How can the economic and institutional environment of the producers and economic actors be improved in order to impel or back up agricultural transformation through the intensification and diversification of the productions?

## THE MARKET: ESSENTIAL AND YET INADEQUATE!

Poverty in the rural area is one of the key factors of the crisis in the agricultural sector and food insecurity in the rural set-up. Increasing agricultural income is therefore a decisive objective for improving the food situation of the rural households. But, beyond that, increasing the financial resources of the farmers constitutes a basis for progressive accumulation of wealth necessary for a change in the farming systems that is conducive to an increase in the yields and sustainable use of natural resources.

In liberalized economies, the expanded market available for





each producer is the most secure means of contributing to the improvement of the level of incomes. This is the reason why a significant change in the ratio between the number of producers and consumers is essential. However, experience also shows that the fact that there exists a potential demand is not enough per se to bring farmers to adapt themselves. Especially, the management of risk (climatic risk, economic or commercial risk) is in the centre of the producers' strategy. Therefore, an increased monetisation of agriculture commands that the producers should be made to feel more secure than they are today.

The volatile markets of food products is the primary factor of insecurity that slows down investment in the agricultural sector. Thus, it is necessary and vital to strengthen the regional integration processes. Building a regional market, within coherent regional groupings, is therefore a very big challenge. Such a market cannot be built unless trade relations are well managed (harmonisation of policies at the borders with the world market) and the obstacles to sub-regional trade are effectively removed.

It is also essential that public investments in the sectors of education, health, communication and transport infrastructures, etc., should give greater importance to the rural area. What is wanted through this "non-sector" approach is to narrow the imbalance between the towns and the countryside, to improve access to education and health services, the absence of which compromises any investment strategy at the family and community level, and to facilitate connection between the production and consumption areas, by limiting transaction costs.

#### AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

The competitiveness of the Sahelian agriculture depends, to a large extent, on its capacity to harness natural resources. The agricultural, pastoral and fish production systems are strongly related to their respective natural environments. A sound and sustainable use of such environments necessitates adequate farming systems based on crop combinations, pertinent methods of association of agriculture, pastoralism and forestry, etc. The development of the production areas and, more particularly, the choice of investment options for water control, soil and water conservation, land management should therefore fit within a territory-based approach. This approach is in keeping with the role the local communities increasingly play in terms of natural resources management, arbitration of disputes over the use of resources between the various users, adaptation of land tenure rules, planning of collective investments (rural tracks, storehouses...). The local institutions have a key role to play in bringing about the conditions for a sustainable intensification of farming systems.

#### ORGANISATION OF THE SUB-REGIONAL PRODUCTION SUB-SECTORS

These territorial approaches whose primary objective is the rational management of natural resources must be coupled, as far as concerns the main products, with an organisation of the various sub-sectors downstream the production process. The organisation of the production sub-sectors is different, depending on whether or not the products are bound for local, sub-regional or international markets. But it should help, from all points of view, to cut down costs, improve the level of remuneration of the farmers while reducing consumer prices. The aim

here is to improve the marketing of the products via a better organisation of the producers, to facilitate transport by improving the infrastructures and removing obstacles to the free flow of markets (informal trade barriers; illegal taxes, roadblocks...), to encourage investments in the processing of agricultural produce that meets the demand of consumers, etc. In the context of liberal economies, it is first and foremost the private sector operators and the producer organisations who must invest in the sector downstream production. However, the authorities have a key role to play in creating a clear and simplified legal environment, developing reliable information systems that meet the needs of the operators, putting in place credit systems geared to the needs for investment and cash of the stakeholders, etc.

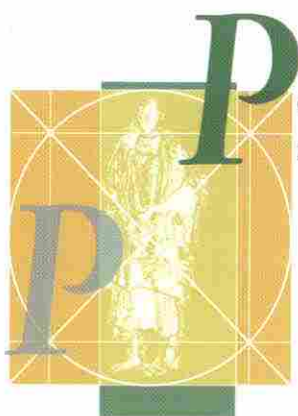
#### SERVICES TO THE PRODUCERS

With the exception of export-bound products that benefit from important extension services, the Sahelian producers are still deprived of access to credit and inputs. Through lack of guarantee and faced with extremely fluctuating incomes at the mercy of external shocks, the credit institutions refuse to actively take part in the financing of the agricultural sector. The decentralised financial systems have developed but do not cover the vulnerable zones where the risk is highest. Thus, the producers do not have enough cash to intensify their production and turn to systems that minimise risks. In the same vein, access to inputs (seeds, fertilisers, crop protection) is still not easy because of their costs and the marketing channels. Finally, the agricultural research and extension systems, very weakened, find it difficult to meet the demands of the producers who are anxious to adopt new "sustainable technological routes" corresponding to the various agro-ecological contexts. It is necessary to act on the whole package of services provided to the producers in order to anticipate and accompany the transformations taking place in the farming systems.





# Linking poverty reduction and food security



*POVERTY REDUCTION, food security and sustainable development are now three cross-cutting approaches to development issues. Each of them calls for an improvement of the living conditions of the populations and forms the subject matter of a specific strategy. However, these approaches are closely inter-related and require a good synergy conducive to a lasting improvement of the main components of human development.*

Economic growth is at the heart of poverty reduction. The primary sector, and more particularly, agriculture (Index B1), that is likely to provide a greater availability of food and to increase incomes in the rural area, is one of the major challenges to take up in order to improve the economic and food situation of the Sahel.

## ECONOMIC GROWTH AND POVERTY REDUCTION

To achieve this, it is necessary that the effects of the poverty reduction policies be also felt in the purchasing power of the urban citizens to stimulate the financially solvent demand for agricultural produce. The development of the primary, excluding agriculture (mines), secondary (to substitute imports of consumption goods) and tertiary sectors is essential for this driving force to be in place.

An economic growth that is clearly higher than the population growth cannot be achieved in a long term unless competitiveness is improved in these various sectors, unless the production and export base is diversified. Which requires a stable and enabling economic environment (political and monetary stability, fight against corruption, regional integration, balanced budgets, tax reduction...). More equitable allocation of government's resources allowing to reduce both geographical and social inequalities is also part and parcel of a sustainable growth strategy.

## NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT AND FOOD SECURITY

The Sahelian economies are amongst those most sensitive to environmental degradation. Thus, to preserve the productive

base and to get desertification under control, it is absolutely necessary to rationalize the natural resources management. Strong actions must be undertaken to preserve the soils, improve water control, maintain the biodiversity and the forest cover, modify the energy supply mode... Despite their arduous start, the sustainable development strategies developed in the Sahel (NAP-Co and SRAP-WA in particular) must quickly demonstrate their efficiency and effectiveness in bringing about the environmental conditions that will increase food production and thus help to take up the challenge posed by population growth.

## LIVING CONDITIONS AND FOOD SECURITY

By acting solely on those levers that encourage economic and trade liberalization, the macro-economic and financial adjustments advocated by the Bretton Woods Institutions have not allowed to record significant progress in terms of improvement of the living conditions of the poorest. The social dimensions of the structural adjustment have gained increased importance thanks to the negotiations on debt alleviation and restructuring. Recently, the HIPC<sup>1</sup> initiative links directly debt cancellation to the countries' efforts towards reducing poverty. This approach to poverty reduction emphasises the access to basic services as a factor of integration in the economic and social life. With 69% illiterate adults including 78% women, education is a priority investment for laying the bases of economic development and human promotion. With 58% Sahelians not having access to health services, one child out of five who dies before reaching 5 years of age, and 40% of the population who

<sup>1</sup> Partial cancellation of the debt of heavily indebted poor countries





do not access basic drugs and vaccines, the health situation commands to reverse a trend that undermines present and future development capacities. The fact that 40% of the inhabitants cannot access drinking water and that a more significant proportion of them cannot access drainage and sanitation seriously compromises successful investments in the health and education services.

Individual or collective exclusion (handicapped persons, street children...) conditions the capacity to access food and determines the degree of vulnerability in the face of a changing environment. Even though numerous forms of solidarity subsist, thus helping to maintain social cohesion, they tend nevertheless to wane, to the detriment of the weaker people, as a result of the high demography and strong urbanisation. This change in the forms of solidarity should be integrated by the relevant bodies, in order to design appropriate social protection and integration mechanisms. Such mechanisms will be made even more necessary if the economic growth is not there.

#### TOWARDS MORE SYNERGY BETWEEN ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES AND SECURITY NETS

A number of food security and poverty issues related to health, education, sanitation, drinking water supply and nutrition are convergent. These concerns are from now on addressed in the poverty and inequalities reduction papers (PRSP) of the CILSS

member countries<sup>2</sup>. A close coordination over the objectives to achieve and the measures recommended should therefore take place as of the definition of the food security strategies. It should enable to confirm that the many sectoral policies and sub-sectoral programmes referred to by the PRSPs would help to effectively reach the results expected on the food situation.

Thus, we should see to it that health, nutrition, education and village water supply policies take into account priority topics such as nutritional education, fertility control, HIV/AIDS control, malaria control, increase in the vaccination cover, professional integration via vocational training and, more generally, the improvement of access to basic services at the community level.

It will be also necessary to ensure that the efforts benefit, as a matter of priority, to the rural area taking into account the growing inequalities between the towns and the countryside. In the same vein, it is necessary that this support should target the privileged group of actors, namely the women, taking the current gender inequality into account. It is also a matter of effectiveness insofar as women-targeted investments generally have a more significant impact.

Historically, food crisis prevention and management is directly handled by the bodies dealing with food security issues. Despite vigorous actions undertaken to reduce the vulnerability of the Sahelian agriculture (Index B1), cyclic food insecurity will not disappear in the Sahel all the same. The shift from a strategy aimed at minimising the risk for the Sahelian farmers to a market-bound production strategy will not be possible unless the security nets are improved. The producers will not accept to take risks related to long term investments unless they have at their disposal insurance systems that cover the losses resulting from agro-climatic hazards.

The investments made in the social front are also strongly influenced by the cyclic crises. If they are not well anticipated or managed, the brutal crises that can affect the rural areas lead to increased impoverishment and a rural-to-urban drift that involves first the youth and the working population. This entails important consequences on the results achieved by the poverty reduction policies. Thus, a consultation will have to be initiated between the management of crises and the policies of social protection and combating exclusion developed in the PRSPs. The food crisis management policy will have to change in order to better chart and better diagnose the origins of food insecurity and propose more diversified responses adapted to each situation. It will also have to better articulate emergency and development actions so as not to call into question the building of a long term food security. The involvement of the local stakeholders in the strategy of prevention, in the selection of emergency actions compatible with local level development strategies and programmes is now a crucial issue. By letting the local elected officials play increased role in terms of guidance and decision-making, such a decentralisation should help to mobilise first and foremost, the local resources and to avoid disintegrated and too assistance-oriented interventions.

The monitoring of vulnerability and the assessment of the impacts of food security and poverty reduction policies is also an area where synergy is necessary. To produce good quality information at a cost that cannot be assumed by the countries' resources alone. And yet, both the national actors and the donors are eager to get appropriate and viable systems at their disposal. By further coordinating the regional systems with the national ones and the national systems among them, the countries would, in so doing, foster a long term commitment of external partners.

Food related issues are in the centre of the poverty reduction strategies. They must therefore benefit from the mobilisation of the HIPC resources. If these resources are already allocated to the education and health sectors, then they should be also used for key areas such as the establishment of security nets and the development of the attendant information systems.

#### BOX N°1: THE EFFECTS OF HIV-AIDS ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Food production is affected by AIDS, through the disease and death, in several ways:

- remote fields tend to be abandoned and total production of the agricultural unit collapses. The yields dwindle because of late or poor synchronisation of key agricultural operations, through lack of resources to purchase agricultural inputs, abandonment of soil conservation measures and the need to give priority to the short term survival;
- loans intended for agricultural production can be spent for the medical treatment of a sick relative, funeral and food expenditure;
- labour intensive crops are abandoned to the benefit of less demanding crops. Food production is less diversified, which is felt on the nutritional quality of the food;
- livestock generated resources dwindle. Livestock is often sold to meet medical costs and funeral rites at times include animal sacrifices;
- the operation of transport and extension services is often discontinued when extension service staff fall sick.

Source: FAO-World Food Security Committee. HIV-Aids Effects on Food Security, 2001

<sup>2</sup> Poverty reduction issues in the Sahel are addressed in detail in the Sahel 21 dossier entitled "Sahel 21: No to poverty! Opting for a sustainable development" published by CILSS (April 2002)



# Developing regional cooperation



25 YEARS AGO, the countries of the Sahel joined together to find answers to their common problems, namely food security and combating desertification. This regional cooperation is being revived today with the involvement of many stakeholders. It pragmatically contributes to building truly integrated regional markets.

Faced with the balkanisation of their political space, the West African leaders developed, as of access to independence, ambitious regional integration projects. The formation of integrated regional blocks was regarded as the most promising way allowing to share industrial investments and create markets that are big enough to attract foreign investors, etc. But, the integration organisations which emerged in the sixties and seventies did not succeed in giving concrete form to these ambitions and the zone remained fragmented and poorly integrated. Thus, the eighties were marked by a sort of disillusion vis-à-vis regional integration. Priority was given to structural adjustment programmes that the countries have negotiated individually with the donors. However, regional integration has gained renewed interest over the last decade with the creation of UEMOA (West African Economic and Monetary Union) in 1994 and, more recently, the revival of the project concerning a second monetary zone gathering those countries not members of the Franc zone.

Concurrently with these ups and downs of the integration processes, the countries of the region initiated many regional cooperation actions. These actions differ from the first integration processes because of their more modest objectives, linked to a given area of intervention and the variable geographical configuration. These actions constitute, very often, the first steps towards regional integration allowing the various categories of stakeholders (decision-makers, civil servants, private sector people...) to learn how to work together at the regional level.

If food security has been one field in which West African cooperation has been more intense, it is simply because, very early, during the food crises of the 70s, it appeared that the regional action was one of the levers to be mobilised in order to obtain a long term improvement of the food security in each country.

There are many and very diverse topics of regional cooperation actions in the food security sector. Briefly, they can be grouped in three categories:

- actions that foster a better management of interdependences among the countries;
- actions that allow for economies of scale in solving common problems;
- actions that allow the countries of the region to carry more weight in their relationships with the rest of the world.

## MANAGING INTERDEPENDENCES AMONG THE COUNTRIES

The generic term of "interdependences" takes into account all the actions that are carried out in a country and that may have adverse consequences in one of its neighbouring countries (negative externalities, in economic jargon). Such interdependences are materialised by the free movement of goods, persons, animals or the presence of trans-national natural resources. Thus, regional cooperation actions may deal with:

- *concerted management of common natural resources* through such actions as: consultations on major river development projects in order to prevent that the quantities of water used by one country (for irrigation purposes for example) may penalise users in the countries situated downstream; setting up of a harmonised system for the regulation of fish resources in order to guarantee their renewal; consultations over the use of resources (pasture lands, firewood) located at the border zones and exploited by stakeholders of one or more countries, in order to prevent conflicts among the users and promote a sustainable utilisation of such resources;
- *regional monitoring* (for the prevention and control) of crop pests moving around large distance (desert locust) in order to avoid that lack of vigilance in a country may lead to significant damage to crops in the region as a whole. The eradication of epizootic diseases is in line with the same approach given that livestock moves extensively in the region;
- *harmonisation of national economic policies* whose differences create distortions in the competition among farmers (for example: input taxation, water billing in irrigation areas) or hamper regional trade in agricultural and food produce (regulation of





transports, trade tax policy, administrative (official and unofficial) trade barriers). Promoting regional trade also requires that the countries should coordinate themselves at the regional level in order to set up regional market information systems, define common standards for food products and agricultural inputs (in particular the phytosanitary products) and to put in place a system for settling the disputes;

- *coordination of actions for the estimation of harvests and food crisis prevention policies* in order to avoid for instance that huge quantities of food aid given to a country may not disturb the development of the cereal market in the neighbouring countries;
- *setting up of a joint watch mechanism* on sources of conflicts between the countries that may have adverse effects on food security.

#### MAKING ECONOMIES OF SCALE IN SOLVING COMMON PROBLEMS

Despite some strong national specificities, food insecurity problems of the Sahelian countries have numerous common characteristics and most of the challenges to take up are similar (see Indexes A and B). It is therefore absolutely necessary, for countries with limited resources, to try to make, whenever possible, economies of scale by carrying out regional actions. This cooperation towards solving similar problems can be materialised in several areas:

- *definition and implementation of research programmes in agronomy and social sciences* based on the priorities of the Sahel and the real needs of the users. Regional coordination indeed makes it possible to not only organise a certain division of tasks between national research systems but also to get more convincing results because of the existence of a higher number of references that are comparable between them. The rational management of water, the conservation and restoration of soils, the integrated management of soil fertility, the integrated crop pest management, the inter-relations between population and environment are some of the topics most concerned by such a regional cooperation;
- *training of national and regional managerial staff* (directly or via trainers' training programmes) for which any action at the regional level facilitates the promotion of human resources and the use of equipment and facilities available; another advantage is that it strengthens the links between the actors working in the same domain. Agro-meteorology, hydrology, integrated crop protection, participatory management of resources, processing of agricultural produce, analysis of production sub-sectors, market and trade policies... are all some of the key topics for training on a regional scale. Such trainings can be addressed to managerial staff of government administrations, officials of socio-professional organisations (farmers' organisations in particular) or to local elected officials;
- *capitalisation of experiences* built up in each country on the various components of the food security policies. The aim is to give to the various Sahelian stakeholders involved in a particular activity, the opportunity to learn from failures and success stories recorded in the other countries. This need for experience sharing and analysis touches on many subjects such as, water control, soil conservation, rules governing the access to and use of resources in the pastoral zones, conditions for popularising the decentralised financial systems, diversification of

emergency actions... Very often, this capitalisation of experiences at the regional level can lead to the development of more efficient methodologies to be implemented subsequently in each country. For example, the methodologies relating to natural resources monitoring, poverty diagnosis, targeting of vulnerable populations, etc.;

- *definition of common social policy standards*, in order to strengthen the support of each country for a community of ideas and values, for example: the definition of conditions of access to food and basic social services; the promotion of the rights of the poorest people;
- *preparation of collective advocacy papers* in order to increase awareness of the international and regional community of some major food security issues in the Sahel and to be used as a technical basis for organising an international consultation. The use of water resources in the Sahel is certainly the priority topic that should be the subject matter of such a type of regional action.

#### BECOMING MORE INFLUENTIAL IN INTERNATIONAL FORA

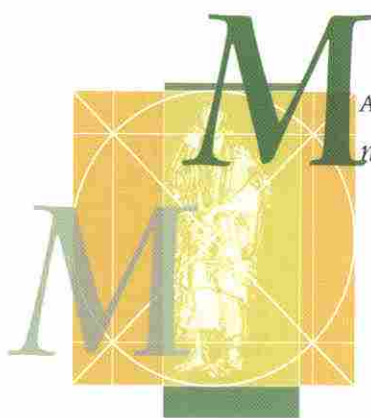
In a context of increasing integration of the Sahel in the global economy, it is necessary that the countries combine their efforts to ensure that their interests are more taken into account in the various forums where international rules governing trading conditions and production and consumption norms are defined. This dimension of the regional cooperation relates to the various on-going WTO negotiations and the recently concluded negotiation of an economic partnership agreement with the European Union (see Index B4) as well as the negotiations on the international environmental conventions and the conventions on fisheries.

At the institutional level, the implementation of all these actions of regional cooperation can take various forms: intergovernmental institutions, regional federations of socio-professional organisations, multi-stakeholder networks (scientists, civil servants, representatives of the civil society...), ad-hoc forums, private institutions mandated by a regional institution or a group of States, etc.





# Strengthening regional integration



**M**ARKET INTEGRATION at the regional level is a key vector for the development of agro-food sub-sectors and food security. However, the domestic trade liberalisation should be accompanied by a good command of the region's trade relations with the rest of the world. The WTO negotiations and the preparation of the economic partnership agreement with the European Union are, in this regard, very decisive steps.

The people of the Sahel have opted to base food security first on the resources of the region. They do not want to be depending increasingly on importations. They want to take advantage of the growth of the demand for food in order to stimulate agricultural production. The aim is to build a production and trade zone that is actually integrated on the West Africa scale on the one hand, and the Central African scale on the other.

## TOWARDS TRUE MARKET INTEGRATION

The actual trade liberalisation within the regional groupings and the harmonisation of agricultural, tax, and other policies are primordial from that perspective. They allow to increase the size of the markets the producers and economic actors benefit from, to tap complementarities between the production areas and therefore to diversify the food supply. Finally, they allow to cut down food products costs (see Index B3).

The harmonisation of domestic policies takes into account the problem of health and technical standards as well as the removal of all informal trade barriers. This approach aims at harmonising trade policies at the borders of the regional space so as to avoid disparities in the taxation of imports that supply the flows of re-exportation towards the countries most protectionist. These policy disparities are indeed obstacles to effective and efficient national and sub-regional food security strategies. This internal liberalisation should be necessarily accompanied by a concerted and coherent approach to the region's relations with

the rest of the world so as to increase the influence of the countries in international negotiations in all the areas that affect the agricultural and food sectors.

## FOOD SECURITY IN THE CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

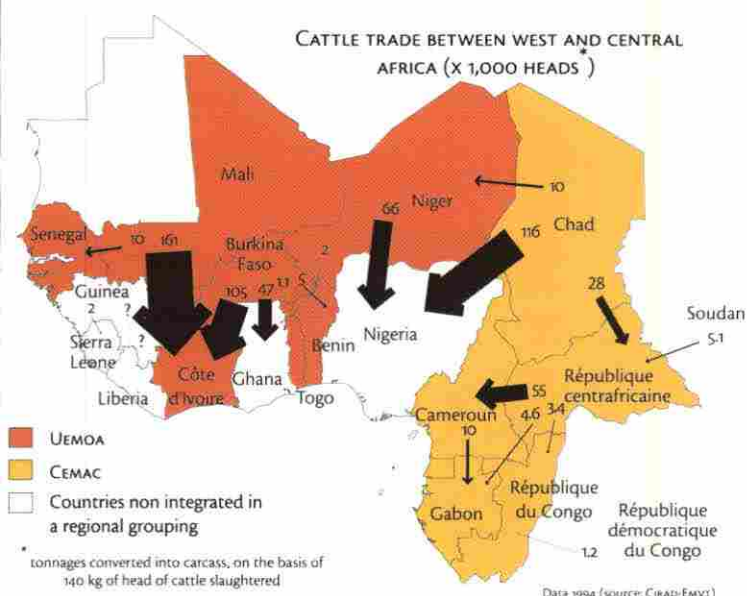
The region is presently involved in two fundamental negotiations for the food security of the Sahelian countries. The first negotiation is taking place within the context of the WTO. The second one fits within the context of the relations bound to change between the European Union and the ACP countries as a whole. The commercial aspect of the Cotonou agreement indeed provides for economic partnership agreements (EPA) to be negotiated between the EU and all the regional integration groupings. As part of the implementation of the Food Security Strategy Framework and at the initiative of CILSS, and in conjunction with the other integration organisations of the region, several consultations have taken place between the actors of the Sahelian societies and the officers in charge of international negotiations within the countries. These consultations have led to the definition of common positions that are outlined in this index.

## WTO NEGOTIATION

Food security is explicitly mentioned in the WTO agricultural agreement as one of the non commercial aspects that can justify a special treatment for agriculture so that it may not be regarded as an economic sector among others. It would be therefore possible, for food security reasons, to have the right to make use of policy instruments even if the latter entail commercial distortions. This is an essential aspect for the Sahelian countries, taking into account the strategic nature of their food security related issues. The aim is indeed to develop a high level of food self-supply in order to be sufficiently independent of fluctuations in the global markets, to reduce political risks and to provide suitable food to the populations (different consumption patterns, quality of the food). Taking this into consideration, the market rules alone do not seem to be able to offer the necessary regulations to create an enabling economic and commercial environment for the producers and actors of the agro-food sectors. The Sahelian countries therefore underscore several key points including the following:

- the right to protect their agricultural markets from competing products that undermine the development of the local agriculture and compete with the producers. This protection is neces-

CATTLE TRADE BETWEEN WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA (X 1,000 HEADS)





order to maintain their commercial preferences would be less vulnerable vis-à-vis a liberalisation of their food imports.

Taking these issues into account, the main points of negotiation for the CILSS countries deal with the following:

- access to the European market: management of the protocols, access to the market for non-LDC countries (free access like the LDCs?);
- competition of European products on the markets of the CILSS member countries: transitional period, definition of a list of sensitive products excluded from the EPA, support for the transition of potentially endangered productions sub-sectors...;
- compensation of tax adjustment costs and balance of payments connected with the liberalisation process;
- extension of the mechanism of compensation of export revenue losses (STABEX);
- supports concerning the other dimensions of trade: services, competition, intellectual property, health and phytosanitary measures, commerce and environment, etc. (support of efforts towards more consistency between the national laws and the multilateral rules).

These negotiations should also take into account the collaboration with the EU that can be developed in international spheres, and more particularly at the WTO, so as to promote a joint approach to multilateral negotiations and encourage alliances over some strategic points. These should be facilitated through the setting up of a joint ministerial trade committee. A technical support could be negotiated for the follow-up to and preparation of the negotiations.

Finally, given the possible divergences of interests between the countries, particularly in the context of the negotiations with the European Union, a regional approach means also putting in play a regional solidarity, that is to say, defining the counterparts the LDCs, and particularly the Sahelian countries, will benefit from so as to avoid that the liberalisation of food products trade call into question the agricultural development and food security strategies implemented in the countries.

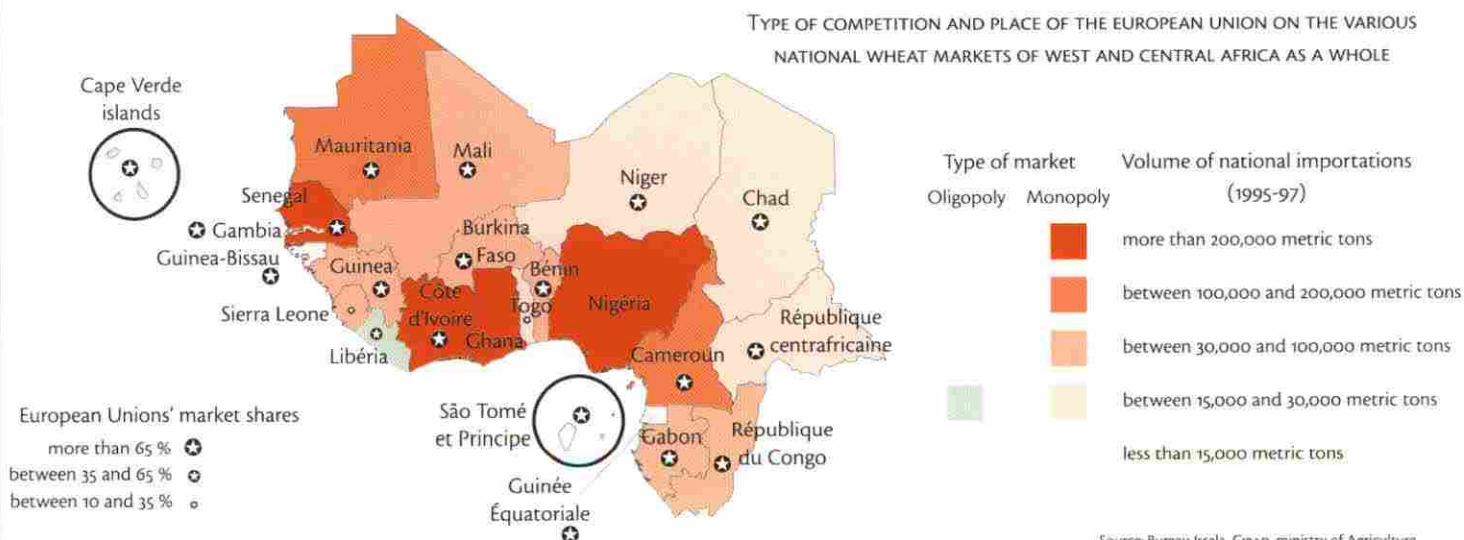
The problem of the management of areas bordering on the chosen integration zone should also be addressed. The negotiation led under the aegis of the West Africa sub-region will have to be articulated with the negotiation led between the EU and Central Africa, so as to avoid very important disparities in terms of trade system likely to supply informal trade flows.



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The debate about the EPA seems to be a crucial issue taking into account the region's agricultural development and food security issues on the one hand and the regional integration and dynamic integration into the global trade on the other hand. It falls therefore to the national and regional officials to instruct this discussion on the basis of a clear vision of the process of integration and responsible approach that alone can make it possible to go beyond the divergences of national interests. Precipitous or insufficiently instructed choices could easily lead to making the economic and commercial environment of the regional operators more complex and contribute to a fallback of national positions and increased disintegration of the regional space.

TYPE OF COMPETITION AND PLACE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON THE VARIOUS NATIONAL WHEAT MARKETS OF WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA AS A WHOLE



Source: Bureau Issala, CIRAD, ministry of Agriculture



# Improving food security governance



*THE "MARKET" OR THE "STATE" must regulate everything! It is in-between these two conflicting concepts that the countries of the Sahel are seeking new forms of food security governance that combine the interventions of both public and private stakeholders. They seek, through consultations and collective action, to bring about the conditions whereby the right to food for all will be respected.*

After independence, the approaches adopted were very often part and parcel of the tradition of building a strong, centralising and interventionist state. In the agricultural and food sector, this was manifested in the desire to regulate the market through public cereal boards enjoying marketing monopoly (see Index A1). If financial adjustment is very often mentioned to justify market liberalisation, another decisive factor has been also the fact that public interventions have not been very efficient in guaranteeing a smooth running of the food economies, in the interest of both the producers and consumers. The market has then been assigned the role of ensuring the food security of the populations, while maintaining only the possibility of public intervention in the event of a serious food crisis. This is achieved via the maintenance and targeted mobilisation of the national security stock.

"A dual approach" developed from that time on and it continues till today to govern the main part of the interventions in the food security area. In normal time, in other words, in the absence of a serious crisis, the market and its private operators (producers, tradesmen, etc.) are in fact responsible for managing the food security and the State refrains from taking any action

that could theoretically bias the operation of the market. In practice, it will limit itself to reducing dissymmetry in accessing information so as to ensure that all the stakeholders could negotiate on equitable bases. The setting up of market information systems fits within this perspective. In time of crisis, the public actors (the government, of course, but also the international organisations and aid agencies) will get back into their role as "guarantor of food security". They will, in fact, compensate for the deficiencies of the market and its inability to meet the food demand. These failures of the market which legitimate the interventions of the public actors are not generally regarded as being the responsibility of the actors, whoever they may be, but first of all as the result of natural hazards. Price increases are attributed to the shortages of production supply alone.

## BETTER ROLE FOR THE STATE AND MORE PRIVATE ACTORS

It is exactly this distribution of the roles, i.e., "the market in normal time and the public budgets in case of crisis" which is totally ill-adapted today. If you take food security in its international definition (see Box in Index B), it goes without saying that food





security is not guaranteed for all the people of the Sahel, even during periods when there is no climatic crisis. The cropping season 2001-2002 is symptomatic in this regard: whilst agricultural productions were good on the whole all across the Sahel, the food security indicators have not immediately turned to "green", far from it. For example, the markets have never recorded so high prices even in the years when the harvests were not good. Faced with difficulties of access to food because of the low level of their incomes the households find themselves in a situation of almost structural food crisis. They experience the deficiencies of the market everyday because of their low purchasing power. Yet, over the last 15-20 years, the public policies (supported by the donors) have not regarded the role of guarantor of structural food security as falling within their province and have considered, implicitly, that food is a strictly "private" good.

The debates which developed recently within the international community on the one hand, and in the Sahel on the other hand, aim at considering food security as collective or public goods. The consequences of the lack of food security affect the community as a whole (displacement of populations, migrations, riots...), not only the people directly affected. It is therefore in the community's interest that the society as a whole should have a good level of food security.

This concept of common good or collective good is at the origin of the discussion over the role of the State and the various actors towards achieving food security. This concept has permeated the whole process of formulation of national and regional food security strategies. Contrary to poverty reduction that puts the State, and more generally all public authorities, back to the centre of the strategy, inasmuch as the approach concentrates on the availability of public services (considered as not falling within the province of the private sector), the responsibility as regards food security is more vague. Public good does not indeed mean that the State should go back to the sphere of production or marketing of commodities. The debate focuses more on the responsibility of the State as the representative of the community to guarantee respect for the right to food for each individual.

This right can be partly assumed by the market. All the more so when the market operates well. But the market cannot, particularly in the Sahel, assume all the responsibility for food security, especially vis-à-vis the most destitute, and therefore partially insolvent households. Here again, the implicit responses provided to those people who are excluded from the market were to create a kind of second market, through food aid provided free of charge or at social price, that is to say, subsidised food. This option comes up against a major difficulty: the needs for assistance are such, taking into consideration the proportion of the Sahelian population concerned, that food aids financed by national or international public funds cannot meet them. If food aids were able to meet such needs, then many problems would arise in terms of disorganisation of the markets and discouragement of the stakeholders to such a point that the long term improvement of food security would be made even more uncertain.

These challenges raise the following questions: how can the respective roles of the various private and public stakeholders be clarified? At which scales should these problems be addressed? How can these scales of "governance" be articulated between the most decentralised levels, the national territory, the regional space and the international level?

Most of the principles developed within the context of the food security strategy contribute to sketching out responses to those complex questions (see 3<sup>rd</sup> book).

#### CLARIFYING THE ROLE OF THE ACTORS

The key issue for the actors and decision makers of the Sahel is to manage to redefine some forms of regulation. In other words, what are the public policy instruments that can be implemented, in conformity with the development of a market economy and compatible with the financial capacities of the Sahelian economies? This debate concerns the ways and means to improve the operation of the markets by encouraging a true competition among the economic actors and developing investments that can reduce transaction costs which, in fine, are met by the consumers. Clearly, the ability of the State to secure respect for the national and community laws (business law, commercial law, fighting corruption, etc.) is an element of the utmost importance. The development of information systems, ensuring their independence and effectiveness is also part and parcel of the sovereign attributions of the State, even if it can be implemented within the framework of service provision contracts by the private sector. On top of that, it is still necessary to reflect on the tools that will help to better regulate the markets, when general interest is at stake. The structuring of farmer organisations is also a central element for re-balancing the battle of wills on the market, and redistributing the margins differently. Thus, public interest commands the community to encourage this organisation (legislation on the organisations, institutional support, etc.).

The majority of the food security management mechanisms integrate marginally the operators and socio-professional organisations, if at all they do so. Their real involvement in the consultation mechanisms, leading to contractual commitments, would contribute to a collective governance of food security. This is the target of the management and monitoring-evaluation mechanisms of the regional food security strategy.

#### LINKING THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNANCE

The decentralisation processes underway in the Sahel offer new opportunities to re-think food security management by paying more attention to the local stakeholders, particularly the decentralised communities. The scope of action of the latter ranges from the diagnosis of situations of food insecurity down to the identification of interventions more suited to the local context, through a better use of local (human, financial, food, etc.) resources. It is also at the local community level that the linkage between the management of natural resources and the agricultural and food security issues can result in local planning approaches that take into account the global and complex nature of the problems.

The national level will however remain a basic governance scale at least because territorial disparities oblige the States that care about national cohesion, to organise transfer of resources to the benefit of the underprivileged communities. It is also at this level that the information and consultation mechanisms on public policies, integration of the various dimensions of food security into public action become meaningful. Finally, the regional level is of course the necessary supplement, because of the numerous interdependences that already exist between the national economies (see indexes B3 and B4).



# The food security strategy paper



ADOPTED BY THE STATES AND ACTORS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY, the "Sustainable Food Security Strategy Paper for Poverty Reduction in the Sahel" aims at eradicating hunger. It is, at the junction of poverty reduction, agricultural development and regional integration, a renewed approach to food security policies, relations among actors and articulations between the local, national, regional and international levels.

The food security strategy paper dates back to the "Sahel 21 process" initiated in 1995 by CILSS, with the support of its partners. For the first time in their history, the Sahelian populations, their organisations and networks were invited to express their opinion about their future. The forum of Sahelian societies that preceded the Summit of Heads of State of Banjul (1997) was a fundamental step for the men and women of the Sahel. In each country, at times, down to very decentralised levels, it was the outcome of a long process of analysis of the past and of reflection about the future.

## A VISION SHARED BY ALL THE ACTORS

Supported by CILSS and the member States, the aim of the Sahel 21 process was to break away from past practices whereby the public decision-makers and the international community were the judges of development strategies whereas the concerns of the beneficiaries were rarely taken into consideration.

On the occasion of this forum, the Sahelians expressed in the final declaration, their own vision of the future in the wake of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (cf. Box n°1) and formulated five priorities:

- to base the development of the Sahel on a determined policy of human resources promotion;
- to build institutional capacities at all levels;
- to ensure rapid development of agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries;
- to ensure economic growth and diversification so as to take advantage of regional markets and occupy a place in the globalisation of trade;
- to integrate the economy of the Sahel within the perspective of regional integration and increasing insertion into the global economy.

The Heads of State and Government and the actors of the civil society have immediately expressed their wish to turn this vision and priorities into concrete actions capable of changing the course of the heavy trends that were taking shape in the Sahel and to push for the necessary transformations. In accordance with its mandate, CILSS undertook to do so in the areas of food security and natural resources management, two strategic priorities for the Sahelian countries. But, strategies or policies can no longer be defined by sticking to the methods of the past. Their legitimacy will depend henceforth not only on the quality of the dialogue and consultations organised about such policies and strategies in the development phase, but also, their imple-

## BOX N°1: SAHEL 21, A VISION

### EXCERPT OF THE DECLARATION OF SAHELIAN SOCIETIES

BANJUL – 1997

- the men and women of the Sahel unanimously want the population to be regarded as the primary resources and their potential be improved and increased, through the development of the skills and promotion of human resources;
- they long for a Sahel turned green again, with a wide range of rural productions based on a management of natural resources but also less dependent on the whims of nature, particularly through increased water control and soil fertility, but also a Sahel whose economy is developing and becoming more and more diversified;
- the men and women of the Sahel want to live in a harmonised social, political, cultural and economic zone while remaining conform to the interests of each one of their countries. They want to generate a more affirmed Sahelian economy and culture, by reconciling their own values and the adaptation to on-going or future transformations;
- more particularly, they re-affirm their commitment to the basic values of the Sahelian society: attachment to the family and the community, respect for and assistance to parents and grand-parents, collective responsibility in the education of children and young people; collective consciousness of community goods; protection of the weak and the poorest; welcome and respect for the foreigner; tolerance, dialogue and consultations as a means of solving problems; spirit of sharing, solidarity and mutual aid;
- the Sahelians are also keen to live in societies and spaces whose foundations would be consolidated and their operation made more in keeping with their expectations in their capacity as the men and women who animate them. Thus, the Sahel can develop its collective identity and, by way of consequence, achieve effective regional integration. The latter would give increased weight to the CILSS member countries on the regional and international scene. It would make it possible for them to redefine their cooperation and trading relationships with the rest of the world.
- United round a project shared for the generation to come, stimulated by the pooling of the countries' living strength, the Sahel will be less dependent on aid and will be in a position to re-negotiate, with its partners, the contents and modalities of partnership that will confer on it the place and role its sons and daughters are dreaming of for the next century.

mentation will no longer be a responsibility for the States alone, or an intergovernmental organisation.

It is these reasons that led to more importance being given to an approach of strategic nature that seeks to progressively reconcile the points of view, work out compromises, take all the policies, programmes and strategies of the stakeholders, etc. into consideration in order to gradually make them convergent.



food security is acknowledged as a collective good, it cannot be guaranteed by public institutions alone. The objective of a food security for all men and women of the Sahel implies a combined action by many stakeholders acting in the national, sub-regional and international markets. The food security strategy fits within the context of state reform and decentralisation of the governance of public affairs, as well as from the viewpoint of increased integration of the West African economies. It is along those lines that it is essential to develop the capacities of each category of stakeholders, particularly the organisations of producers, women's organisations, the private sector, the elected officials and officers of the decentralised communities. In the same vein, building a constant policy dialogue between the various governance scales and between the various stakeholders is essential for the effective coordination of their interplay. This policy dialogue cannot develop without any quality information base on the various dimensions of food security: productions, markets, vulnerability, public policies.

#### TEN PRINCIPLES STRUCTURING THE STRATEGIC APPROACH

The strategy paper notes that building a poverty reduction-oriented food security can last in the long term only if there is a strong political will and an implementation method that is based on the involvement of all public and private stakeholders and the civil society. This method implies respect by all these stakeholders for the guiding principles shared by all and at all levels:

- *differentiation*: taking into account the various national and infra-national situations is a key element for defining appropriate responses to the specific problems of food insecurity of each country.
- *complementarity and subsidiarity*: this principle aims at getting as many stakeholders as possible shoulder increased responsibility at the level where the problems arise and to transfer to the higher level only the questions that cannot be adequately and coherently addressed at the lower level alone. In practice, some dimensions of food security can be dealt with basically at the national level, whereas others imply efforts towards harmonisation at the sub-regional level. Finally, others come within the province of sub-regional cooperation or integration;
- *decentralisation and good governance*: the aim is to improve governance by relying on the decentralisation and local development processes (principle of subsidiarity); actual involvement of private stakeholders and socio-professional organisations in the implementation of the strategy; sound, transparent and efficient management of national and international resources;
- *participation*: the aim of the participatory approach is the negotiation of collective choices. Such an approach should lead to compromises accepted by the stakeholders; It must help to take on board, in the institutional mechanisms, at the local,

national or regional levels, all the actors in charge of food security in order to encourage the improvement of performance from the design up to the implementation stage of the strategies and programmes;

- *multi-stakeholder and inter-institutional partnership*: acknowledging the multi-dimensional character of food security within the perspective of poverty reduction implies that be adopted, in each country, a food security strategy negotiated with all the actors concerned while associating the various government departments in charge of one or the other dimension of food security. The same approach holds true as far as the sub-regional level is concerned;
- *equity*: the aim is to target actions, as a matter of priority, on the poorest people and, more particularly, to improve consideration for the women (the group most affected by poverty) in the definition and implementation of food security strategies, programmes and projects, taking into account the major role they play in agricultural production and food processing as well;
- *shared responsibility*: strengthening the democratic process goes through a control of public action by the societies. The implementation of the strategy paper is based on the responsibility of each actor who is accountable for his/her action to the community;
- *transparency, good management of public affairs and accountability*: accountability concerns the results achieved as well as the management of financial resources. The building of monitoring-evaluation mechanisms should help to encourage total transparency;
- *coherence*: the aim is to manage to mainstream food security related issues into the macro-economic policies, sector policies and poverty reduction strategies;
- *coordination and Sahelian leadership*: the coordination and harmonisation of the actions of the various stakeholders of the national, sub-regional and international community under Sahelian leadership is a key principle for improving food security governance in the Sahel. Such a leadership should be able to express itself in the determination of the priorities of the strategies and programmes.

The strategy paper is based on the conviction that food security can be assured for all the Sahelians, despite the population growth and urbanisation, by relying primarily on a long term use of the resources of the sub-region and exploiting the economic and natural complementarities with the other West, Central and North African countries.

The Sahel countries believe that the objective of food security for all can be achieved if at all determined policies could be implemented in each country, if these strategies are coherent at the sub-regional level, if they integrate the various dimensions of food security and if they associate all the stakeholders to their definition and implementation.





# Burkina Faso



Burkina Faso is a landlocked country, with a Sudano-sahelian climate characterised by strong annual rainfall variations (from 300 mm in the north to 1,200 mm in the south). Estimated at 11.5 million inhabitants in 2000, 80% of the population live in the rural area with strong disparities in the density (100 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in the central plateau as against 32 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in the rural area). The population growth (total population almost tripled in half a century) because of shifting farming practices and the use of wood as energy source causes serious environmental degradation. This population pressure, combined with the naturally low soil fertility and the regression of the rainfall pattern since 1970 has resulted in the decrease in water resources, cultivable lands and vegetation cover. This process also results in strong internal migrations towards the less populated areas or urban centres and external migrations, particularly to Côte d'Ivoire.

## AGRICULTURE OCCUPIES A PREDOMINANT PLACE IN THE ECONOMY

The Burkinabè economy rests basically on the agricultural and livestock sectors which, despite their low productivity, provide 40% of GDP and 80% of exports earnings. Burkina Faso has recorded over the last years about 5% growth rate on average per year. The economic adjustment programmes have made it possible to restore growth and reduce domestic and external financial imbalances. However, the economy is still characterised by low diversification of tradable goods and its performance is still dependent on climatic hazards and the fluctuation of the prices of some products (cereals, cotton, livestock).

Despite recent macro-economic progress, poverty affected, in 1998, nearly one out of two inhabitants in Burkina Faso and is characterised by strong inequalities in income distribution (20% of the richest people concentrate more than half of the national income). Poverty is a phenomenon most marked in the rural area (incidence of absolute poverty of 51% in the rural area against 16.5% in the urban areas). Agricultural households make up 90% of all the poor people, with nearly one third of them living in extreme poverty conditions. The farmers who depend on subsistence crops are most affected and draw half of their incomes from non agricultural activities.

This monetary poverty is increased by a shortage of basic services to a point that life expectancy does not exceed 47 years

(HDI, 2002), infant mortality rate reaches 94‰ (Eds, 1993) and the combined school attendance rate is only 23% (HDI, 2002). Burkina Faso is therefore ranked 169 out of 173 countries according to the human development indicator published in 2002. The nutritional situation of the population is therefore affected, with an energy requirement cover estimated at 2,245 calories and a chronic malnutrition rate of 29% (INSD, 1996). Imbalanced diets aggravate the situation of malnutrition through protein, vitamin and micro-nutrient deficiencies. The rapid expansion of HIV-Aids (sero-prevalence rate of about 7.2%) makes the living conditions even more complicated.

## CLIMATIC HAZARDS AND POVERTY RELATED CRISES

Food insecurity has two dimensions. Chronic food insecurity is the result of inadequate monetary income generated by activities of the primary sector and the lack of opportunities in the other sectors of the economy in the rural area. Cyclic food insecurity (the result of agro-climatic hazards, social conflicts or unrests in the sub-region or fluctuations of prices of raw materials) affects periodically the vulnerable populations, especially rural households living in zones where agricultural production is uncertain and alternative sources of income are limited, but also certain urban social groups.

Since 1991, Burkina Faso has initiated deep reforms aimed at modernising and diversifying agricultural production and marketing. The institutional management framework of the cereal and food security policy has been renewed with the creation of a consultative mechanism between the Government, the economic actors, the NGOs and the donors and the establishment of information, action coordination and security stock management bodies. The frequent resurgence of years during which the food situation is difficult has reduced the effectiveness of this mechanism for the prevention and management of cyclic food crises.

The Government adopted, in 2000, a poverty reduction strategy paper aimed at focusing the economic development strategy on a better impact of public policies and on the need for increasing the purchasing power of the most underprivileged people and providing them with a framework to develop themselves socially.





The strategy is guided by four general principles of action: public responsibility in the attainment of food security, permanent multi-stakeholder and inter-institutional consultations, the pivotal role of the populations in choosing investments that benefit them and the coordination of actions, aids of the State and development partners.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

TO INCREASE, ON A SUSTAINABLE BASIS, THE LEVEL OF NATIONAL FOOD PRODUCTION AND ITS VALUE ADDED

Increasing the food supply by more than 5% per year will be based on the intensification and diversification of agro-sylvo-pastoral productions. Soil fertility conservation and water control including the extension of small scale irrigation, access to production factors (land security, inputs, equipment, training and support-counselling) and to credit, and the development of promising and market production sub-sectors will be the main areas of action in favour of the producers. This objective will be pursued while ensuring a sound management of natural resources through professionalization of the organisations of actors involved and stimulating the improvement of the quality of market agricultural products.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

TO DEVELOP THE CAPACITIES OF THE MARKET IN ORDER TO FACILITATE ACCESS TO FOOD PRODUCTS

To improve food availability on the markets and to reduce instability of consumer prices, the measures recommended will aim at promoting investments, training and information of private sector people and producer organisations in the field of marketing, processing and preservation. Trade will be also increased through densification of communications network and better integration of the national market in the sub-regional space. Finally, the actors in the agro-food sub-sectors will have to be more informed and consulted about the implications of agricultural and trade policies in the process of definition (Eu-ACP Agreement and WTO).

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

TO IMPROVE, IN THE LONG TERM, THE ECONOMIC AND NUTRITIONAL CONDITIONS OF THE POOR AND VULNERABLE GROUPS

Reducing the vulnerability of the poor goes through a development of additional incomes less sensitive to the hazards of agricultural productions. This objective rests on the promotion of income generating activities and the extension of the access to credit in the rural world. Reducing malnutrition also requires ensuring access to mother and child health care, strengthening the drinking water cover and increasing nutritional education of the population, particularly of the women and young girls. Better diet will be promoted through consumption of food rich in vitamins and micro-nutriments and a strengthening of food safety.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

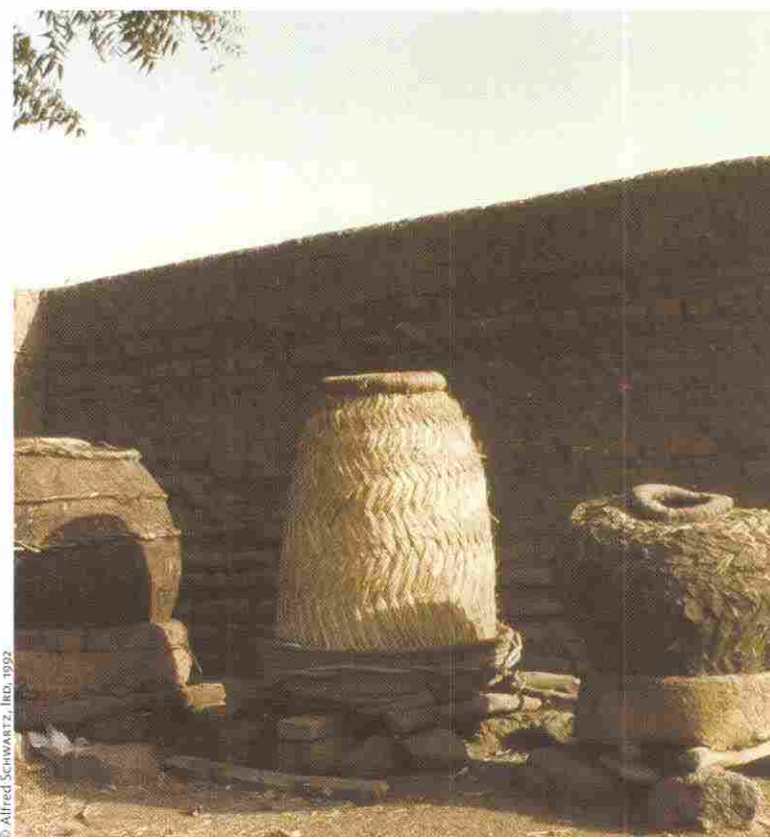
TO STRENGTHEN THE MECHANISM FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES IN LINE WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

A sustainable and more efficient information system and a management of cyclic food crises that is more adapted and more participatory are the two results pursued in order to attain this objective. The information system will be strengthened by the operationalisation of the structures at the national level, the development of local analyses on food security and increased data sharing with the regional institutions. Crisis management will be better controlled through diversification of response means (setting up of decentralised mechanisms) and the building of adequate national security stocks.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

TO BUILD THE STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITIES AND TO PROMOTE GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

The objective of a good governance will be pursued through empowerment (transfer of competence and capacity to generate financial resources) of the local communities and grassroots actors on food security related issues. The institutional capacities of the socio-professional organisations will have to be increased especially through information and experience-sharing. Better consideration will be given to the demographic constraints to sustainable development by encouraging the implementation of specific strategies.







The mountainous and desert Islands of Cape Verde suffer from uncertain and very poor rainfall. About two years in three, rainfall is not enough to complete a cropping season in dry farming conditions. Arable lands account for less than 16% of total surface area of Cape Verde; there is no permanent superficial rivers; less than 0.6% of the land is irrigated.

Despite considerable efforts deployed in the last 20 years in the area of re-afforestation and soil and water conservation, the pressure on the environment has been aggravated by a rapid population growth. The immense soil erosion problems have their roots in it.

Nearly a quarter of the population practise farming, more than half of the farms do not produce enough to feed an average size family and 70 to 85% of the farms manage to do so only during good rainy years. The factors that aggravate the vulnerability of the rural families include the following: lack of access to land, in particular, good quality lands, the farming system (sharecropping system, farm rent), the almost inexistent agricultural credit...

#### FOOD SECURITY IS BASED ON IMPORTATIONS AND FOOD AID

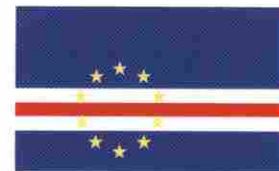
In that context, the country's food security is dependent, to a large extent, on the external world. The country imports nearly 85% of the food necessary to cover its needs. The only cereal produced locally, i.e., maize, covers but about 5% of cereal needs. The food bill accounts for one third of the country's imports. Food aid plays an important role and covers on average 60% of total cereal imports.

Unemployment and under-employment reach considerable proportions. About half of the rural population is poor, including one fourth who are very poor. Nearly 70% of the poor live in the rural areas. However, a transfer of poverty from the rural to the urban areas has been noted over the last years as a result of the steady rural-to-urban drift. The latest population census reveals a 53% urbanisation rate in 2000 compared to 32% in 1990.

Since the 70s, the State has continued creating jobs and incomes through the creation of public labour intensive jobs (FAIMO), for the construction of road infrastructures, re-afforestation and soil conservation. 15,000 to 20,000 under-employed rural workers in the agricultural sector benefit from this system.

The "vulnerable" population groups are provided food assistance. They include categories of persons in chronic food insecurity conditions: about 5,000 underprivileged people receive a

# Cape Verde



minimum social pension whereas 70,000 children are provided meals at school.

The national economy that is characterised by a predominant tertiary sector (covering alone half of GDP) suffers from low production capacity and a narrow national market. The funds transferred by the immigrants are another notable distinctive feature of the country's economy, since such capital accounts for nearly 12% of GDP and more than 60% of the families receive it.

Despite the last years' sustained economic growth, the country is still confronted with fundamental macro-economic problems among which the persistent deficit of the balance of current transactions, a dependence vis-à-vis international market for the acquisition of staple food and the difficulties met in acquiring the currencies necessary for such purchases.

The regular supply of each island with basic food products was until then guaranteed by the public company EMPA (MOAVE for wheat) which enjoyed exclusive right to import these commodities. The on-going liberalisation and privatisation process has entailed significant changes in the supply and operation of the markets and is accompanied by uncertainties as to how to ensure secure food supplies and stable prices. However, it is envisaged to maintain the accessibility to basic food products via a maximum price policy.





## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE  
AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

The modernisation and diversification of production will be based on improved water resource management, access to services in support of production (credit, energy, etc.), and on the promotion of channels for the processing and conservation of agro-food products.

To stop the on-going desertification process, considerable efforts will have to be made to ensure that production takes place in the context of a sound management of natural resources, particularly through widespread use of water and soil conservation practices and increase in the vegetation cover.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION  
OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

*NB: Trade between the Cape Verde and its Sahelian partners accounts for only a minor part (about 5%) of the trade volume with the rest of the world. This explains why market integration at the sub-regional level has less weight in Cape Verde's strategy, than in the strategies of the other C.I.S.S. member countries.*

The process of privatisation and liberalisation of the market of commodities will be supported by a series of actions aimed at regulating, controlling and taxing the markets so as to guarantee regular supply of the country as a whole by the private economic actors, while protecting the consumers' interests. Thus, an information system on the supply of and demand for agro-food products will be set up.

Substantial investment will be made towards improving the road and port infrastructures. To prevent the supply of the peripheral islands from being interrupted, it is envisioned to organise a credit system for the importation of basic food products by private operators. Moreover, a security stock will have to be built up in partnership between the State and the private sector.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF  
ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES  
FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

Water, sanitation, health, and education infrastructures will be built in the local communities and secondary centres in order to improve access to basic social services. This will furthermore contribute to curb the migration of the most destitute people towards the big urban centres. The vulnerable groups, and particularly the women, will benefit from job creations and vocational training to help them integrate the job market. The social security nets will be also strengthened and better adapted to the needs of the underprivileged groups. In addition, they will

be the target of some interventions specifically undertaken to improve their diet.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR  
THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES,  
CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

Following the liberalisation and the privatisation of the EMPA, the problem of the food situation monitoring has become particularly important at the national level. The interventions in that context will aim at improving the various components of the food security information system (including the early warning system) in order to make it more operational and efficient. The system will be de-concentrated in order to adapt it to the on-going decentralisation process. But, it is envisioned to harmonise its assessment methods and the information flow to guarantee its unique character.

On the other hand, the consultation process as well as the emergency actions undertaken will help to get out of the crises and build a long term food security.

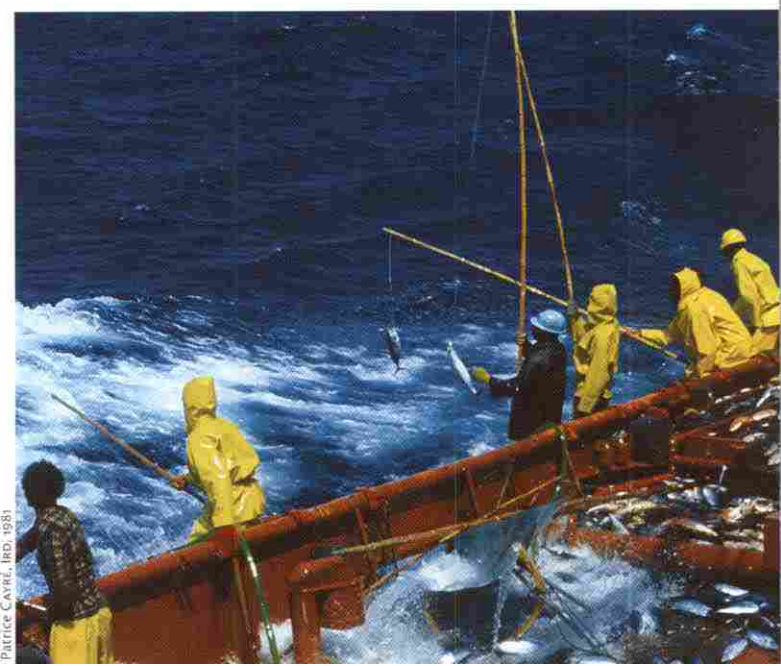
In addition, the FAIMO restructuring process recommended by the NPRSP will be strengthened by interventions aimed at capacitating it through the work and by putting in place a micro-credit system in support of the creation of permanent jobs.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING  
AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD  
FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

The on-going decentralisation process will be further strengthened and consolidated in the area of food security management. A food security department will be set up in each municipality.

Programmes of communication and technical and institutional training will be proposed to all internal and external actors, the civil society and also the private sector, with a view to getting them effectively take part in the food security management.







With a surface area of 11,000 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 1.3 million inhabitants, The Gambia is the most densely populated country in the Sahel (97 inhab/km<sup>2</sup>). Surrounded by Senegal, with the exception of a narrow maritime frontage, The Gambia receives on average 900 mm of rain yearly (as against 1,100 mm in 1965).

The population growth rate is particularly very high (4.2% yearly) under the combined effect of natural growth (2.4% yearly) and a low migration rate. At this rate, the number of the population will double every 20 years.

After independence and in the beginning of the 1970s, the country's relative economic prosperity has suffered the double negative effect of the drought and the first oil shock. The policies implemented right up to the middle of the 1980s, characterised by an unsuitable exchange rate and high tax deductions, did not help improve the situation. Faced with this deterioration of the macro-economic imbalances, the government adopted in 1985 an "economic recovery programme" based on the State divestiture, the liberalisation of domestic and foreign trade and the adoption of a floating exchange rate. This liberal policy spurred the economic growth in the course of the second half of the 1980s. However, this did not go far enough in the 1990 decade owing to political upheavals that affected the Tourism industry, the devaluation in the CFA zone and the low price of groundnuts in the world market.

With a GDP per capita of less than 307 dollars, The Gambia is classified among the poorest countries, 160th in the world, according to the human development index (UNDP-2002). According to the national study on household poverty carried out in 1998, 69% of the population and 55% of the households are living below the national poverty threshold. Between 1992 and 1998, it is reported that the majority of the extremely poor population increased from 18 to 51%. The effect of poverty is much stronger in the rural area where 60% of the households are considered as being extremely poor. 91% among the latter draw their income from agriculture, whereas only a half of the "non-poor" households are living on activities linked to agriculture. The lack of revenue is the primary cause of chronic food insecurity which is affecting a more and more important fraction of the Gambian population. The adult literacy rate is 36% and the net percentage of children attending primary schooling is 65%. Moreover, 31% of the population is deprived of access to potable water. Generally, the levels of social indicators are by far weaker in the rural areas than in the towns.

#### AGRICULTURE: SHIFTING POSITION

Cereals make up the basis of the population's food and contributes with more than 50% to the energy supplies. Owing to an increasing low production compared to the population, cereal imports tend to rise, particularly rice (about 100,000 metric tons yearly). Groundnuts are the main source of monetary revenue for the farmers. The fruits and vegetables sub-sector has witnessed a remarkable expansion in the past ten years. Thus, between the end of the 1980s and the end of the 1990s, the value of exports increased by more than 200%. Fruits and vegetables probably represent the agricultural sub-sector which has the biggest potential for increasing agricultural revenue and exports earnings as well as the qualitative improvement of food intake.

If the national meat supply manages to meet the demand, it is not the case for dairy products whose imports are on the rise. With regard to the small size of its territory, The Gambia does have vast fish resources (maritime and continental) which are only partially exploited at the moment. The current catch (25,000 to 30,000 metric tons) represents 30 % to 35 % of the exploitable potential, assessed on the basis of a sustainable renewal of the resource. Fish related resources represent 40% of the protein supply of the Gambian population.

The Gambia has just adopted its second poverty reduction strategy (a first strategy was launched in 1994). The objective of the strategy is to target a 6% economic growth between now and 2005. In sectoral terms, the strategy gives priority to an increase in incomes and the improved food security of the households in the countryside, particularly through a diversification of the farming systems. Likewise, the strategy should give priority to investments in education and health in the rural zones, by giving special importance to the place of women and community organisations in local development planning.







### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

#### PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

This objective will be pursued through three main results: optimum use of natural resources; adaptation of the Gambian agriculture to the increase in and diversification of the demand for food; fish production increase on sustainable bases. These results will be pursued by focussing the efforts on the productions that have significant impact on food security, namely rice, millet, sorghum, maize, groundnuts and horticultural productions. Increasing the volumes produced will depend on the intensification of farming systems, which will be promoted through the adoption of a more efficient credit policy, the creation of a land market, the strengthening of farmer organisations and improvement of agronomic research capacities.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

#### DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

In order to improve the functioning of the national markets and increase the competitiveness of the Gambian agricultural and food products, several complementary actions will be undertaken, particularly:

- setting up a market information system, capable of providing, in real time, information buyers with the information they need;
- developing transport and storage infrastructures so as to facilitate selling of agricultural produce;
- improving “post harvest” technologies;
- possibility of public intervention on the markets, in case of production surpluses and when all other solutions have been tried;
- promoting quality standards for the foodstuffs.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

This objective will be pursued by combining two main actions:

- diversification of agricultural activities through improved soil and water management, integrated pest management, development of small ruminants and improvement of the land ownership system;
- promotion of non-agricultural income generating activities through intensification of vocational training programmes, creation of an enabling environment for small and medium sized enterprises, development of micro-finance and support programmes to the creation of enterprises and, promotion of labour intensive investments.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES, CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

Three main results concur towards the attainment of this objective:

- development of an early warning system adapted to the prevention of the main types of food crises;
- improving knowledge about the national food situation (availability and accessibility);
- improved coordination of national food security information systems and heightened understanding of the household coping strategies.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

#### STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

The realisation of this objective will depend on an array of institutional measures, particularly the creation, at a high level, of a committee composed of the main Secretaries of State (agriculture, environment, decentralisation, trade and finance) whose role will consist of coordinating, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the food security strategy. This committee will be supported by a technical committee gathering the major partners (administration, associations of farmers and consumers, private stakeholders, Ngos), whose responsibility will be to plan and monitor the activities corresponding to the different results pursued by the strategy. The implementation of the activities will be entrusted to the various categories of stakeholders according to their field of competence.







Guinea-Bissau is a coastal country with a small surface area (36,125 km<sup>2</sup>) and endowed with a much higher rainfall than most Sahelian countries (2,600 mm yearly in the south and 1,200 mm in the inland). The population is estimated at 1.2 million inhabitants presently and increases at a rate of 1.9%, that is a net growth rate lower than the rest of the region.

Guinea-Bissau is a member of the Franc zone since 1997. Agriculture occupies a predominant place in the national economy, since it contributes more than 45% to the GDP, accounts for 65% of exports earnings and provides jobs for the majority of the working population. Cashew nuts are the main export products. Since 1994, the GDP growth in volume has been, every year, higher than the population growth, with the notable exception of 1998 when the outbreak of the war caused the national wealth to plummet to 28%.

This crisis which lasted 11 months resulted in massive destruction of the infrastructural base, a pronounced decline of production and exports, notably cashew nuts, a general hike in prices and a disorganisation of public administration. These disturbances culminated in an augmentation of the budget deficit and a deterioration of the balance of payments (positive by 18 billion FCFA in 1997, it dropped to 1 billion in 1998).

#### POVERTY AGGRAVATED BY CONFLICTS

Guinea-Bissau is ranked 167th in the classification of the countries according to the human development index (HDI-2002). The literacy rate for the whole population is 25% and the gross school attendance rate is estimated at 53%. The GNP per capita is about 230 dollars and 87% of the population is living with less than a dollar a day. Although recent national data are not available, it is patent that all the social indicators have deteriorated following the 1998-99 political crisis.

Beyond the hydromorphic soils and those of the low lands that are very favourable to rice growing, the soils are of average fertility and, especially, they are subjected to high degradation as a result of increasing pressures from human activities. About a third of the cultivable land is considered as being degraded. The absence of land legislation accentuates the phenomenon by encouraging nutrient mining practices by some big farmers. Rice is the biggest agricultural production (60% of gross cereal production) and it constitutes the staple food of the population.

Quantitatively speaking, the food situation seems relatively satisfactory. However, protein-energy malnutrition is very widespread owing to the predominance of cereals in the food intake. Children of less than five years of age, pregnant and

breast feeding women as well as old people form the groups most affected by structural food insecurity.

In September 2000, the Government adopted a national poverty reduction strategy paper whose main objectives are the following:

- reduction by two thirds of the infant mortality rate (by year 2015);
- elimination of gender disparities in national education (by year 2015);
- reversal of the trend towards environmental resources degradation (by year 2015).

The Government expects to reach these objectives by combining three main actions, namely: creation of conditions for a rapid and sustainable economic growth; augmentation of access to basic social services (education, health, water, hygiene); creation of poverty reduction oriented programmes. This strategy will place emphasis, in the primary sector, on the exploitation of the vast rice growing and fishing potential that the country is endowed with. The rice subsector is considered as a key component of the country's agricultural development.







### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

#### PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

The realisation of this objective depends on the achievement of four complementary results: optimum natural resources management in the context of sustainable farming systems; adaptation of the production to the increase in and diversification of the demand for agricultural and food products; increase in fish products, on sustainable bases. The development of short-cycle animal breeding and the modernisation of traditional fisheries are part of the priority actions envisaged in order to arrive at these results.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

#### DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

The functioning of the national markets will be improved through intensification of trade and improved competitiveness of the agricultural and food subsector on external markets and vis-à-vis imported commodities. To this effect, actions will be undertaken in order to promote trading, within the countries, of food products and to diversify the food supply, particularly for export.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

This objective will be achieved basically through the promotion of intra and inter-community trading in agricultural, live-

stock and fish products, on the one hand, and the development income generating activities for the youth and the women, on the other hand.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES, CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

A better and effective food crisis prevention and management policy will be obtained by combining: adaptation of the early warning systems to the various forms of food crises; improved coordination of vulnerability analyses and the living conditions of households; targeting emergency actions on potentials for getting out of the food crisis and, finally, improved knowledge about available food surpluses to be used in aid to the vulnerable populations.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

#### STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

Five complementary results will be pursued in order to attain this final objective: the consolidation of the decentralisation process and building of the capacities of local communities; a real involvement of farmer organisations in the definition of food security and poverty reduction strategies; widespread implementation of training and experience sharing actions; control over demographic constraints and finally, the harmonisation of national and regional policies for the agricultural sector development.







Mali is a vast landlocked country (1,294,190 km<sup>2</sup>) with a population of 11 million inhabitants, of which 70% live in the rural area. A large part of the national territory is subjected to a desert or semi-desert climate. Thus, the population is concentrated in the southern part of the country (58% of the population occupying 8% of the land). The population growth rate remains high (3.1%) and results in a strong proportion of youth in the total population (nearly 50% of the population is less than 15 years of age).

#### WHITE GOLD AND YELLOW GOLD

Agriculture and livestock rearing are the main pillars of the Malian economy, contributing to nearly half of the GDP. More than 85% of the exports consist of two products: cotton and gold. Stock rearing comes third henceforth with exports bound for the regional markets particularly, the coastal countries of the Gulf of Guinea. The structural deficit of the trade balance is partially compensated by the monies transferred by many Malian migrants living in Europe.

Mali occupies the 164th place in the international ranking made by the UNDP and based on the human development index (IDH 2002). This explains why the majority of the social indicators are quite alarming: life expectancy (51 years), infant mortality rate (142‰), gross rate of primary school attendance (22% for the girls and 34% for the boys). In 1999, each inhabitant had a GDP equivalent to 247 dollars. The percentage of the population living below the national poverty line is estimated at 69% for the 1990-1998 period.

#### CEREAL EQUILIBRIUM AND STRONG FOOD INSECURITY

The nutritional status is characterised by high levels of protein-energy malnutrition and deficiency in vitamin A, iron and iodine. A national survey carried out in 1995-96 showed that 30% of children below three years of age undergo slow growth rate and 40% represent weight insufficiency.

Agriculture is characterised by two major cropping systems side by side:

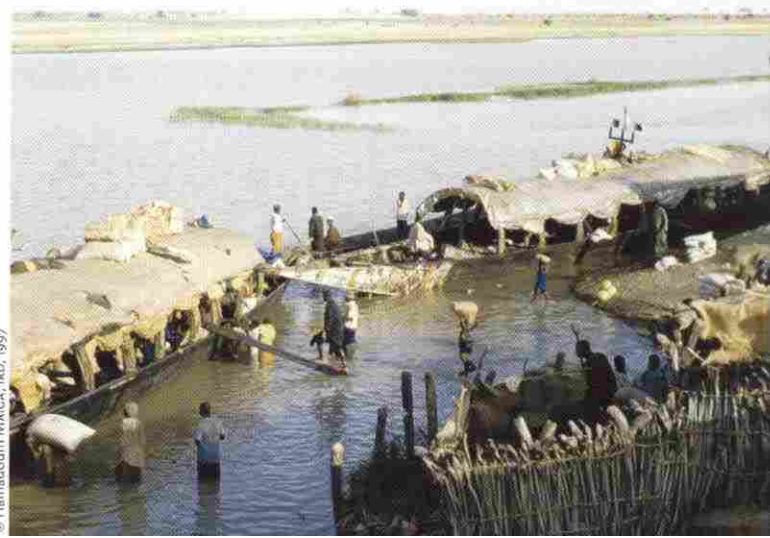
- rainfed cropping, essentially oriented towards millet and sorghum, to which are associated groundnuts, maize and cotton from the centre to the south of the country;
- irrigated farming, especially in the Niger river valley and in the valleys of the other major rivers. They basically consist of rice and market gardening. The irrigated areas have considerably increased in the course of the 1990s, from 138,000 to 234,000 ha. Animal husbandry is of pastoral type in the north-

ern part of the country and more or less sedentary in the centre and the south.

Over the last ten years, the total cereal output significantly increased at the same pace with the population and that of rice progressed more rapidly. Mali buys rice and wheat from the world markets and exports coarse cereals (millet, maize, sorghum) to the regional market. In 1999-2000, these regional exports amounted to 35,000 metric tons. Although cereals continue to be the staple food for the Malians, a diversification of the food ration in which tubers occupy a growing place is observed.

#### TOWARDS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF THE POOR

In May 2000, The Government of Mali adopted the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) which subsequently became the unique framework of its short-term policies and strategies. *"If redistribution actions and social security nets are necessary in the short term to reduce the impact of poverty, what is wanted above all is to put the actions within medium and long term strategies that will make the poor become the actors of their own economic and social promotion"* (extract of the PRSP). The national food security strategy elaborated in July 2002 (cf. next page) totally fits within this perspective. It is also based on the guidelines and principles for action defined by the rural development master plan adopted in 1992 and updated in 2000. This master plan pursues four main objectives: (i) to augment the contribution of the rural sector to the country's economic growth; (ii) to entrench food security and self-sufficiency; (iii) to ameliorate the incomes and living conditions of the rural people; (iv) to protect the environment and to ensure a better management of natural resources.







The "national sustainable food security strategy for poverty reduction", formulated in July 2002 by the Malian Government rests on ten guiding principles: differentiation of the responses, priorities and tools of intervention; search for pertinent territorial scales for the intervention and coordination of actions; effectiveness of the conditions for a free administration and good governance; giving the power to take initiative and make decision back to the stakeholders; continuous multi-stakeholder and inter-institutional dialogue; legitimacy and objectivity in decision-making processes; adaptation of the sovereign functions of the State; development of the managing capabilities of the local communities; coherence of actions and strategies of the stakeholders; coordination of the actions of the State and development partners.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

##### PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

The increase in national food availabilities is a major food security objective of the Malian authorities. This objective will be pursued through the following main results: optimum natural resource management, within the context of sustainable agricultural and pastoral production systems; adaptation of Malian agriculture to the increase in and diversification of the demand for food; augmentation, on sustainable bases, of fish production.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

##### DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

Opening onto regional markets is a good opportunity for Mali to enhance the value of its vast agricultural potential. This objective will be pursued basing on a limited State intervention. Thus, it will fall to the private sector actors principally to improve the functioning of the markets in order to encourage investments into the food sub-sector, reduce transaction costs, lower consumer costs and make Malian food commodities more competitive.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

##### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

Apart from the macro-economic reforms intended to create an enabling environment for the growth, the Malian State intends to place the amelioration of the incomes of the poor people and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of growth on top of its agenda. This is the background for a number of programmes particularly, the project in support of grassroots initiatives in poverty reduction (PAIB) and the national action programme for employment with a view to poverty reduction (PNAERP). These programmes aim mainly at ameliorating the living conditions

of the rural communities and strengthening the partnership between the government, the recipient communities and civil society organisations engaged in poverty reduction actions.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

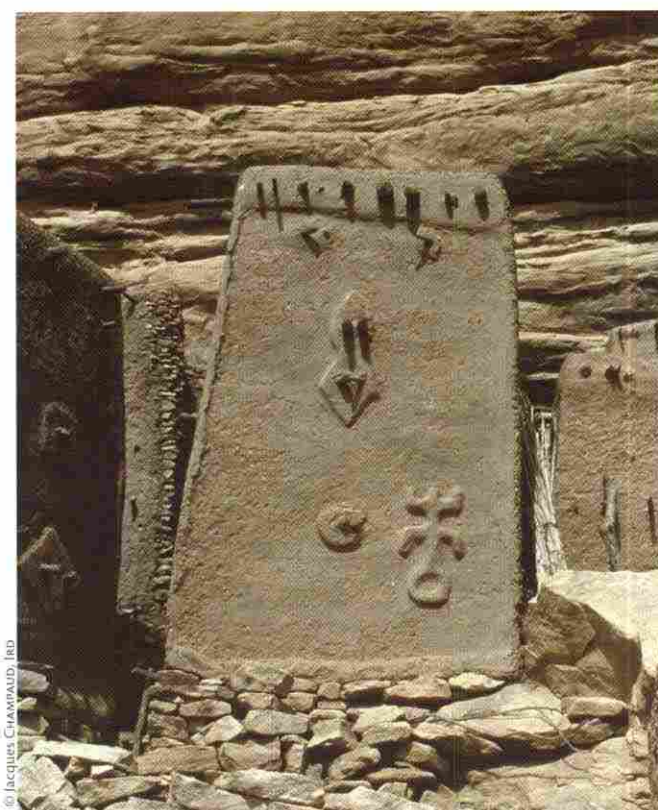
##### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES, CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

The diversification of the factors of food risks and the emergence of new concepts and analysis methods linked with the notions of human development and poverty imply transformation of the food crises prevention and management mechanisms. This fourth objective will be pursued by: (i) reinforcing the coordination of the information systems; (ii) harmonising the vulnerability analyses, the life style and coping strategies of the households; (iii) better targeting emergency actions on the potentials for ending the crisis; (iv) improving the knowledge and use of available food surpluses.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

##### STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

Food security can only be attained if all civil society stakeholders (professional organisations, business leaders, elected officials of local communities...) are effectively involved in the process. To that effect, this latter focus of the strategy will aim at the following results: development of local community capacities; increased involvement of farmer organisations in the definition of the food security and poverty reduction strategies; improved control over population constraints; implementation of regional training and experience sharing activities; harmonisation of the agriculture sector development policies.







Mauritania is a transitional country between the Sahel and the Sahara and between the Maghreb and black Africa. It extends over 1,030,700 km<sup>2</sup> of which 80% corresponds to a saharan climate. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean (650 km) and is only endowed with an average annual rainfall of not more than 400 mm on 1% of its territory. The population reached 2.5 million inhabitants in 2000 (with an annual growth rate of 3% yearly). The proportion of the nomadic population which was still 73% in 1965, dropped to below the 5% mark. A quarter of the Mauritanian population is now living in Nouakchott.

#### A DECADE OF REFORMS

For a decade now Mauritania has been engaged in some ambitious reforms which has affected the whole political (democratisation and decentralisation), economic (reforms of monetary and tax policies, stabilisation of the macro-economic framework, privatisation of public enterprises and trade liberalisation) and social (development of basic social services) life of the country.

The country's economy is traditionally based on trade and agriculture, predominated by cattle breeding to which have been added, in the course of time, the mining and fisheries sectors which make up almost total of the country's exports. Services contribute to half of the GDP, agriculture accounting for about 20% whilst industry accounts for about 30%. International trade is very significant: the shares of imports (food products representing more than a third) and exports in GDP are respectively 50% and 40%. Mauritania has its own currency and is not a member country of UEMOA (the West African Economic and Monetary Union gathering countries using the CFA Franc) and she withdrew from Ecowas in 1999.

Mauritania has registered, with its policy reforms, an average annual growth rate of 4.5% over the last ten years. Inflation has been controlled (less than 5% between 1996 and 2001 with the exception of 1998) and the budget balance rose from a deficit of 10% of the GDP in 1993 to a surplus at the end of the 1990s. At the end of the year 2000 the Central Bank had foreign exchange covering 7 months of imports. Despite these positive developments, the Mauritanian economy still has several structural handicaps to overcome: a poor and uncompetitive productive base, inadequate infrastructural offer, inefficient training system, inefficient financial intermediation and limited institutional capacities.

# Mauritania



#### A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL INDICATORS

Poverty affects 46% of the population in the year 2000. In 10 years it went down by 20%. However, this indicator masks profound geographical and socio-economic disparities. Six out of ten people are poor in the countryside (up to 79% of the poor and 61% of the extremely poor people in the Guidimakha) as against one out of four in the urban centres. Poverty affects 70% of the farmers.

Certain social indicators have also significantly improved. The rate of enrolment into primary school jumped from 50% in 1990 to 90% in 2000, the literacy rate improved by a third in 5 years and infant mortality rate lowered from 124‰ in 1990 to 74‰ in 2000. With a GDP per capita of almost US\$400, Mauritania is nevertheless still at the 152<sup>nd</sup> place out of 173 countries classified on the human development index for the year 2002. Life expectancy hardly goes beyond 50 years, less than a third of the children have a complete vaccination cover and 35% of children of less than 5 years of age are suffering from chronic malnutrition.

Agricultural and pastoral productions — dependent on uncertain climatic conditions — are used to a large extent for the subsistence of the rural households. Depending on the years, the cereal needs of Mauritania are met between 20 and 40% thus making the country highly dependent on imports with wheat accounting for half of the cereals consumed. Food insecurity is a result of the low purchasing power of a large segment of the population. Both urban and rural households devote half of their expenses to food purchases. During bad cropping seasons, the inadequate outlets in the other sectors of the economy aggravate the structural difficulties for the poor to access employment, productive capital and credit.

In 2001, the Government produced a poverty reduction strategy paper whose primary aim is to bring down the rate of poverty to 12% in the year 2015 whilst allowing for universal access to basic services. In ten years, the food security policy has undergone profound changes in order to adapt to the significant cut in food aid and to integrate agriculture into a market economy. The rural sector development (RSDs) and food security strategies have recently been updated in order to be linked up more with the overall poverty reduction strategy.





## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE  
AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

Based on the strategic orientations of the RSDs, this objective aims at (i) promoting the growth of the sector through the development of competitive productions, (ii) ensuring equitable access to the resources of the sector, (iii) increasing the base of public goods necessary for the sustainable development of the sector and (iv) developing the capacities to manage an integrated and participatory rural development. The sub-sectoral policies (livestock, irrigated farming, farming in the oasis, rainfed cropping, forest and fisheries) and the cross-cutting policies constitute the two types of tools for implementing the RSDs.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION  
OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

The strategy seeks to ensure the competitiveness of the national food supply and the coherence between the levels of protection of and incentives to production. It is focused on the pursuit of a policy for rationalising the customs duties, the indirect and direct tax applicable to the agricultural sector (particularly the tax on inputs and gasoil), as well as the removal of obstacles to investment and export. The competitiveness and integration into the regional market will be also improved through development of transport (road, air and sea) and storage infrastructures, more professionalisation of the business people (training and information) and the lowering of costs of services by strengthening competition in the transport and credit sectors.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF  
ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES  
FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

The access to food will be pursued through constant availability of products and increasing the purchasing power of the most vulnerable groups. The private sector is responsible for the supplies and will be supplemented by actions to be taken by the Food Security Commission, in case any weakness may be observed. The accessibility will be improved through the economic integration programmes developed within the framework of poverty reduction, food sales at reduced prices and the construction of roads in order to lower the costs of transportation.

As a priority objective of the PRSP, access to basic social services will be strengthened through the development of community infrastructures and the quality of services provided in the disadvantaged zones in aid to the poor populations. They are: education and health but also potable water, sanitation, shelter and rural electrification.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR  
THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES,  
CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

This strategy consists in consolidating the information and early warning system in its various components (food security observatory for monitoring the food situation and the markets; the agricultural statistics services and the national statistics administration) and improving its coordination in order to increase its effectiveness and thus avoid overlapping.

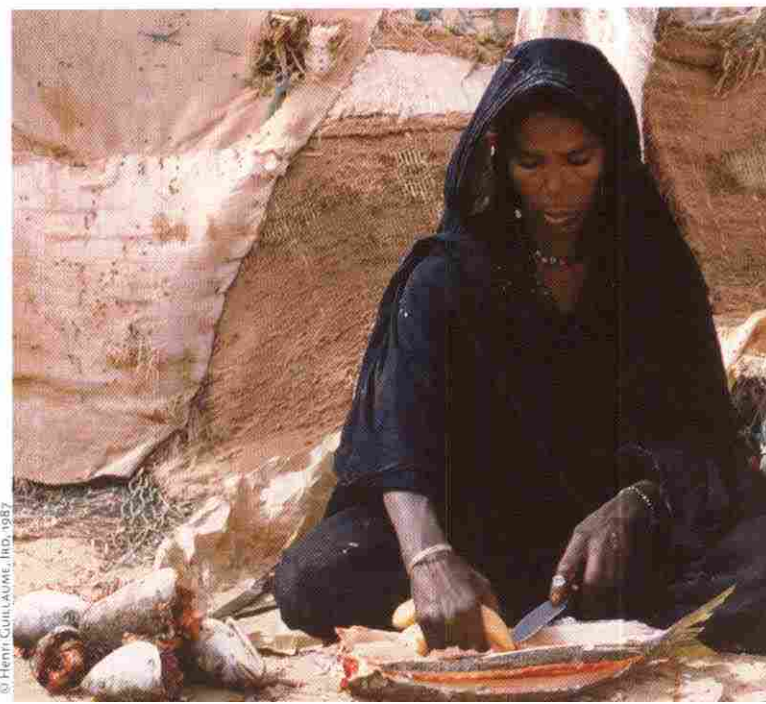
Food crises will be mitigated (i) at the national level, by means of a physical and financial security stock, the reinforcement of the humanitarian action operation (relief aid plans) and the creation of mechanisms allowing to make up for the chronic production deficit, and (ii) at the decentralised level, by the creation of community and village mechanisms in the form of village and cereal banks in the production zones.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING  
AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD  
FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

A first component of this objective will be pursued through the capitalisation of experiences, human capacity-building and a study of the food security institutional devices and governance. Emphasis will be placed on improving the cooperation process between all stakeholders, public decision-makers, officials from socio-professional organisations and representatives of the civil society, which necessitates institutional adaptations, but also facilitation and training actions.

A second component will be implemented by improving the socio-economic environment that all the cross-cutting policies concerning land tenure, financing of private investment, research-training-extension, gender, environment and public expenditure as well as aid, help to bring about.







## Niger



With 1,267,000 square kilometres, Niger is a severely landlocked country subjected to harsh climatic conditions. In normal years, only 1% of the national territory records a rainfall rate of 600 mm and 10% records a rainfall rate ranging between 350 and 600 mm. Estimated at about 10 million inhabitants, the population is highly increasing (3.3% per year). The population, made up in majority of young and rural people (85%), is concentrated at 75% in the more watered southern part of the country. As a result, a strong pressure is exerted on the natural resources.

## A VERY POOR AND VULNERABLE ECONOMY...

The economy of Niger is essentially a rural one (the primary sector accounts for 40% of GDP) and a single commodity (Uranium) still accounts today for 35% of exports value. The economy is highly vulnerable to exogenous shocks (rainfall, terms of trade, variations of external aids) and the modern sector accounts for only 25% of GDP. Despite the progress made in terms of economic liberalisation, inflation control and improvement of the tax burden, the economic and financial performance of the period 1994-2000 is still inadequate for growth and poverty reduction. The average annual real growth of the GDP (2.5%) is slightly below that of the population (3.3%).

Even though in recent years no accurate assessment of the level of poverty (65% of the population was poor in 1993) has been made, Niger is regarded as one of the poorest countries in the world, with a GDP per capita of US\$ 167 in 2000. It is ranked 173<sup>rd</sup> among 174 countries taking into account the UNDP human development indicator. Life expectancy (48 years), infant mortality rate (123‰), literacy rate (estimated at 20%) and the rough percentage of children in full-time primary education (37% for the boys and 25% for the girls) explain, to a large extent, this position. However, these indicators have somewhat improved over the last ten years.

Available studies and surveys clearly show that protein-energy malnutrition, vitamin A and iron deficiency, and iodine-deficiency caused disorders are the main nutritional problems. This situation constitutes one of the causes of infant mortality, the rate of which is among the highest in the world. The nutritional conditions of the population has considerably degraded in the last years.

## ...BASED ON SELF-SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE

With the exception of a few cash crops (onion, cowpea, chufa, groundnut...), agriculture is characterised by a subsistence pro-

duction which, by nature, is extremely sensitive to climatic hazards and rests on increasingly fragile ecological equilibriums because of the strong demographic pressure. Stockbreeding is the main source of income for a large portion of the population through production of meat, selling of live stock and secondary products (milk, cheese, hides, etc), transport and pumping of water. The competition between farming and stockbreeding in the use of the lands often generates conflicts between pastoralists and farmers.

Poverty and the small growth of the domestic market are strong constraints to agricultural development. Nigeria — the main destination of agricultural exports — provides part of the cereals needed to make up for the deficit of Niger.

Chronic or structural food insecurity is basically the consequence of mass poverty. The latter is all the more so pregnant because the agro-pastoral sector that provides jobs to over 80% of the active population is confronted with strong constraints and the wealth generated by the other sectors of activity lack dynamism and is unevenly distributed. Food insecurity of the Niger households is more a problem of accessibility (inadequate income) than of availability of foodstuffs on the markets. Cyclic food insecurity is due to food problems that periodically affect some categories of the population with varying intensity.

The poverty reduction strategy (PRs) adopted by the government at the end of year 2001 sets ambitious goals in terms of economic growth, poverty and extreme poverty reduction, access to basic social services for the poor. It aims at cutting down the percentage of poor people to 50% by year 2015 through: (i) sustainable and sustained economic growth; (ii) a development of the productive sectors; (iii) guaranteed access to basic social services for the poor; (iv) human and institutional capacity-building, promotion of good governance and decentralisation.

In the wake of the PRs, a rural development strategy (RDS) in the process of formulation will serve as a reference for all public policies on the rural sector. It identifies three strategic thrusts: (i) creation of conditions for a sustainable economic growth in the rural area through access to business opportunities for the producers; (ii) secure living conditions of the populations through sustainable management of resources and increased food security; (iii) improved management of the rural sector through rural organisations' capacity-building.



## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE  
AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

This objective will be achieved primarily through reasonable intensification of the farming systems (development and dissemination of efficient and appropriate technologies) and increasing irrigated areas. In parallel, the economic and institutional environment of production will be improved through the development of services based in the vicinity of the producers (supply, organisation, savings-credit, support and advice, training) and the finalisation and effective implementation of laws governing agricultural and pastoral land tenure. Lastly, this objective will be achieved also through the protection and use of natural resources based on concerted land management plans and degraded land rehabilitation activities (plateaux, watersheds, dune lands).

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

TO PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW  
AND INTEGRATION OF NATIONAL MARKETS  
AT THE SUB REGIONAL LEVEL

This objective will be achieved through better regulation of the markets, which will be manifested in several complementary actions: sales at moderate prices, intensification of national and regional trade, development of the preservation and processing of commodities.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF  
ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES  
FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

The first result pursued in order to achieve this objective is to improve and stabilise the producers' incomes. Such improvement and stabilisation will result from a combination of several factors: improvement of the performance of business professionals and the competitiveness of the products, building the capacities of the grassroots organisations to ensure primary level marketing and, finally, opening up the rural areas through the construction and maintenance of rural tracks and the promotion of intermediary means of transport. Simultaneously, the development of viable decentralised financial systems in the rural area will be encouraged. Finally, special attention will be paid to the promotion of highly nutritive foodstuffs consumption through several activities: popularisation of the production and consumption of food rich in vitamins, proteins or micro-nutriments; promotion of breastfeeding, improvement of the quality and innocuousness of the food, etc.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR  
THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES,  
CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

This objective will be achieved primarily through improved effectiveness of the various tools developed in the context of the national food crisis prevention and management mechanism: the early warning system (Ews) and the market information systems (MIs), the national food security stock managed by the OPVN, the Food security Fund (Fsf) and the Donor Common Fund (Dcf). It will also result from the development of local capacities to prevent and mitigate crises, a strengthening of the protection against the major crop pests and, finally, a better coordination of food aids and importations.

## SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING  
AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD  
FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

Building the capacities of the stakeholders will be a result expected that cuts across most of the actions defined under the first four objectives of the strategy, particularly those pertaining to natural resources, food crisis prevention, primary marketing and the development of decentralised financial systems.

In addition, the institutional implementation mechanism of the national food security strategy will be designed in such a way that the concerns of all the stakeholders (State, development partners, private business professionals, organisations of the civil society,...) are actually taken into account.







# Senegal



Senegal is a medium-sized country (196,722 km<sup>2</sup>) situated in the extreme western part of the African continent. Average rainfalls range between 300 mm in the northern part of the country and more than 1,000 mm in the southern part. Estimated at 9.5 million inhabitants in 2000, the population currently increases by 2.2% every year. It is unevenly distributed, since 65% of the inhabitants are concentrated on 14% of the national territory (the western and central parts of the country). The urban population increases at the rate of 4% per year and Dakar alone is home for 25% of the Senegalese population.

Some of the social indicators in Senegal are better than in the majority of the countries of the Sahel, particularly the gross school attendance rate which, in 2000, amounted to 74% for the boys and 65% for the girls, as well as the level of access to drinking water (63% of the Senegalese population have access to drinking water at less than 500 metres from their home). On the other hand, malnutrition of protein-energy deficiency origin remains an alarming phenomenon affecting especially the children: 9% of children of less than five years of age suffer from acute malnutrition, 22% experience weight gap and 23% experience slow development. Malnutrition is much more intense in the rural area than in the urban one. According to the first budget-consumption survey (EsAM-1) conducted in 1994, 57.9% of Senegalese households live below the poverty line, defined as being the level of expenditure necessary for acquiring 2,400 calories per day and per capita. Nearly 80% of the poor live in the rural area.

## A CHANGING PRIMARY SECTOR

The economic growth strongly revived after the devaluation of the FCFA in 1994, progressing at the average rate of 5% per year. Agriculture which accounts for 8 to 10% of total national GDP has recorded poor results over the last years: the agricultural GDP decreased by 2.6% between 1995 and 1998 as a result of many factors, particularly the degradation of soil fertility and the fall in the quality of the genetic material. The groundnut sector — the main agro-export sector — saw its results degrade year by year as a result of falling yields and price drop on international markets. Production has resumed recently but has brought about big marketing problems.

The poor performance of the agricultural sector manifests itself in a rise in cereal imports, from nearly 700,000 tonnes in 1995 to about 880,000 tonnes in 2001. Imports consisting of rice at 70% over the last five years have accounted for nearly 50% of national cereal consumption. Conversely, the livestock sector

which accounts for 6 to 7% of total GDP, increased by more than 4% during the same period. Fisheries that contribute for 2.5% to total GDP and provide a living, either directly or indirectly, to 600,000 people, records a steady growth because essentially of the performance of the small scale fishing sector.

After two decades of interventionist agricultural policy (administered prices, standardised agricultural credit, close supervision of producers...), the government of Senegal adopted, in 1984, the "new agricultural policy" (NAP). It aimed at ensuring food security at 80% and improving the living standards of the rural populations by adopting a sub-sector approach in which the government's role was considerably reduced. This NAP has enabled to suppress some dysfunctions of the markets and has made the producers to assume increased responsibility. Today, Senegal is the Sahel country where agricultural professional organisations are probably the most structured ones, and thus represent inevitable partners when it comes to defining agricultural policies. However, the NAP has not reached its goals as regards production growth. This has led the authorities to adopt, in the mid 90s, new policy documents (Agricultural and Livestock Development Policy Letters) that place emphasis on: natural resources management and secure land tenure; promotion of the private sector; reform of the price policy in several production sub-sectors; a decrease in tax on agricultural inputs and equipment. These documents were completed and improved at the time of the formulation of the document on the operational strategy for the agricultural sector development, finalised in November 2001.

In January 2002, the Senegalese government adopted the final version of the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP). The strategy seeks to reach, in the short term, by year 2005, a 7 to 8% growth per year in order to get a 15% reduction of the proportion of poor people. This strategy has been formulated within the context of the heavily indebted poor country initiative (HIPC) which will help Senegal to reduce its debt by 500 million dollars, from a total amount of above 3.2 billion dollars, to be mobilised in ten years' time.







Faced with the major challenges of food insecurity and poverty, the general option adopted by the national strategy is to contribute towards food security through diversified and competitive local production, capable of promoting agricultural revenues, to be supplemented by food imports in order to absorb the deficit. Improving the competitiveness of the agricultural sector will depend on the latter's capacity to modernise its techniques, tools and means and to adapt to an open sub-regional and international environment. The options for agricultural intensification and diversification should not however be implemented to the detriment of a balanced environment. The aim is to reconcile the dictates of short term satisfaction of the needs and the preservation of the growth potential for future generations.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

#### PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

This objective will be achieved through four main results:

- optimised use of natural resources: water resources, soil fertility, forest resources;
- adapting the Senegalese agriculture to ever diversifying food demand, by organising actions around three main areas: diversification of irrigation techniques and irrigated farming; strengthening of the integration between agriculture and stockbreeding; promotion of horticultural crops;
- increase in agricultural productivity on sustainable bases, by improving the knowledge of agricultural economies on the one hand, and by developing an adequate policy for agricultural financing, on the other hand;
- increasing, on sustainable bases, fisheries, especially through: rational and responsible use of fish resources; more balanced international cooperation (development-type fishing agreement); modernisation of conditions for practising traditional small scale fishing; setting up a suitable and sustainable financing system.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

#### TO PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL AND AGRO-FOOD PRODUCTS

Three results will help to achieve this objective. The first result deals with the improvement of the dynamism of national markets; it will result particularly in the equipment of markets, training of professionals and speeding up of the execution of the rural infrastructures programme (transboundary and intra-regional road sections). The second one deals with the integration of regional markets and will be achieved through the improvement of the quality of local products and their promotion on regional markets, and the development of efficient and effective regional networks of business professionals. The third result corresponds to the improvement of the competitiveness of the agro-food sub-sectors on external markets, which will imply actions in the

following fields: the agricultural service reform; the information and training of national operators on standards and rules of international trade; the preparation of the position of Senegal in international trade negotiations.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

This third objective will be based on two results:

- improved access to food, through: provision of food to the poor; teaching women's organisations how to produce suitable food supplements; improving women's access to land and agricultural inputs; development of income generating activities in peri-urban and rural areas; putting in place social security nets for the populations excluded from the job market;
- improved conditions of access to basic social services by: extending and improving drinking water conveyance systems and sanitation networks, improving the quality and operation of the health system; developing "information and communication" programmes for the underprivileged populations in the fields of health and nutrition.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES, CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

The four results contributing to its achievement are:

- strengthening or setting up of early warning systems enabling to prevent the various forms of food crisis;
- coordination of information networks on food security and harmonisation of the household vulnerability analyses;
- better target emergency actions that can help to get out of the crisis;
- better knowledge and use of available food surpluses to supply the vulnerable zones and populations.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

#### STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

This objective will be pursued through the consolidation of the process of decentralisation and the development of the capacities of the local communities on the one hand, and a stronger involvement of farmer organisations in the definition of the food security and poverty reduction strategies (capitalisation of local initiatives, training of members of farmer organisations...) on the other hand.





The national economy is dominated to a large extent by the rural sector: the latter provides jobs for 80% of the working population, contributes by nearly 40% to the GDP and about 90% to export earnings. The food crops which are dominated by cereals (millet, sorghum, rice and maize) and tubers account for 80 to 85% of the value of agricultural productions. The rest basically comes from the cash crops (cotton, groundnut) and the gum Arabic.

#### A NATIONAL ECONOMY DOMINATED BY AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

The rural farming systems are characterised by limited use of inputs, reduced labour productivity and very low yields of most crops, even compared to neighbouring countries. With less than 0.5% of irrigated lands, agricultural production is extremely fluctuating in particular because of the inter-annual rainfall variations: e.g., cereal crops of the season 1998-99 were estimated at 585,000 tonnes whereas the estimation for the following year rose up to 1,470,000 tonnes.

Livestock is practised according to the extensive production systems. It is very often of a migrant or nomadic type. It contributes by about 12% to GDP and corresponds to the second exports item after cotton.

The agricultural sector has a high growth potential but it remains confronted with accelerated degradation of its productive capital (degradation of soil, vegetative cover and fish resources). This is due to climate change and unsuitable farming systems which, as they are at the moment, will not make it possible for the resources to be used on a sustainable basis.

#### LANDLOCKEDNESS, POVERTY AND FOOD INSECURITY

Landlockedness, lack of transport infrastructure as well as the dysfunctions of the markets make it even more difficult to supply the deficit zones with food. When cereal productions are poor, the cereal prices increase, thus making access to food difficult for the poor, especially in the Sahel and Sahara zones. Simultaneously, the sharp fall in livestock prices undermines the purchasing power of the pastoralists.

Chad that already suffers from structural cereal deficit, is compelled to import cereals about two years in three in order to supply the urban areas, but also the rural areas experiencing food shortage. The low level of exports and the recurrent deficit of the trade balance makes it difficult to get currencies in order to purchase cereals from abroad.

Food insecurity and poverty affect more severely the rural area and the women: 40% of children of less than 5 years of age experience a weight gap and 80% of the population live below the threshold of US\$ 1 per day. The low level of incomes of the households is exacerbated by quite inadequate and unequal access to basic social services: only 27% of the households have access to drinking water while the immunisation cover of the children is lower than 30%.

#### AN INFORMATION SYSTEM IN TROUBLE

The CASAGC, the government's institution charged with managing food crises, cannot easily play its role. The national institutions in charge of monitoring the agricultural production and the food situation have no more resources to gather reliable data periodically. The zones at food risk are no longer identified on the basis of a well defined methodology. Henceforth, it is the food aid operators who are often made responsible for targeting the vulnerable groups.

The recently initiated decentralisation policy has had no significant impact yet, neither on the improvement of the organisation of the rural populations, nor on the responsibility to be assumed by the local communities. And yet, it represents a crucial step towards achieving a participatory and decentralised management of natural resources and food security.

However, it is hoped that the exploitation of oil in the southern part of the country in a very near future will bring about favourable conditions for a sustainable economic development and improved living conditions of the populations.







### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°1

#### PROMOTION OF A PRODUCTIVE, SUSTAINABLE AND DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE

Agricultural production increase should be achieved through productivity gains that will make it possible to meet the increase in and diversification of the demand for agricultural and agro-food commodities. This first objective will be achieved by means of a dissemination of technical innovations and non traditional productions. A better integration of agricultural and livestock productions will have to be promoted while ensuring a good management of natural resources. The interventions will be based on research-development, establishment of financing systems, improvement of extension services and promotion of agricultural mechanisation. The management of water resources will have to be improved through increased knowledge about water control, building of new infrastructures in the potentially irrigable lands and rehabilitation of existing irrigated zones. The forest resources will be protected through the intensification of re-afforestation programmes and improvement of the use of woody fuels.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°2

#### DEVELOPMENT, FREE FLOW AND INTEGRATION OF NATIONAL MARKETS AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

In order to improve the competitiveness of the products, their prices for the consumers and their movement on both national and regional markets, the interventions will all aim at promoting an enabling economic and institutional environment for investment in the production and marketing sectors.

Action will be taken to reduce obstacles to the free movement of goods, to improve market information and speed up the execution of programmes on the construction of transport infrastructures.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°3

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO FOOD AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE VULNERABLE GROUPS AND ZONES

Improving the access to food for the poor will be based on interventions undertaken to improve their access to production means, diversify their sources of income and promote village stocks and cereal banks. A more equitable tax policy will contribute to income re-distribution. The women first will benefit from the poverty reduction and food security programmes.

The conditions of access to basic social services will be significantly improved for the poorest segments of the population through the development of drinking water supply networks, the improvement of the quality of water distributed and the setting up of the infrastructures necessary for meeting the education, health and sanitation requirements. In addition, it is planned to strengthen education and communication pro-

grammes for the vulnerable groups, more particularly in the fields of nutrition, hygiene and health.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°4

#### IMPROVEMENT, ON A LONG TERM BASIS, OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF CYCLIC FOOD CRISES, CONSISTENT WITH THE BUILDING OF STRUCTURAL FOOD SECURITY

The sources of information on food security are presently disparate, limited and incomplete. It is therefore a necessity to provide Chad with a reliable and pertinent information system. The system will have to furnish information on the rural and urban areas; in addition to analysing the income of the vulnerable populations, it will integrate the analysis of their livelihoods in order to facilitate the identification of the most appropriate tools.

The interventions will consist of strengthening the national food security bodies, by opening them to new actors (private sector, Ngos, civil society...), with a view to promoting a more decentralised management of food crisis prevention and management strategies. Moreover, care will be taken to ensure that the emergency actions are geared towards possibilities of getting out of the food crisis.

### SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE N°5

#### STAKEHOLDERS' CAPACITY-BUILDING AND PROMOTION OF A GOOD FOOD SECURITY GOVERNANCE

The capacity-building of actors will aim at strengthening the organisation of the rural set-up via the promotion and development of the institutional capacities of the professional organisations and training of their members in production and management techniques. In addition, it is planned to make training and experience-sharing on food security and poverty reduction a widespread activity.

The promotion of good governance will be supported by further developing and consolidating the decentralisation process and mainstreaming food security related issues into the prerogatives and administrative competences of the local communities.





# The regional strategy and the five-year programme



THE REGIONAL STRATEGY and its operational programme supplements the national strategies and programmes. They aim at ensuring coherence and synergy among the national approaches and developing the capacity for a joint action of the countries in all the sectors they cannot properly and efficiently address if the actions are taken separately.

The implementation of the food security strategy paper will be based on the nine national strategies by year 2015 as presented in the previous indexes (C1 to C9) and on a regional complementary strategy. The latter are accompanied by their first implementation programmes covering the period 2003-2007. The index briefly outlines the strategy and programme to be implemented in the Sahel.

## WHAT IS THE POSITION ADOPTED BY THE REGIONAL STRATEGY?

The methodology adopted for developing the regional strategy is based on the guiding principles defined in the strategy paper (cf. Index C). Three criteria have been selected in order to define the position of the regional strategy in relation to the national food security strategies:

- *the intervention of the regional level allows to “manage interdependence among the countries”*: they are areas for which a country's policy and sectoral interventions have direct and potentially significant impact on the food security conditions of the other countries. This criterion applies more particularly to the management of shared natural resources (notably the river water resources) and to the economic, tax, monetary and trade policies (taxation, harmonisation of standards) and to some aspects of sector policies, particularly the agricultural policy (inputs, subsidies to investment), the transport policy, etc. These relate to interdependences in the CILSS zone on the one hand, and with the countries bordering on the CILSS zone on the other hand;
- *the regional intervention allows to “cooperate around problems common to the Sahelian countries and to make economies of scale”*: the concept of “common problems” refers to problems that arise in similar terms in the various countries of the Sahel, but without the policy line followed by a country having some effects on the neighbouring country. For various reasons (capacity of mobilisation of financial or human resources, economies of scale compared to investment costs, pooling of financial tools, experience-sharing, etc.), the countries believe that it is more interesting for them to form an alliance in order to find and develop solutions to these problems. The areas of action are many: methodological work, research-development, information, etc. This also relates to strategic issues such as water control, land reclamation, and all the problems relating to the transformation of farming systems, restoration of soil fertility, etc.
- *the regional intervention allows “to manage sub-regional relations with the external world”*: this criterion relates to the issues

for which it is interesting for the countries to unite in order to carry weight in multilateral negotiations, and to put forward their specific concerns. A disorderly approach to the negotiations can also result in political divergences that will be detrimental to the sub-regional integration and to the attainment of food security. The environmental (Rio Conventions), commercial (WTO negotiation and negotiation of the economic partnership agreement with the EU (cf. Index B4)) and social issues are all at stake in this approach.

## HOW IS IT LINKED TO THE OTHER REGIONAL DYNAMICS?

The countries of the Sahel are at grips with a specific food situation that leads them to organise themselves in order to find solutions to the chronic food insecurity and to cyclic food crises. Compared to the other countries of the region, their main characteristics reside in the fact that the proportion of the rural population and the extent to which the household economies is dependent on their dry and semi-arid environment subjected to very strong climatic hazards. But, improving food security is not only a problem of making agricultural production more secure, far from it! It is necessary to be able to act simultaneously on a number of policies and strategies, as part of coherent approach if ever the course of things were to be reversed. A number of these aspects cannot be addressed among Sahelian countries alone, all the more so because they are embarked on political, economic, and commercial integration processes that go beyond the borders of the Sahel. The approach developed in the regional food security strategy is therefore intended to be both ambitious and pragmatic. It is ambitious because it seeks to integrate all the dimensions essential for achieving food security. It is pragmatic because it does not pretend to do everything in the only Sahelian context, i.e., with CILSS, the regional institution set up by the Sahel. It is also pragmatic in a sense that ensuring the consistency of the many projects and regional strategies developed by the various intergovernmental organisations is necessarily a medium term process that requires a lot of effort in terms of transparency and consultations, a determined attitude towards coordination and collective action impelled by the countries and supported by all the regional partners. Practically, the strategy proposes an institutional device that offers a framework for consultations and coordination (cf. infra). The five-year programme for its part has identified the regional organisations that are in a better position to take responsibility for this or that area of action. E.g. the interventions relating to the macro-economic, commercial and fiscal aspects, the development of trans-

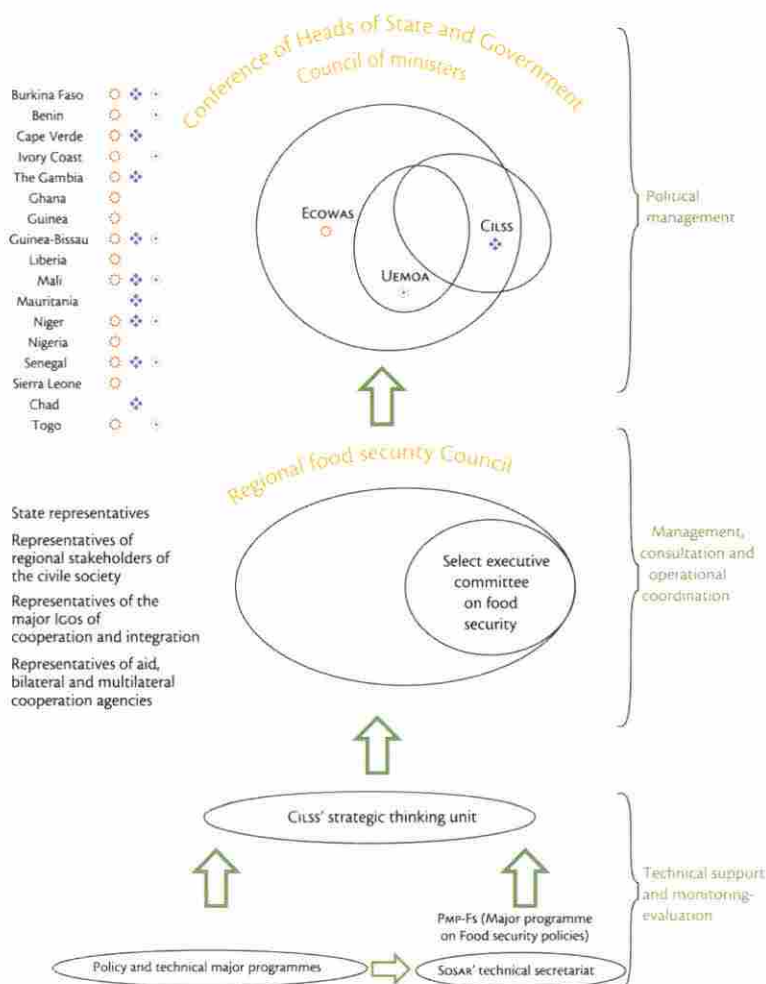


This is an essential point. This question alone sums up the challenge posed to the countries, the region and its stakeholders as regards the transition to more modern and efficient forms of governance, in line with the complex nature of food security-related problems. The mechanism must imperatively establish, in a long term, the principles of the strategic framework, serve as a support to the regional dynamics for progressive convergence of the national policies and actions, and boost projects led jointly and basing on strategic issues. As a collective good, the sub-regional food security can only come about through the convergent action of a number of stakeholders: State, business professionals, social and professional organisations, regional organisations, international organisations, etc. The objectives assigned to the regional strategy cannot be the singular output of any one of these stakeholders. The mechanism has been defined on the basis of two requirements:

- first, the need to have a platform of dialogue and coordination in keeping with the principles of the food security strategy paper (participation of the main public and civil society stakeholders, a forum of dialogue on national policies, a platform of consultations with the international community, consideration for the multi-dimensional nature of food security, etc.), and a participatory monitoring-evaluation tool;
- secondly, the concern for a light, inexpensive yet sufficiently flexible mechanism.

This mechanism thus rests on a regional food security council that comprises a select executive committee and receives support from a technical secretariat based at CILSS (see diagram).

Management and monitoring-evaluation system

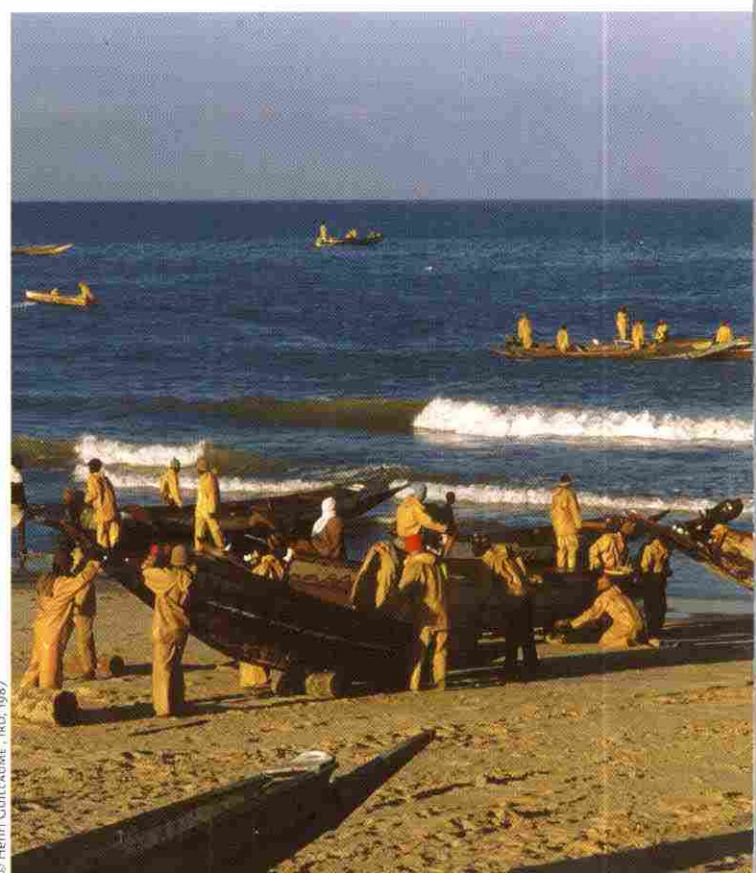


Two main points should be underscored straightaway: (i) the national programmes are first and foremost financed within the framework of national funding mechanisms; (ii) the regional programme takes three different channels according to the type of action involved, and according to the main stakeholders responsible for the implementation of the action.

The "type 1 actions" come directly under the food security strategy and are not taken into account by other strategies. "Type 2 actions" are clearly part of the prerogatives of regional integration institutions (IGOs) apart from CILSS, and must be financed within the framework of programmes led by these institutions. The "type 3 actions" correspond to big and structuring priority projects that the countries of the Sahel decide to jointly undertake because they pose "common problems" (for example, water control).

This financing rationale should enable to avoid risks of duplications and contribute to clarifying the institutional landscape for regional cooperation and integration by empowering the various IGOs taking into account their mandate and "comparative advantage". It should also help to make better use of the financing mechanisms and existing funds and to gradually build up an integrated financing framework through the creation of a *regional food security fund*. Such a fund should provide a transparent framework that is essential not only for the sub-regional stakeholders and the States but also the international partners.

The objective of this fund is to arrive at bringing together different sources of finance, thus reducing the number of "windows". It aims at promoting the coherence and coordination of the interventions through financing, and finally to encourage equitable and transparent access to resources for the various stakeholders.







# KEY FIGURES

VARIABLE	YEAR	BURKINA FASO	CAPE VERDE	GAMBIA	GUINEA-BISSAU	MALI	MAURITANIA	NIGER	SENEGAL	CHAD	CILSS	SSA	SOURCE
POPULATION													
Total population (million)	2000	11.5	0.4	1.3	1.2	11.4	2.7	10.8	9.4	7.9	56.6		UNDP
Total population (million)	1990	8.7	0.3	0.9	1.0	8.2	2.0	7.7	7.3	5.5	41.6		OECD
Urban population (million)	2000	1.9	0.2	0.4	0.4	3.4	1.6	2.2	4.5	1.9	16.5		UNDP
Urban population (million)	1990	2.5	0.1	0.4	0.3	1.8	0.8	1.2	3.1	1.3	11.5		OECD
Synthetic fertility rate (per woman)	1998	6.3	3.4	5.0	5.5	6.3	5.3	6.5	5.3	5.8	5.5		ADB
National growth rate (%)	1998	2.7	2.5	2.2	2.1	3.1	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.6			ADB
Population working in the agricultural sector (%)	1996	84	35	80	79	80	45	86	77	72			ADB
ECONOMY AND COMMERCE													
GDP (\$ millions)	1999	2,643	600	400	200	2,714	959	2,067	4,791	1,574	15,948	332,744	WB
Added value in % GDP – Agriculture	1999	32	21	24	52	47	25	40	18	38	31	18	WB
Added value in % GDP – Industry	1999	27	31	14	5	17	29	17	25	14	22	32	WB
Added value in % GDP – Services	1999	41	49	63	43	37	46	43	57	48	47	50	WB
Annual growth of GDP/capita (%)	1990-1999	1.4	3.2	-0.6	-1.9	1.1	1.3	-1.0	0.6	-0.9		0.4	UNDP
Inflation (%)	1997-2000	1.5	3.7	2.1	15.9	0.4	5.0	2.0	1.1	3.7			ADB
Imports of goods and services (in % of GDP)	1990	26	44	72	37	34	61	22	30	29		26	UNDP
Imports of goods and services (in % of GDP)	2000	30	62	61	58	40	57	23	40	32		33	UNDP
Exports of goods and services (in % of GDP)	1990	13	13	60	10	17	46	15	25	13		27	UNDP
Exports of goods and services (in % of GDP)	2000	11	23	48	32	25	41	15	31	17		32	UNDP
FINANCING													
External debt (\$ million)	2001	1,513	307	538	700	2,731	1,709	1,324	3,216	964	13,002	230,132	UNDP
Debt servicing (in % of exports of goods and services)	2000	17.3	7.5	7	8.6	12.1	25.9	9.4	14.4	9.3		10.5	UNDP
Net official development assistance received (\$/inhab.)	2000	29	220	27	67	32	80	18	45	20	33	19	UNDP
Net direct foreign investment flows (\$ million)	1998	14	15	14	8	30	6	1	20	35	143	5,432	UNDP









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SAHEL 21:

NO TO POVERTY, OPTING FOR SUSTAINABLE FOOD SECURITY

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Ministerie van  
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