

**ASSURING FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY IN AFRICA BY 2020:
Prioritizing Action, Strengthening Actors, and Facilitating Partnerships**
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SUMMARY NOTE

Strategies for Improving Food and Nutrition Security in Africa

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Title: **Strategies for Improving Food and Nutrition Security in Africa: FAO Perspectives**

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It is a great honor and privilege for me to represent the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) at this Conference on “Assuring Food and Nutrition Security in Africa by 2020: Prioritizing Action, Strengthening Actors, and Facilitating Partnerships.” Specifically, today I will outline Strategies for Improving Food and Nutrition Security in Africa: FAO Perspectives. On behalf of Dr. Jacques Diouf, Director-General of FAO and myself, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to President Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, for honoring us with his presence at this important forum.

I would like to congratulate all the organizers, particularly “2020 Vision Initiative of the International Food Policy Research Institute” (IFPRI), and the Distinguished Advisory Committee and the Government of Uganda for having organized this important Conference.

The theme for this Conference is very important, as we are faced with the continuing paradox of a planet that experiences agricultural surpluses but at the same time has 842 million people without access to adequate food to meet their basic nutritional requirements. In terms of the prevalence of undernourished people, Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest percentages — with over 30% of the population undernourished — an estimated 200 million people as of 2001. Worldwide, more than two billion people still subsist on diets that lack the essential vitamins and minerals required for normal growth and development and for the prevention of premature death and disabilities such as blindness and mental retardation. At the same time, hundreds of millions suffer from diseases caused or exacerbated by excessive or unbalanced dietary intakes or by the consumption of unsafe food and water. Although the proportion and absolute number of chronically undernourished people has declined worldwide, progress has been uneven among developing countries. The challenge we face now is to build upon the progress that has occurred and accelerate the processes that improve food and nutrition security nutrition.

Therefore, today (on behalf of FAO) I would like to present strategies along three major lines to assure food security and nutrition in Africa:

- i. enhancing political commitment and resources,
- ii. increasing agricultural productivity, and
- iii. addressing the complete food and nutrition cycle to reduce hunger and undernutrition.

POLITICAL COMMITMENT AND RESOURCES

First and foremost, there is a need for political will and commitment of resources to address the programs and strategies that already exist and those that will be proposed at this conference (and others). Fortunately, there seems to be a positive trend regarding awareness of food and nutrition issues as evidenced by the various global, regional and national commitments to address food security and nutrition as major development issues. As you are all aware, FAO along with key partners have embarked on a number of interrelated initiatives and programs over the past few years to address problems of hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition. Several examples will be highlighted here.

FAO and WHO jointly held the International Conference on Nutrition (ICN) in Rome in 1992. At the ICN, The World Declaration contains a statement that states “the elimination of acute malnutrition in its many forms such as famine

and acute starvation, and the substantial reduction of the chronic, less severe forms of under nutrition,” which was signed by ministers of the 159 countries present.

The 1996 Rome Declaration on the World Food Summit, and the *World Food Summit: five years later (WFS:fyL)* in 2002, reiterated the ICN goals, emphasizing access by all individuals to safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs for an active and healthy life. Participating countries committed themselves to reducing the number of undernourished people by half no later than the year 2015.

The *WFS:fyL* debates also led to several documents and programs that helped to sharpen the focus and linkages between poverty and hunger. Contrary to conventional thinking at the time, hunger is often as much a cause as an effect of poverty and programs to reduce chronic hunger could play an important role in the reduction of poverty, especially extreme poverty. Eradicating hunger is not simply a moral imperative but it is also justified on economic grounds. If large parts of the population are effectively excluded from the development process because of hunger, then sustainable economic growth is unattainable.

Africa is also one of the regions in the world most affected by poverty, with around 45 percent of the population or 300 million people living on less than one U.S. dollar per day¹. Two-thirds of Africans live in rural areas and smallholder farmers account for 80 percent of the African poor². Long-term responses to reverse this situation have to focus on the role of agriculture for improving food security, alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth, as well as take measures to be better prepared in terms of food security crises.

It was against this background that the *Anti-Hunger Programme (AHP)*, the *twin-track* approach to hunger reduction was developed, combining longer-term actions to improve food security, including investment in improving the performance of small-scale farmers and in rural development in general, with shorter-term targeted measures to broaden immediate access to adequate food in support of the poorest people who are unable to produce or buy enough food to eat adequately. The first track should also include a pro-poor, pro-undernourished policies and programs that specifically aims to improve the productivity of food insecure and nutritionally at-risk population groups and areas.

The *WFS:fyL* also led to the establishment of the *International Alliance against Hunger (IAAH)*. The IAAH is expected to encourage dialogue and facilitate supportive action between global and national governments, civil society and donors to approach hunger eradication in a concerted and vigorous way. This would include supporting countries in updating the policies and strategies for agriculture, food security, and nutrition towards achieving the WFS goals by 2015. This line of thinking was also jointly presented by IFAD, FAO, and WFP at the March 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development in Monterey in a paper entitled “*Reducing Poverty and Hunger: The critical role of financing for food, agriculture and rural development*,” which stressed the need for financial commitment as well as sound technical strategies.

And most recently, FAO and others have been assisting the NEPAD Secretariat in developing the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) which recognizes that “until the incidence of hunger is brought down and the import bill reduced by raising the output of farm products ... it will be difficult to achieve the high rates of economic growth to which NEPAD aspires.” The CAADP focuses on four main pillars:

- a. Extending the area under sustainable land management and reliable water control systems;
- b. Improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access;
- c. Increasing food supply and reducing hunger; and
- d. Agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption.

ALSO, incorporating fisheries, forestry, and livestock into CAADP, as well as to support emergency preparedness and response, mitigation and safety nets.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Over the last two decades, but more specifically, over the last six months, many global, regional, and national resolutions and calls for action have been made but progress remains painfully slow and more needs to be done to urgently implement these good ideas and intentions into concrete actions. Recall some of the major challenges faced by food and nutrition security in Africa:

- a. External assistance to agriculture has decreased;
- b. External assistance to agriculture does not reach the most food insecure countries;
- c. Cereal production and agriculture production in general has stagnated;
- d. The prevalence of undernourished in sub-Saharan Africa is over 30 percent; and
- e. There has been an increase in the number of emergencies, most of which are progressively being caused by humans.

¹ *World Development Report 2000*.

² “Rural Development Indicators Handbook,” World Bank, 2000.

Also recognize that, in addition, nutrition improvement needs to be a central, explicit objective of development as this is what the political commitment and resources refer to. We therefore call for commitment and resources for policies and actions that:

- a. put people at the center of development;
- b. aim, explicitly, to improve nutrition;
- c. focus on improving household food security;
- d. recognize that sustainable improvements in food security are best achieved when they are addressed within the context of livelihood security;
- e. take into account social, cultural, environmental, and health considerations (e.g., gender issues, HIV/AIDS, water usage, food safety) as well as economic ones; and that
- f. promote the equitable participation of people in the development process.

INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY

The causes of the historical decline in food security in Africa are multifaceted and complex, but at the heart of the problem remains the vulnerability of poor communities to land degradation and climatic variability, particularly the impact of drought. The situation has worsened with the destabilizing impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, compounded by a range of policy and institutional factors, as well as civil unrest and conflicts in some countries.

A growing population in Africa has increased demand for food, and food imports have risen in general. But in spite of the inherent fragility of Africa's soils, the continent's climatic variability, and the distribution and availability of both surface and subsurface water resources, there is substantial untapped potential for the development of the continent's water and land resources for increasing agricultural production.³

FAO estimates that only 7 percent of Africa's cropland is irrigated compared to 40 percent in Asia, and if we exclude Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Madagascar, and South Africa — this drops to 3 percent. Africa fails to make good use of its water resources — it only uses 4 percent of its water reserves available for irrigation as compared to 17 percent in Asia. In the absence of deliberate steps to accelerate progress, the amount of irrigated land in Africa is expected to grow at under 1 percent over the period from 1996 to 2030 at which time the amount of irrigated land would be barely 20 percent of the potential. Substantial public and private investments in developing and improving the management of these land and water resources will be essential to African countries to reach the levels of agricultural production required to meet the targets for poverty alleviation, food production and economic recovery by 2015.

FAO estimates that about 75 percent of the projected growth in crop production in Africa between 1996 and 2030 will come from intensification in the form of yield increases (62 percent) and higher cropping intensities (13 percent), with the remaining 25 percent coming from arable land expansion. Yields from irrigated crops are three times higher than yields from rainfed crops, but agricultural activity on 93 percent of Africa's arable land is dependent on extremely erratic rainfall.

It is important to stress that it is the productivity of the poor and food insecure that also needs strengthening. As access to food is a function of both food availability and incomes, issues such as home gardening, post-harvest handling and especially, off-farm employment issues should also be addressed.

The Impact of Climatic Variability

The continent as a whole is susceptible to highly variable climatic conditions rendering the agricultural sector and food security at risk of natural disasters. According to a World Bank Report, periodic droughts still pose the most serious threat to agricultural production and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ Highly variable levels of rainfall are becoming normal events and drought conditions can be expected somewhere in Africa in the majority of years (although fortunately, it is rare for whole regions to be drought stricken at the same time). This, coupled with increased environmental pressures on already marginal lands, and limited irrigation capacity, severely constrain the economic, social, and environmental well-being of the continent.

Variable rainfall and recurrent agricultural drought forms part of the risks of farming and leads to unpredictable levels of crop and livestock production. Some crops and grazing systems are more vulnerable than others, although increased exposure to drought conditions reflects the fact that current agricultural and livestock practices are out of equilibrium with the prevailing climatic conditions; and farmers' strategies are a step behind in responding to generally deteriorating internal and changing external conditions.

The Vicious Cycle of Land Degradation

Land degradation (physical, chemical, and biological) is also a significant factor in many African countries due *inter alia* to intensive cultivation and overstocking, high population densities on fragile lands and inappropriate and unsustainable farming practices and soil management and conservation technologies. The cumulative effects are loss of organic matter and

³ "Irrigation Potential in Africa: A Basin Approach," FAO Land and Water Bulletin 4 (Rome: FAO, 1997).

⁴ C. Benson and E. Clay, "The Impact of Drought on Sub-Saharan African Economies: A Preliminary Examination." World Bank Technical Paper No. 401 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998).

declining soil fertility, salinization, increasing erosion and desertification, decreasing vegetation cover, and declining crop yields and off-take rates of the livestock herds.

The negative impact of erratic rainfall on food production is exacerbated by the resulting pressure on fragile land in semi-arid environments. In times of drought, soils rapidly lose organic matter and experience breakdown of soil structure as grazing and cultivation practices push land capacities to the limit. Governments have encouraged a variety of drought mitigation initiatives including small-scale irrigation, water harvesting, food storage, and research on drought tolerant varieties. Compared to other regions of the world, however, these efforts have been grossly inadequate or poorly implemented.

Continuing Institutional Rigidities in Agriculture

A range of policy and institutional factors has also contributed to reduce agricultural productivity and investment in the agriculture sector in Africa. The reliance on inefficient parastatals and unsustainably high subsidies during the 1960s through to the 1980s led to heavy financial burdens on government budgets and distorted prices and incentives throughout the agricultural sector. The market reform policies of the late 1980s and 1990s were often only partially implemented and based on unrealistic expectations of the role that a very weak private sector could play in provision of agricultural services and food staple production. The lack of private sector response has led to a drastic reduction of support services and inputs to many farming systems. At the same time, in some countries the absence of land tenure security, rural financial institutions, market infrastructure and information systems, and appropriate farmer advisory services, seriously inhibited long term investment and the development of sustainable production systems in the small-holder sector.

Impact of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic

It is becoming increasingly evident that urgent attention to the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a critical factor in reversing the negative impacts on agriculture, food security, and nutritional status for Africans. For example, Southern Africa has some of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the world — ranging from 15 percent in Malawi to 33 percent in Swaziland and Zimbabwe and up to 39 percent in Botswana, with the poorer socioeconomic groups worst affected. Almost 15 million people were living with HIV in southern Africa in 2001 and an estimated 1.1 million died of AIDS, the majority in their productive years.⁵ A recent FAO publication provides estimates of the economic and social impact of HIV/AIDS, especially on the agricultural sector.⁶ HIV/AIDS undermines the sustainability of development, threatens food security and undermines agriculture through: a decrease in the agricultural labor force; a loss of agricultural knowledge, practices and skills; an acute decline of household incomes; changes in the household composition; a disruption of household production; imbalances in the age and sex composition of populations; and degradation of public services.⁷

Gender

Given the central importance of women farmers in Africa, gender issues should be addressed forthrightly. Gender inequality is one of the driving forces behind the spread of HIV. Access to productive resources, including land, credit, knowledge, training and technology, is strongly determined along gender lines, with men frequently having more access to all of these than women. With the death of her husband, a wife may be left without the access she had gained through him or his clan, and her livelihood and that of her children is immediately threatened.

The Rome Declaration on World Food Security and the World Food Summit Plan of Action, adopted by Heads of State and Government in Rome, November 1996, acknowledged the fundamental contribution of women in achieving sustainable food security for all. In particular, governments committed themselves to foster equitable participation of women and men, and to adopt legislation guaranteeing women access to and control of productive resources. In this context, they further recommended improving the *collection, dissemination, and use of gender-disaggregated data in agriculture, fisheries, forestry, and rural development*.

Women's work in the agricultural sector often remains invisible because the products of their labor are for the largest part intended for household use and do not reach the market economy. This results in an underestimation of women's contribution to the agricultural production and an undervaluing of their potential part in reducing hunger and malnutrition and in achieving Food Security. The reality of most African countries shows that more than 50 percent of the active female population works in agriculture, reaching 93 percent in Burkina Faso, 87 percent in Angola, 98 percent in Burundi, 96 percent in Malawi, and 92 percent in Mali and Tanzania. This percentage is however low in few countries like Botswana (3 percent), Kenya (25 percent) and South Africa (16 percent).

The Linkages Between Emergencies and Humanitarian Crises

⁵ "AIDS epidemic update," December 2002, UNAIDS and WHO <http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002>.

⁶ "State of Food and Agriculture, 2001." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x9800e/x9800e00.htm>.

⁷ Role of African Economic Organizations in Implementing Food Security Programs in the context of NEPAD.

During the past few years, the UN Secretary General has sent several Special Envoys to Africa to review the humanitarian situation and ongoing relief efforts and to raise international support and awareness and provide recommendations to improve the response. Some of the findings and recommendations from these missions include:

1. Enhancing the market response to food needs by accelerating adoption and enforcement of policies to liberalize markets, and encourage private sector participation;
2. Clarifying the role/use of genetically modified (GM) and biotech foods;
3. Encouraging agricultural interventions and programs — seeds, fertilizers, conservation farming systems — that are more cost-effective and have longer-term effects than continuing food aid distributions;
4. Building awareness and developing innovative responses to reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS;
5. Enhancing support for nutritional interventions, such as emergency and supplementary feeding programs to improve the nutritional status of school age children, lactating mothers, orphans, the sick and disabled;
6. Ensuring linkages and mutual support between the immediate emergency response and longer-term programs;
7. Promoting advocacy and resource mobilization towards the immediate and longer-term needs; and
8. Enhancing coordination efforts between the various partners involved — governments, UN, NGOs, civil society, and the private sector.

ADDRESSING THE COMPLETE FOOD AND NUTRITION CYCLE

Undernutrition is worsening due to HIV/AIDS and poor economic prospects. It is going to be difficult to achieve the World Food Summit goal of halving the number of the undernourished in developing countries by 2015 as there has been a slow decline in the rates on undernutrition. An alarmingly high proportion of children in the developing world suffer from under nutrition, i.e. stunting, underweight and wasting resulting from a range of inadequate food intake and diseases such as diarrhea that prevent proper digestion and efficient utilization of the food. Inadequate food intake in most communities is mainly a consequence of low food production due to agro ecological conditions and poor access to agricultural inputs.

The vicious cycle between under nutrition and disease especially diarrheal diseases is very common in most communities in the developing world and it is the major cause of child morbidity and mortality in the developing world. The death rate among undernourished children suffering from diarrhea is far higher than among their better-nourished counterparts. Thus, ready access to water that is safe for a range of domestic uses, especially drinking and cooking is important for good health, food and nutrition security and overall economic development. Clearly considerable improvements could be achieved by intervening to improve food security through improved water and sanitation. Interventions should target the poor since they bear the greatest burden of water related diseases.⁸

Political Commitment and Resources

Africa's success in freeing its people from hunger and promoting prosperity will require action by both public and private-sector stakeholders principally at national level. It will, however, also need complementary initiatives requiring cooperation among countries. The *Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme* of NEPAD provides a framework for convergence of national priorities. Properly applied, the CAADP is intended to provide a framework under which countries singly and in cooperation can work to reverse the crisis situation in agriculture.⁹

NEPAD also provides a mechanism to cooperate with Regional Economic Communities to promote inter-country convergence on priority investments to raise production beyond the too-narrow margins of surplus currently achieved. It can also invigorate already existing regional early warning systems, upgrade and better network the food storage facilities in countries, and ensure more effective use of transport corridors to rapidly mobilize food distribution for emergency response. NEPAD can also promote the effective use of trade as a tool of food security among the countries for Africa.

Support to Regional Programs for Food Security should also be enhanced through programs designed to:

1. strengthen capacity of African states to respond to natural disasters;
2. develop and expand the use of appropriate and drought tolerant crop varieties;
3. expand the development of irrigation systems;
4. strengthen regional cooperation in controlling trans-boundary animal movements and related disease transmission;
5. favoring of livestock marketing in the drought alert phase and restocking after the drought;
6. development of emergency feeding schemes;
7. support collaboration on information collection, dissemination and sharing;
8. strengthen harmonized policy formulation and analysis capacities;
9. enhance collaboration on policy, product and standards harmonization to facilitate trade in agricultural products; and,

⁸ "State of Food and Agriculture, 2001." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x9800e/x9800e00.htm>.

⁹ "Role of African Regional Economic Organizations in implementing food security programs in the context of NEPAD," Declaration of High-Level meeting held at ECOWAS Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, 11–12 December 2002, and co-sponsored by ADB, NEPAD, and FAO.

10. expand regional cooperation in the development, management and utilization of shared natural resources.¹⁰

Special emphasis should also be focused on creating an environment for profitable private-sector investment in agriculture (including public investment in cost-reducing infrastructure and yield-enhancing water management); reinforcing actions to address the issue of political and economic governance; and utilization of appropriate laws and policies to accelerate the process of economic growth and development. Corresponding to national policy level actions, concerted attention will be needed to build up local institutional capacity to support emerging commercial farmers, small and medium scale agro-enterprises and commercial service providers, and support farmer organizations and agricultural input and output marketers.

Increase Agricultural Productivity

In the *medium term*, rain-fed production systems need to be improved and stabilized and small-scale water control needs to be developed or extended to promote income generation to guarantee food security, particularly in remote, highly vulnerable areas. In the *longer term*, investment in irrigation development, including human capacity development in water management and irrigation, needs to follow where there is comparative advantage in producing food staples and cash crops for regional and international markets.

Stabilizing *rainfed systems* should also include improved resource management technologies to exploit the available soil moisture, especially where water control and small-scale irrigation schemes are more challenging to implement. This would include improving farmer's access to and adoption of more drought tolerant seed and rotation options, but also close attention to enhanced soil moisture conservation, such as conservation agriculture, a concept based on the maintenance of a permanent crop residue cover, zero tillage, direct seeding and improved rotation, has already been shown to be highly effective in Zambia (under FAO supervision for emergency response).

Investment in *water control* is critical to closing the gap between production and demand for food. Water control is conceived as the key component in FAO's Special Program for Food Security (SPFS). The Program's water component functions as the entry point to intensify crop production and to diversify farm income. Substantial production increases can only be achieved if conditions of optimal water supply can be secured through the introduction of appropriate technologies for irrigation, water conservation, and drainage and flood control. Through a process of participative consultation with smallholder farmers, water management constraints and water control techniques are identified and suitable low cost solutions and technologies implemented to intensify agricultural production.

Address the Complete Food and Nutrition Cycle

I would like to point out that, the vast majority of the world's non-deficient population gets its nutrients from the food it eats, and the majority of the undernourished population experience chronic inadequate dietary food intake. Thus, if we are to accelerate and sustain the progress that has been achieved so far, we must turn increasingly to other approaches, and most critically to Food and Nutrition Security approaches.

In accordance with the World Declaration and Plan of Action arising from the ICN and WFS conferences, FAO in close cooperation with the countries present agreed to implement a number of food and agriculture based actions, which include:

1. Diversification of crop and animal production;
2. Improving food preservation and storage to alleviate seasonal food shortages at household level;
3. Research to enhance bio-availability of micronutrient content in major crops;
4. Promotion of home gardens, fish ponds and poultry-rearing;
5. Food and nutrition education and training; and
6. Food fortification.

Improvements in health and nutrition status can only be based on preventive sustainable, population-based approaches, for which agriculture plays a key role. They are fundamental to achieving the recognized human right to adequate food and nutrition. And they are a basis for sustainability and the hope of fully empowering people to take their health and nutritional status into their own hands.

From the experience that FAO has built over the years we have learned that programs to improve food and nutrition security can only be successful if macro contextual factors, community level factors, program design features and sustainability factors are taken into consideration. A strong policy environment can also have a positive impact on food and nutrition security. The active intersectoral collaboration with clear definition of each sector's responsibility and strong partnerships with international agencies and the private sector, e.g. NGO, academic and research institutes have also rendered major projects successful. This is in line with the theme of this conference, i.e. Prioritizing Action, Strengthening Actors, and Facilitating Partnerships.

¹⁰ SADC Regional Program for Food Security, June 2002.

Similarly the World Food Day theme for 2003 was “International Alliance Against Hunger,” emphasizing the need for global mobilization to create the political will to eradicate hunger. The Alliance brings together many different groups, including food producers and consumers, international organizations, governments, agribusinesses, scientists, academics, private individuals, policymakers, religious groups, and nongovernmental organizations.

A significant financial commitment to food and nutrition security by governments is also required. This may come in the form of investing in capacity building activities and prioritizing food and nutrition security activities in long-term plans. Sustainable programs have been put in places where there was strong political support, use of existing community structures, community empowerment, and institutionalization of activities. Policies to reduce hunger, e.g. nutrition surveillance programs, better primary health care, measures and community-based actions to increase supply of more nutritious food with activities linked to nutritional education and cultural habits are also an important way of reducing undernutrition in our communities.

THE WAY FORWARD

Given the high prevalence of poverty, food insecurity, and undernutrition in Africa, strategies to address the current crisis should aim to bridge the continuum between provision of appropriate short-term emergency relief-to-recovery assistance and longer-term development. To attack the root causes, balanced broad-based pro-poor growth oriented programs are required which emphasize both the need to increase agricultural productivity and rural income in general, and the need for special targeted programs to alleviate hunger.¹¹ These should include enhancing the political will and financial commitment to implementing existing global, regional and national initiatives, increasing agricultural productivity and access to food, and reducing undernutrition.

CONCLUSION

This represents some ideas for strategic responses that will address priority food security and nutrition, poverty reduction and economic growth targets in a progressive and sustained manner. Reducing food insecurity requires a strong focus on rural people and their empowerment, on agricultural development, and increased investment in agriculture and agricultural trade. Thus, all players in these sectors need to forge strong partnerships in order to play a more significant role in improving Food and Nutrition Security. In summary, therefore, with consistent political commitment and availability of resources to both agriculture and rural development and the use of integrated approaches that are people centered, there will be an increase in agricultural productivity, and in this way the complete food and nutrition cycle can be addressed to reduce hunger and undernutrition. But success mostly depends on having the conducive policies, adequate institutions, improved market infrastructure, social safety nets and most importantly, peace and stability; and all of these must be sustained over time.

Thank you.

Note: This note has not been edited. The views expressed in this summary note are those of the author and are not necessarily endorsed by or representative of IFPRI or of the cosponsoring or supporting organizations.

¹¹ “Importance of Agricultural Growth for African Development and Poverty Reduction,” Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, June 2001, Rome.