A SEAT AT THE TABLE?

ENSURING SMALLHOLDER FARMERS ARE HEARD IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

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FAIRTRADE FOUNDATION

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Disclaimer
The images used in this report are indicative, and not necessarily of the producer organisations or individuals referred to in the text.

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ACRONYMS

ADB	African Development Bank
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CFS	Committee on World Food Security
CISANET	Civil Society Agriculture Network
CSO	Civil society organisation
DCGT	Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust
DCGL	Dwangwa Cane Growers Limited
DFI	Development Finance Institutions
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	Food & Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
EU	European Union
GCAP	Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
HVA	High Value Agriculture
HLPE	High Level Panel of Experts
KCCM	Kenya Cooperative Coffee Millers Ltd
KCCE	Kenya Cooperative Coffee Exporters Ltd
LCGA	Lakeshore Cane Growers Association
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPP	Public-private partnership
SADA	Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
SMS	Sustainable Management Services
UN	United Nations
USAID	US Agency for International Development

GLOSSARY

FARMER ORGANISATIONS

Rural businesses which engage primarily in collective marketing but also in other collective activities such as processing and production.

OUTGROWER SCHEME

A contractual partnership between growers or landholders and a company for the production of commercial products. Outgrower schemes vary considerably in the extent to which inputs, costs and benefits are shared between growers and companies. Also, growers may act individually or as a group in partnership with a company, and use private or communal land.

SMALLHOLDER PRODUCER

A producer who is not structurally dependent on permanent hired labour and who manages their farm mainly with their own and their family's labour. In the context of this report, which includes a case study on sugar cane, Fairtrade standards provide for the context where due to the nature of the crop, farmers are dependent on hired labour to carry out certain activities. However, farmers must still meet criteria on the size of land they cultivate and the number of permanent workers they hire to be considered small producers.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS (PPPs)

Collaborative mechanisms in which public organisations and private entities share resources, knowledge, and risks in order to achieve more efficiency in the production and delivery of products and services.

PPPs can be characterised as either initiatives aimed at setting up new **policy or economic frameworks (framework PPPs)** to stimulate private sector activity in the agricultural sector, or they can be targeted to one or more **projects (project PPPs)** where each actor has a specific role to play in achieving a shared objective.


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LIKE MY STYLE
POOR LIL RICH
QUESTIONS


KCGL

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Smallholder farmers are the backbone of the global food system. In Africa, smallholders grow 70% of agricultural produce[1] but many still suffer from chronic food insecurity and hunger. Millions of others live on the threshold of poverty, and struggle to make a decent livelihood from agriculture for their families.

Since the global food crisis of 2007-08 – when the cost of staple foods shot up on global and domestic markets, sparking major civil and political unrest – governments around the world have redoubled their efforts to tackle hunger and malnutrition. A key strategy within this has been to boost investment into agriculture through the formation of new partnerships between governments, private companies and farmers; along with other actors such as academic and research centres, philanthropic foundations and NGOs.

Over the past decade, public-private partnerships (PPPs) have become an increasingly common instrument in the development toolbox. This has seen their function extend beyond their traditional role within large-scale infrastructure projects to be adopted across a variety of sectors and for the purposes of fulfilling a range of socio-economic objectives.

The multiple appeals of PPPs have led to a rapid surge in the number of such initiatives in African agriculture, both at the macro-policy level, and at the project level. Many of these initiatives claim to help improve the position of smallholder farmers. However, there has been relatively little analysis conducted over how successfully agricultural PPPs are engaging with smallholder producers by incorporating farmers into the design, development, implementation and evaluation of these partnerships.

This report seeks to investigate this precise issue: if and how the smallholder food producers are engaged as equal partners within agricultural PPPs in Africa. It involved a review of the general literature on agricultural PPPs. It also incorporated a more detailed assessment of PPPs in the agricultural sector of three countries in Africa: Ghana (Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project), Malawi (sugar outgrower scheme) and Kenya (recent PPPs in the coffee sector).

The evidence gathered through this process has suggested that a number of agricultural PPPs in Africa are paying insufficient attention to the interests, needs and priorities of smallholder farmers. Few, if any, meta-level fora exist to enable smallholders to sit around the table with representatives from governments, agribusiness companies and other stakeholders and direct the evolution of PPPs as equal partners.

Within specific projects, smallholders are often perceived as ‘beneficiaries’ of the PPP, but are largely peripheral in the management of these initiatives. In addition, partnerships seem to be largely driven by pre-conceived ideas amongst governments and donor partners about the requirements of smallholders.

However, interviews with farmers’ organisations in each of the three countries revealed that there is often a disconnect between agricultural PPPs and the smallholders’ own priorities for investment.

Overall, ways and mechanisms to engage smallholders in the design of agricultural PPPs in Africa appear to be weak. Smallholders are likely to have limited engagement with PPPs where they lack a strong political voice – unless special efforts are made to ensure this happens. Lack of engagement in the design of agricultural PPPs is particularly evident where PPPs are demand-driven, e.g. shaped predominantly by the commercial interests of private sector partners. Lying behind this ‘demand-driven’ approach seems to be an implicit perspective from government and donor partners that the problems of smallholders are already well understood, and that by inviting smallholders to participate in ready-made PPPs that provide them with opportunities to access inputs, links to markets or credit, they will automatically improve their prospects and ensure a win-win outcome. However any such assumptions must take into account the specific context of those farmers, such as crops already being produced, food security needs and land use issues.

Arguably, this also requires that smallholder farmers be well organised and ensure that ground-level interests are effectively communicated in the appropriate forum by their representatives.

AGRICULTURAL PPPs DO NOT OPERATE WITHIN A VACUUM. THEY ARE FRAMED BY THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THEIR LOCATION

Agricultural PPPs do not operate within a vacuum. They are framed by the political economy of their location. As such, the likelihood of any given partnership meeting the needs of smallholders will depend on a variety of factors including the existing and preferred livelihood activities of smallholder producers; the strength of local community institutions; security of land rights; existing market participation and relationships; the state of local infrastructure; presence of extension services, etc. There is also the question of how relationships between women and men, and power relations at the community level are likely to shape how PPPs create (or deny) opportunities for benefit sharing both within and between households. A failure to adequately consider such factors, and tailor PPPs accordingly, can lead to partnerships that miss or ignore smallholder farmers' priorities; or in the worst case scenario, actually aggravate local social and economic disparities and inequalities and exacerbate poverty.

Smallholder involvement in the design of PPPs is therefore crucial from the outset – they should be seen as partners and not just beneficiaries.

Although they may be appropriate in certain circumstances, an exclusive focus on demand-side-driven PPPs risks closing down the space for alternative partnership models built on farmers' visions and priorities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study suggest that governments and international development partners can do much more to ensure that smallholder farmers are given the opportunity, space and information to play an active role in the design and development of agricultural PPPs – should they wish to participate in them. Below we offer some initial ideas on how each of the case study PPPs could be improved in this regard, as well as some general thoughts and recommendations for improving future engagement of small-scale food producers in agricultural partnership initiatives.

General Recommendations to Governments, Donors and Companies

Framework PPPs

- Ensure any use of government or donor money is directed to deliver development goals through identification of clear target groups and indicators on sustainable livelihoods and poverty eradication, together with effective monitoring and evaluation
- Ensure that governments have a functioning land policy and legislation in place. This will clarify land tenure arrangements in customary land and formalise rights for local communities. The FAO Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure and the African Union Principles of Land Tenure should be used as a guide
- Ensure framework PPPs are designed through a transparent and participatory process.
  This should include:
  - Joint conceptualisation and design of PPPs with smallholder farmers through existing or new national and local fora for representatives of smallholder organisations and relevant stakeholders
  - Clear and upfront objectives, roles, responsibilities and dispute resolution mechanisms
  - Make information on PPPs publicly available in local languages to assist in the transparency and accountability of these arrangements. Governments and companies should ensure full stakeholder consultation and public transparency before committing to any agricultural PPP.
    This should include:
    – Investment commitments from all companies
    – Donor and national government commitments (policy, regulatory, financial and in-kind)
    – Disclosure of information on the Memorandum of Understanding, or Shareholder Agreement
    – Any financial liabilities held by the public sector or donor.

The following recommendations apply to both framework and project PPPs:

- Ensure agricultural PPPs strike a fair balance between the market access needs and priorities of small-scale producers and farmer-based organisations and market demand whilst also reinforcing national development plans
- PPP processes should recognise the value of smallholder farmer engagement and invest in producer organisations to strengthen their governance and representative capacity
- Develop PPPs within a reasonable timeframe to allow sufficient time for thorough and meaningful consultation processes
- PPPs should seek to reinforce and abide by public policy frameworks that ensure inclusive approaches to new partnerships
- As part of the current review of co-operation frameworks under the New Alliance for Food Security & Nutrition, donors, governments and companies should ensure full engagement of smallholder communities in determining the future direction of PPP initiatives

- Companies participating in agricultural PPPs should apply the highest existing labour, environmental and human rights standards to their operations in line with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Ruggie Principles) and the United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment. Companies should begin by conducting rigorous social impact assessments of proposed investments so as to identify and mitigate potentially harmful impacts
- Project partners – particularly external ones – should build their understanding of how local political economy factors shape how particular community members might be affected by a PPP
- Develop, build on and strengthen the institutional capacity of farmer-based organisations and cooperatives by engaging directly with communities and farmers.

Case-study specific recommendations

Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project (GCAP) in the SADA region

The methods and mechanisms that both the Government of Ghana and donors use to engage smallholders in the design of agricultural PPPs appear weak.

- Before issuing any further contracts, the Government of Ghana and donors should:
  - Undertake timely and in-depth consultations with established farmer-based organisations already involved in the production of commercial crops in the north of Ghana to see how the GCAP can build on and diversify existing relationships between farmers and private sector actors
  - Restructure its executive committee to include elected representatives of smallholder organisations in the SADA region.
- Develop new multi-stakeholder fora at national, provincial and district levels through which smallholder farmer groups could engage with public and private bodies to voice their opinions about their needs and priorities and shape the direction of agricultural PPPs such as GCAP to ensure that their needs are met.

Outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa, Malawi

In order to ensure smallholders can actively engage with, choose to participate in and influence PPP initiatives – such as the outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa and Malawi's wider G8 New Alliance framework agreement – the Government of Malawi and key donors such as the EU, USA and UK, should:

- Build the capacity of outgrower trusts and companies to represent the interests of smallholders and strengthen the effectiveness of their management and advocacy before the next phase of the PPP commences
- Ensure full engagement with the national level apex sugarcane outgrower body, including understanding who is best placed to represent ground-level issues/concerns and therefore must be engaged in the process

- Further development of the sugarcane PPP should respect land rights including effective implementation and enforcement of the Customary Land Act 2013
- Ensure full transparency and smallholder engagement in the G8 New Alliance through enhanced monitoring, participation and scrutiny of the New Alliance and its reform commitments, including the annual review of the Co-operation framework.

Coffee PPPs in Central Kenya

Power imbalances in the value chain are preventing farmers from developing strategic partnerships to realise the potential value of their crop. For future PPPs in the coffee subsector:

- Establish more open and transparent relationships between coffee societies, government officials, coffee millers and marketers (whether public or private) that can empower coffee farmers and create the basis for more equitable benefit sharing
- Government agencies and development co-operation partners should seek out and engage well-organised co-operative societies to develop supply-led partnerships, and to help to strengthen governance systems and professional capacity within coffee societies
- Establish participatory fora at which smallholder coffee farmers can meet with national and county government officials, coffee millers and marketers, donors, NGOs and other actors to jointly discuss issues in the sector, and potentially create more equal partnership arrangements.

1/ INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Fairtrade Foundation has worked with smallholder organisations producing export commodities for 20 years. In 2013 we published an agenda for governments and decision makers arguing five key principles for empowering smallholders in global supply chains, including the need to increase farmers' voice, influence and organisation and to increase and target national and donor government spending on agriculture[2].

Drawing on this, and in the build up to the G8 summit in June 2013, The Fairtrade Foundation ran a campaign to emphasise the importance of smallholder farmers and co-operatives, including the joint hand-in[3] of over 75,000 signatures to the UK Prime Minister David Cameron in May 2013.

This initiative was part of a growing debate regarding the importance of smallholders, including the IF campaign[4] and donors' own initiatives. These initial efforts have yielded some encouraging results. In the primary G8 communiqué 'smallholder farmers, especially women' were acknowledged for their important role in rural development and separately the International Development Select Committee recommended to the UK government that 'if we are to help smallholders… supporting the development of farmer organisations, including co-operatives, is vital'.[5]

However, the approach of donors emerging in the aftermath of the G8 is less well understood. In particular, the moves to increase private sector investment in agriculture could potentially either benefit or disempower smallholders and co-operatives, depending on the detail of the approaches taken. In this context, it is important to differentiate between different types of smallholder farmers – from those who are already engaged in value chains to those who are subsistence farmers (and net food buyers). In the case of the latter, the question is therefore 'how can they make the transition to commercial value chains?'

Over the past decade, public-private partnerships (PPPs) have become an increasingly common instrument in the development toolbox, extending beyond their traditional role within large-scale infrastructure projects to be adopted across a variety of sectors and for the purposes of fulfilling a range of socio-economic objectives.

This has been particularly significant for G8 countries seeking to leverage additional resources beyond their commitment of $20bn in support of efforts to improve global food security and nutrition, made at the 2009 G8 Summit in Aquila, Italy.[6]

Although some observers have lauded the attempts to fill the investment gap in African agriculture with partnership-based initiatives to leverage resources from the new private sector, others have been more sceptical. Campaign groups have voiced concerns that governments signing up to PPPs will be pressured into enacting policy reforms that facilitate large-scale land acquisitions by investors, and also that smallholder farmers will be pushed into the adoption of unsuitable and unsustainable technologies and production systems.[7] There have also been questions raised over the extent to which PPPs in agriculture are genuinely taking on board the needs and priorities of smallholder food producers.

“THE EXTENT TO WHICH SMALLHOLDERS ARE ENGAGED IN PPPs IS IMPORTANT AS IT REFLECTS THE LEVEL OF EMPOWERMENT, INVOLVEMENT AND INFLUENCE THEY HAVE”

1.2 Research Objectives

In order to engage constructively with these emerging approaches, the Fairtrade Foundation conducted this research to better understand:

- The ways in which PPPs are impacting smallholder farmers and co-operatives, and
- How smallholder producers themselves have been able to engage with, participate in and influence public-private partnerships (PPPs).

This study was guided by the following key research questions:

- To what extent are smallholder producers and co-operatives engaged with PPP/donor approaches to pro-poor agricultural investment?
- What are their experiences to date and what are the lessons for donors, smallholder producers, co-operatives and NGO partners?

The overall aim of the study is to gain insight into mechanisms that promote effective engagement of smallholder farmers in PPPs, and which can be shared and encouraged in policy dialogue with decision makers and donors.

For the purposes of this report, the definition of engagement is adapted from that proposed by the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP), which covers ‘all instances of people in [smallholder] communities becoming involved in planning and implementing [PPPs]’.[8]

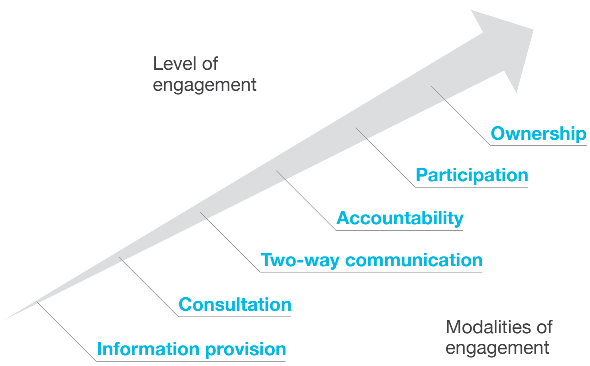
Engagement is therefore used as a catch-all term to cover all intentional interactions between PPP actors and affected smallholders, including activities focused on communication, accountability and participation.

Participation has been defined by the World Bank as a ‘process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them’.[9]

Whilst participation is essentially about the power to influence decision-making, engagement is much wider than this and covers all instances of where stakeholders become involved in the planning and implementation of activities.

In the context of PPPs, the extent to which smallholders are engaged in PPPs is important as it reflects the level of empowerment, involvement, and influence they have in a process from which they are supposed to benefit.

Figure 1: Degree of empowerment of affected groups in different approaches to engagement



Source: ALNAP/ODI (2014) Engagement of crisis-affected people in humanitarian action (Background paper)

1.3 Methodology

The research focused on producers in Ghana, Malawi and Kenya – these countries were selected on account of there being a significant level of donor interventions aimed at smallholders, together with a significant number of Fairtrade producers likely to be impacted by such PPPs and willing to take part in the research.

Four case studies across the three countries were selected after extensive country-focused scoping research that were:

- representative of different types of smallholder and food crop-focused PPPs involving governments, donors and private actors and/or
- had geographic linkages or involvement with local Fairtrade groups and co-operatives.

The case studies are as follows:

- Ghana: Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project (GCAP) in the northern Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) region
- Malawi: outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa in central Malawi
- Kenya:
  - coffee PPP in Nyeri county
  - coffee and climate-related PPP at Sangana in central Kenya.

The Fairtrade Foundation issued a call for proposals for the research through various networks and subsequently commissioned researchers Julian Oram and Alex Wijeratna for this project. Fieldwork was carried out by the lead researchers who were accompanied by local research assistants who were either employed in local universities or were local Fairtrade staff.

Between mid-February and March 2014, an independent researcher (accompanied by either an in-country Fairtrade colleague or a local research assistant) visited smallholders and stakeholders from each PPP. The main method used for field research was semi-structured interviews with smallholder farmers, outgrowers and those affected by these projects. Interviews were supplemented with focus group discussions with women and men farmers. Interviews were also conducted with a range of stakeholders, including community representatives, producer groups, commercial partners, union leaders, lawyers, academics, activists, Fairtrade staff and board members, key donors, traditional authorities, district officials, church leaders, senior government officials, UN representatives, senior consultants, leading journalists and CSO network representatives. Field interviews were conducted in English and a variety of local languages, with Fairtrade assisted translation.

Primary evidence from field research in the four case studies was triangulated by reviewing and examining a broad range of secondary research, reports, data, analysis and documentation. These include high-level official documents and letters, meeting notes and minutes, High Court judgements, local maps, police complaint forms, compensation and wage agreements, outgrower payment vouchers, household surveys, academic reports and independent evaluations, studies and reviews.

For specific analytical insight for the Fairtrade system, the results of the case studies were also analysed in the context of Fairtrade's Theory of Change for Small Producer Organisation Situations, on how its strategies and interventions help deliver Fairtrade's overarching goals of empowering small farmers and workers, fostering sustainable livelihoods and making trade fair by forging fairer trading systems.[10]

Finally, the draft report was fact-checked with Fairtrade colleagues and, where possible, producer groups. It was also shared with key stakeholders and independent reviewers (DFID, Illovo, Fairtrade Africa, Oxfam, IDS, CAFOD) to check the accuracy of our findings and to further inform our recommendations.

1.4 Limitations

Owing to resource constraints, the time available in the field for primary data collection was limited. This placed considerable limitations on the challenging process of recording the complexities of the four PPPs.

For example in the case of the sugar outgrower scheme in Malawi, the perceptions of affected smallholders, outgrowers, hired labour, producer staff and board varied amongst the outgrower producer groups and more time would have been needed to fully disaggregate the different reasons for different levels of empowerment within the outgrower groups. The small sample size of both the focus groups and number of farmers interviewed in the four case studies also made reaching robust conclusions difficult.

Whilst the findings in this report must be read and appreciated in light of these limitations, the analysis can be considered useful for overall learning and future research.

2/ CONTEXT

2.1 Public-private partnerships in agriculture

Public private partnerships are ventures between state and private sector actors, where the combined effort of the participants is seen as more likely to achieve a particular outcome than if any party acted alone. PPPs often seek to address an area of both public policy and market failure, and are theoretically constructed around common objectives between the actors involved, with some sharing of both risk and reward. PPPs in their widest sense are

'Collaborative mechanisms in which public organisations and private entities share resources, knowledge, and risks in order to achieve more efficiency in the production and delivery of products and services.'[11]

Public private partnerships in agriculture have a less well-developed history than in some other sectors such as infrastructure, although they are becoming increasingly prominent within rural development strategies.[12]

Agricultural PPPs tend to either revolve around creating a better investment climate – for instance, through new market incentives, business-friendly public policy measures, tax and fiscal instruments, regulatory reforms – or focus on collaborative ventures aimed at generating a particular set of outputs that benefit the parties involved.

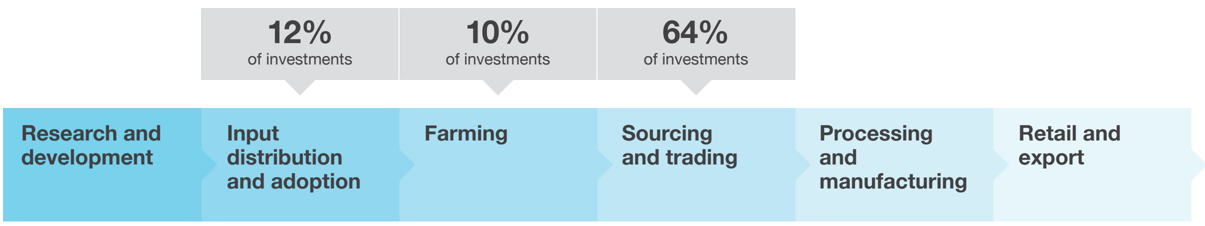
Put differently, PPPs can be characterised as either initiatives aimed at setting up new policy or economic frameworks to stimulate private sector activity in the agricultural sector, or they can be targeted to one or more projects where each actor has a specific role to play in achieving a shared objective.

2.1.1 'Framework' PPPs

Policy or 'framework' PPPs are joint initiatives between governments and the private sector designed to create a better business environment for agri-food companies, stimulate growth in the rural economy, generate employment and create new markets for food producers.

In the African context, one of the most prominent policy framework PPPs in the agriculture sector is the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition (hereinafter New Alliance). Launched at the 2012 G8 Summit by President Obama, the New Alliance has promised to deliver $3bn in agriculture-related investments from African and multinational companies, with the goal of lifting 50 million people out of poverty within 10 years.[13]

Figure 2: New Alliance Private Sector Investment Commitments across the Agricultural Supply Chain



Source: One (April 2013) 'New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition: Part 2'[14]

‘PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS ARE VENTURES BETWEEN STATE AND PRIVATE SECTOR ACTORS, WHERE THE COMBINED EFFORT OF THE PARTICIPANTS IS SEEN AS MORE LIKELY TO ACHIEVE A PARTICULAR OUTCOME THAN IF ANY PARTY ACTED ALONE’

The concrete manifestation of these commitments is through a series of ‘letters of intent’ from private companies pledging their investment plans – whilst these are confidential documents, a summary of these letters is publicly available. Tripartite country cooperation frameworks set out how national governments, G8 countries and the private sector will work together to invest in agriculture and work towards ending hunger.

The New Alliance has proven to be controversial, with critics arguing that the initiative is putting the needs of agribusiness companies ahead of those of smallholder farmers. There has also been scepticism over the extent to which companies are holding up their end of the bargain. Oxfam, which, at the time of writing this report, sits as the civil society representative on the Leadership Council of the New Alliance[15], has published research showing that many of the private sector investment commitments were not, in fact, new, but were simply layered over existing business development plans.[16] However, many companies have expressed frustration over the obstacles they perceive to be hampering their efforts, and have cited a lack of government capacity, lack of access to capital, and restrictive laws, policies and regulations as constraints to implementing their investment plans.[17]

There have also been question marks raised over the top-down nature of the initiative. One analyst from Chatham House summarises the flaw in the New Alliance model to date as follows:

‘Despite the New Alliance’s full title, the starting point appears not to have been food security and nutrition. There seems to have been insufficient involvement of farmers and civil society in the design of projects and co-operation frameworks, and only a few per cent of planned private investments include a nutrition component… a more bottom-up approach involving farmers in the design and monitoring of national frameworks and investment plans might reasonably be expected to yield better results.’[18]

Meta-project or ‘Umbrella’ PPPs

Whilst the New Alliance represents a high-level political framework for participating African countries, several other PPP ventures are crucial to the implementation of these commitments. Amongst these is the Grow Africa partnership, an initiative arising out of the World Economic Forum’s New Vision for Agriculture that seeks to build partnerships to attract private investment into projects that complement national agriculture-sector strategies.[19] Another important initiative supporting PPPs in African agriculture is the Alliance for a new Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), which engages in specific partnerships across the continent to promote improved access by smallholders to agricultural technologies, inputs and markets.[20]

The interplay between these ‘meta-project’ initiatives – which house a number of project PPPs within their portfolios – with overarching policy frameworks such as the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) and the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), means that many of the same countries, donors and companies are involved in PPPs within the New Alliance, Grow Africa and AGRA.

2.1.2 Project-specific PPPs

Project-oriented agricultural PPPs tend to fall within five areas, ranging across the entire spectrum of the agricultural supply chain. These can be defined as:

- research & development
- seed commercialisation and uptake of inputs
- developing value chains/supply chains
- improving agricultural infrastructure
- agricultural financing

Agricultural Research and Development (R&D)
Such initiatives might involve a range of potential partners, including research institutes, universities, public sector extension agencies, farmers’ organisations, businesses, and individual producers in the private sector. Often these partnerships are supported by governments and international development co-operation agencies.[21]

Seed commercialisation

PPPs are increasingly seen as attractive models for the commercialisation of seed technologies, because they enable publicly-funded research institutions to draw on the marketing and outreach power of private sector actors. This has become especially significant in recent years as many governments have reduced investment in public agricultural extension services, limiting the ability of governments to access farmers. Private companies looking to profit from their investments can arrange for new seeds to reach farmers.[22]

The promotion of seed technologies is especially controversial for campaigners who contest the 'magic bullet' rationale of seed technology where there is failure to invest in agricultural extension work or promote organic farming.

Supply chain development

As with other aspects of agricultural PPPs, partnerships focused on engaging smallholders in new supply chains are motivated largely by a perceived market failure, in which smallholders lack the resources and information to gain maximum advantage in commercial supply chains. Whilst both private sector enterprises and smallholders alike perceive high levels of risk, smallholders typically bear a higher proportion of it. PPPs are argued to help address this market failure by enabling risks and resources to be shared and thus allowing small-scale producers to engage in more formal supply chains.[23]

However, in a report on agricultural investment, the High Level Panel of Experts (HLPE) at the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) found that the benefits of investments in agro-processing and export crops often bypass smallholders, with only a minority being able to participate in schemes.[24]

Despite this, the business-oriented perspective is that there is still considerable potential for PPPs to meet growing demand for fresh produce within domestic markets, and that the explicit goal of such partnerships should be to create opportunities for small-scale producers (including the very poorest farmers) to enter into and benefit from these commercial supply chains.[25]

Agricultural Infrastructure

Partnerships between private companies and public agencies are also an increasingly common feature of large agricultural infrastructure projects.

Agricultural infrastructure PPPs cover a narrower range of projects than those within the wider scope of rural infrastructure development, which might include energy/electrification, public transport development, sanitation, etc. The FAO/ODI prescribe agricultural infrastructure PPPs as those specifically covering:

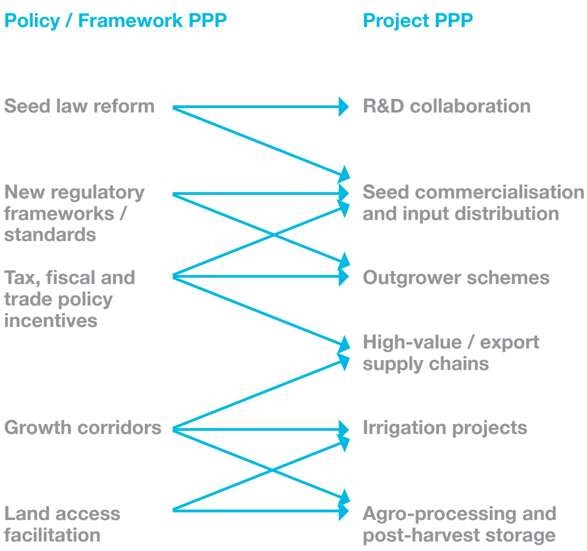
- Farm to market roads
- Irrigation
- Agricultural storage and processing
- Markets, wholesaling centres and commodity exchanges
- Crop-related information and communications technology.[26]

Agricultural financing

In addition to identifying private sector partners who have a strategic interest in sourcing agricultural products, finding sources of 'patient capital' to make investments viable and sustainable is considered to be a key element of a successful PPP. Patient capital is 'long-term low-cost, subordinated capital provided by donors and invested in the early stages of private sector agricultural ventures', such as start-up costs and working capital required by small farmer organisations.[27]

The idea is that this patient capital would reduce the risks faced by investors, and be catalytic in leveraging large amounts of private investment and bringing transformational benefits for smallholder farmers.[28]

Figure 3: Linkages between Policy and Project PPPs



Source: Julian Oram and Alex Wijeratna (2014)

Figure 3 above attempts to show that the implementation of public-private partnerships on the ground is more often than not linked to an overarching policy or framework PPP. In the context of this report, this raises the important question of what this means for smallholder engagement in PPPs and, in particular, how can effective smallholder engagement be ensured at the strategic, policy level on the relevant issues. Outgrower schemes (as will be explained further below) can involve a complex set of relationships at ground level, and must be supported by a strong regulatory framework which reflects the needs and realities of those that it affects.

2.2 Case study context

The context of the four case studies is presented below by country.

2.2.1 Ghana Commercial Agriculture project in the SADA region

The Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project
In 2012, the Government of Ghana, the World Bank and USAID launched a major $145m framework initiative for agricultural Public Private Partnerships, called the Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project (GCAP). According to the World Bank, the objective of the GCAP is to 'improve the investment climate for agri-business and establish inclusive PPPs aimed at increasing smallholder productivity and opportunities for value addition value addition'.[29]

The project is a major pillar of Ghana's plans to modernise its agriculture sector:

'The Government of Ghana has made the modernization of commercial agriculture a key development priority particularly the transformation of the smallholder who is responsible for 80% of agriculture production...GCAP will identify public-private partnerships, complementary public investments, and technical assistance required to support investment in the Accra Plains and SADA zone'[30]

The project has an ambitious goal. 'GCAP's purpose is to remove the constraints to commercial agriculture in Ghana,' remarked an official from USAID.[31] Due to its scale, the GCAP is highly significant as a PPP initiative in its own right. Although not itself a project within the New Alliance[32], the GCAP is heralded in the framework agreement as a model for agricultural PPPs in the country.[33]

GCAP consists of four major components:

- strengthening investment promotion infrastructure, facilitating secure access to land;
- securing PPPs and small-holder linkages in the Accra Plains;
- securing PPPs and small-holder linkages in the SADA region and
- project management, monitoring and evaluation.[34]

According to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA), a successful outcome to the project would involve:

'Increased productivity of smallholder farmers brought about by a combination of improved access to inputs and markets, adoption of improved technology, and behavioural shifts resulting from lower risks and/or improved incentives generated from a stronger private-sector led agricultural sector.'[35]

This study focuses on GCAP's work within the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) region, within which two Fairtrade certified smallholder organisations are located: the Akoma Cooperative Multipurpose Society, in Bolgatanga, Upper East province; and the Gbankuliso Cashew Farmers Association, in Bole, Northern province. Akoma was

established in 2006 and is comprised entirely of women working to improve their quality of life. It has created sustained employment for hundreds of previously unemployed villagers, mainly through the production and sale of shea butter. Gbankuliso has a membership of nearly 1,000 members producing cashew nuts, and is the largest farmer based organisation in Bole district.

GCAP in the SADA region
The World Bank's 2012 project appraisal document emphasises that the GCAP was designed to take a demand-driven approach, maintaining an open-ended spectrum of projects relating to various agricultural subsectors. Essentially, the intention is to let private sector interests apply to the GCAP to support particular investment activities.

In its initial phase of implementation, the GCAP's component 3 (securing PPPs and smallholder linkages in the SADA Zone) is focusing primarily on expanding established commercial farming operations involved in the production of rice, maize and soya, including through the development of hub/outgrower and contract farming enterprises. These business models are seen as the 'low-hanging fruit', as they are already capitalised, have established linkages to markets, and have potential to extend outwards to larger numbers of smallholder farmers.[36]

2.2.2 Outgrower sugarcane PPP in Central Malawi

Malawi's Agricultural Transformation Strategies
Malawi has a number of strategies to transform agriculture through the promotion of public private partnerships, including the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II, the National Export Strategy 2013-2018, and the Agriculture Sector Wide Approach (ASWAp).[37]

Key smallholder-based PPPs are in the cotton, sugar and maize sectors, and PPPs are also being promoted for rice, groundnuts and legumes.[38] Sugar has been identified by the Government of Malawi as a top-three priority crop – or 'cluster' – in terms of revenue, GDP, employment, agro-processing and foreign exchange earnings potential. Expansion through the promotion of smallholder-based outgrower sugarcane PPPs in areas such as Dwangwa in Central Malawi is seen as a key way to generate growth and foreign earnings, reduce export-dependence on tobacco, address domestic energy needs and tackle rural poverty.[39]

Malawi and the G8 New Alliance

Malawi joined the G8's New Alliance for Food Security & Nutrition in Malawi in December 2013.[40] The country's co-operation framework agreement contains investment plans from 23 domestic and multinational agri-businesses, including Bunge, Illovo and Monsanto, and makes 33 policy reform commitments to promote agri-business. These include a new Land Act and national Agriculture Policy, the release and irrigation of 200,000 hectares (ha) of land for commercial agriculture under the 'Green Belt Initiative' by 2015, a reorganisation of extension services and a review of the Seed and Pesticides Acts.[41]

Primarily driven by the European Union (EU), USAID and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the agreement says donors will focus resources 'on high priority, high-impact investments within the ASWAp… particularly in the three growth product clusters' – which includes sugar.[42] The joint largest private sector commitment in the New Alliance agreement was made by Malawi's dominant sugar company, Illovo Sugar (Malawi) Ltd (the Illovo Sugar group is listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and is 51% owned by Associated British Foods). Illovo committed to invest approximately $40 million to expand sugar production by 50,000 tons a year through expansion at its – and the country's – two main sugar mills and sugarcane estates at Dwangwa in Nkhotakota and Nchalo in Chikwawa.[43]

Outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa

The outgrower sugarcane scheme in Dwangwa is not new and in fact predates the New Alliance. The PPP, which is designed to promote irrigated smallholder outgrower sugarcane production to supply Illovo's 6,600ha sugarcane estate and processing mill at Dwangwa, has already received substantial support from donors such as the African Development Bank ($8.9m since 2007)[44] and the EU (approx. €3.4m).[45]

Other key actors in the outgrower PPP in Dwangwa include (see Figure 4):

- at national level: Ministries of Finance, Agriculture, Trade and Industry, Lands, Irrigation
- at district level: local government and area development committees
- at local level:
  - Traditional authorities – including Senior Chiefs, who currently are vested by the President with significant powers over customary land[46]
  - Nine outgrower groups
  - Civil society organisations

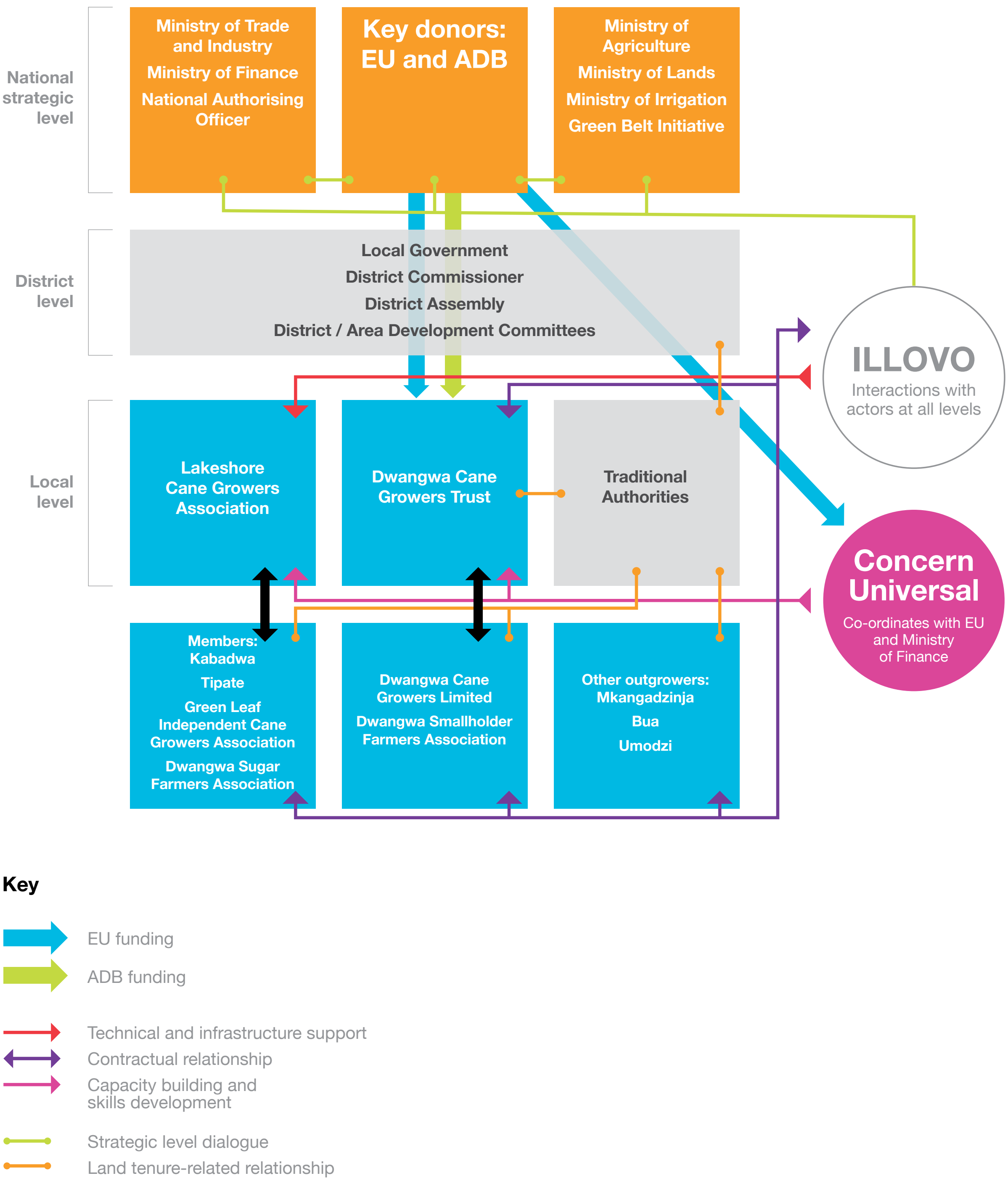
Illovo represents the private sector interest. The multinational accounts for over 90% of Malawi's sugar output,[47] and total production from its two estates was 2.5 million tons of sugarcane last year.[48] With little scope to expand Illovo's sugarcane estate at Dwangwa, some 25% of production there is now grown by an estimated 2,500 local outgrowers.[49]

The outgrower model is operationalised through a Trust or association which in turn establishes a private limited company. These companies in turn have a cane supply agreement with Illovo.[50] However, some rain-fed growers operate either independently or through their own grower company.

The main actor which has been supported both by the EU and ADB is the Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust (DCGT), which established the outgrower operating company Dwangwa Cane Growers Limited (DCGL). Other farmer groups have organised themselves under associations, and five of these (Green Leaf Association; Kabadwa Cane Growers association; Independent Cane Growers Association; Tipate Cane Growers Association; Dwangwa Sugar Farmers Association) have in turn formed a second grade association called Lakeshore Cane Growers Association (LCGA). LCGA, which was Fairtrade certified in February 2013, was established with a mandate to organise the disparate outgrower producer groups in Dwangwa into a unified platform and better represent the voice of outgrowers in collective negotiations with PPP partners such as Illovo.[51] Other associations which are not part of LCGA include Mkangadzinja, Bua and Umodzi.

To help build smallholder capacity and smooth the transition from subsistence to commercial farming, the EU commissioned an international CSO, Concern Universal, to develop and implement programmes intended to build the capacity of the growers, trusts and management organisations holistically. This includes dealing with technical and agricultural skills, business understanding, governance and the establishment of a regulatory framework to address issues of representation, including the establishment of an apex outgrower body.[52] At the time of writing, the national level apex outgrower body is in the process of being formed.

Figure 4: Outgrower sugarcane scheme in Dwangwa



2.2.3 Coffee PPPs in central Kenya

The role of PPPs within the national agriculture strategy

The government of Kenya is seeking to improve the agricultural investment climate.[53] The role of the private sector in the development of the agricultural sector is strongly emphasised in all policy and strategy documents, and the Government explicitly encourages public–private partnerships.[54]

The government of Kenya supports agricultural PPPs through collaborative projects, most of which are donor-supported and target smallholder farmers with the aim of promoting the transition to commercial agriculture.[55]

The Kenya National Agribusiness Strategy, launched in 2012, also set out an eight-year roadmap to stimulate the role of the agribusiness sector in realising one of the aims of Kenya Vision 2030 – an annual economic growth rate of 10% by 2012. The strategy emphasises bringing smallholder farming into mainstream agricultural value chains. PPPs are identified as an important funding mechanism for delivering the strategy, while a key component of the strategy is to 'improve market infrastructure with involvement of the private sector e.g. through PPP and shared management of the built-up markets'.[56]

The coffee subsector in Kenya

The coffee subsector in Kenya is characterised by a dichotomous structure, with some of the country's coffee grown on large estates plantations (covering 42,000ha as of 2005), while most (60%) is produced by smallholders belonging to one of the many country's many coffee co-operative societies.[57] These co-operatives collectively manage their coffee and undertake the initial stage of processing at their own factories, or 'wet mills'. Some of these societies are grouped into unions, some of which operate their own dry mills.

In the decades following independence, Kenyan agricultural performance, including coffee, was widely regarded as good.[58] However, from the late 1980s the coffee subsector has fallen into decline, both in terms of production and quality. Factors cited for this decline include falling global coffee prices, divisions within co-operative societies, lack of extensions support leading to stagnating productivity, rising input costs, and the effects of wider economic liberalisation polices.[59]

Before coffee milling was liberalised in the mid-1990s, the Kenya Producers Coffee Union (KPCU) was the sole coffee miller in the country. The union's mill in the town of Sangana is owned by farmers through their respective co-operative societies. Since the subsector was liberalised, a number of private companies have established competing milling facilities, increasing Kenya's overall coffee milling capacity to over 300,000 metric tons. This means there is considerable surplus capacity.

Coffee PPPs in central Kenya: the cases of Nyeri County and the Sangana Climate PPP

A. The Sangana Climate Change PPP with Baragwi FCS

The Baragwi Farmers' Co-operative Society is a large coffee growers' organisation with 12 factories and around 18,000 members in Kirinyaga county, central Kenya. Baragwi currently does not have Fairtrade certification, but is in contact with Fairtrade Africa and is exploring the certification process.

From 2008 - 2011, Baragwi partnered with Sangana Commodities, Sustainable Management Services Ltd (a subsidiary of Ecom Coffee, the world's second largest coffee trader), Tchibo GmBh (coffee importer) and GIZ (German Federal Enterprise for Development Cooperation) to implement the Coffee Climate Change Adaptation & Mitigation Program, dubbed the Sangana PPP. The project was developed under the auspices of the Promotion of Private Sector Development in Agriculture (PSDA) initiative, a bilateral technical assistance programme which ran from 2003 - 2013 and was jointly implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GIZ) on behalf of the Government of Germany and the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock & Fisheries on behalf of the Government of Kenya.

The aim of the project was to enhance coffee smallholders' capability to better adapt to climate change while also having a positive effect on carbon sequestration through a climate module training programme, with the objective of attaining certification under an ethical scheme.

> IN FUTURE BUYERS WILL BE ALLOWED TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH COFFEE SOCIETIES AND MILLERS... A NEW REGULATORY FRAMEWORK IS DUE TO BE INTRODUCED TO ENSURE THAT COFFEE FARMERS RECEIVE A FAIR PRICE

B. Coffee PPP in Nyeri County

Within the context of Kenya Vision 2030, Nyeri County has undertaken to 'ensure community participation and public private partnerships' as part of its growth strategy.

Coffee is one of the main crops of Nyeri County, which is one of Kenya's largest coffee producers. However, like the rest of the country, coffee harvests in Nyeri have dropped sharply over the past two decades, while farmers' incomes have stagnated. Politicians have grown increasingly frustrated with what they see as market collusion by the main coffee brokers, at the expense of the county's farmers.[60]

In response to this situation, the Nyeri governor, Nderitu Gachagua, announced a partnership between the county government and the Kenya Co-operative Coffee Millers Ltd (KCCM), a wholly owned subsidiary of Kenya Co-operative Coffee Exporters Ltd (KCCE), which has been tasked with centrally milling and marketing all of Nyeri coffee. Coffee societies were instructed to bring coffee beans from their factories[61] to the KPCU coffee mill at Sangana, now leased by KCCM.

In early March 2014, the county government's trade executive announced that Nyeri coffee farmers would receive a minimum of KSh80 per kilo of coffee after a US buyer, Green Vault Coffee, had reportedly expressed an interest in buying all of the county's coffee.[62] However, when the research team visited the Sangana coffee mill on March 28, the warehouses were still full of sacks of milled beans.

In May 2014, Governor Gachagua told a forum of coffee buyers in Seattle that the PPP would only be a one-off arrangement for the past growing season. He reportedly acknowledged that the Nyeri government may have acted too hastily in attempting to centrally mill and market all Nyeri coffee in partnership with KCCM. He said that in future buyers will be allowed to negotiate directly with coffee societies and millers.[63] However, rather than going back to the previous system, a new regulatory framework is due to be introduced to ensure that coffee farmers receive a fair price. The county's trade executive, Stan Miano, stated:

'As of next year there will be a regulatory framework, so any mill can sell coffee, but there will be oversight to make sure they are getting the best prices. Prices have been high for Nyeri coffee, but unfortunately those prices are not getting to the farmer.'[64]

3/ FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Assessing Smallholder engagement in agricultural PPPs in Ghana, Malawi and Kenya

3.1.1. Smallholder engagement in the GCAP in the SADA region

One of the central objectives of the GCAP is to increase access to land, private sector finance, input markets and output markets for smallholders through public private partnerships.[65] The project framework document also emphasises the need to ensure that partnerships supported under the GCAP are inclusive of smallholders and local communities, and to ensure the participation of both men and women beneficiaries.[66]

During the inception and design phase of the project, the World Bank notes that a series of public workshops were organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), involving project stakeholder groups in the Accra Plains and the SADA Zones, including representatives of various government entities, professional organisations, farmers' associations and civil society. Yet there appears to have been only one occasion, in October 2011, when a group of smallholder farmers themselves had an opportunity to express their views about GCAP plans in the SADA region.[67]

From interviews conducted with two Fairtrade certified farmers' organisations in the SADA region, engagement and even basic awareness about the GCAP[68] appears very low. Despite its location within one of the region's nine growth poles – and its proximity to a major rice outgrower scheme targeted for expansion under the GCAP – the leadership of the Akoma Co-operative Multipurpose Society in Bolgatanga, Upper East province, had never heard of the GCAP. Similarly, farmers belonging to the Fairtrade certified Gbankuliso Cashew Farmers' Association, in Bole district, Northern Province, had also never heard of the GCAP.[69] Bole district is also within one of the nine SADA growth poles.

However, it is not only smallholders who lack information about the GCAP. When asked about the GCAP, the District Block Farm Co-ordinator admitted he had not heard of it, despite the fact that GCAP is being administered by MoFA, and that Bole district also falls within one of the nine 'growth poles' being targeted for commercial agricultural PPPs.[70]

The president of Gbankuliso, Chief Adam Tampuri, had heard of the GCAP, but knew very little about it. He expressed surprise that his organisation had not been asked to contribute to the design of the project:

'Being a farmer leader and a farmer myself – and having direct contact with other producers across the country and the continent – I think that we should be the ones who add value to reshaping the way a project can work for the benefit of producers. This project has come to change and improve the lives of farmers. But you cannot make a change if you do not have people working together. You must have people well organised before you can affect a change. We already have existing farmer organisations which have been working with other projects. So for me I think the best we could do is to improve the existing producer organisations, because it is easy to reach out to them.'[71]

According to smallholders interviewed for this study, the best strategy for achieving improvements to commercial agriculture in Ghana would be to engage with smallholders already producing commercial crops, listen to their needs and ideas, and build on these in order to increase linkages between these producer organisations and the private sector.

The Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project has the potential to generate a number of public private partnerships in Ghana's agriculture sector, bringing with it the potential to generate new jobs, increase opportunities for smallholders to access improved agricultural technologies, and connect small-scale producers with domestic and international commodity markets, as well as bring opportunities for the creation of additional value-added activities.

However, to date the GCAP appears to have had minimal input from smallholder farmers in the SADA region, and has a very low profile amongst smallholder farmer organisations. While some of this is partly down to the relative immaturity of the project, it is also the result of choices made in the inception and design of the GCAP. By adopting a demand-driven approach, the GCAP generally positions smallholders as potential 'targets' or 'beneficiaries' of the PPPs, but not as equal partners with an influence over the selection and design of sub-projects.

The ability for communities to decide which value chains they want to participate in under GCAP appears constrained by the priorities of the donors. Although the World Bank Project Assessment document asserts that the demand-driven approach will mean that investment is open to a variety of commodity value chains, the SADA zonal coordinator was clear that GCAP in the northern region will focus on grain crops, particularly the expansion of existing rice or maize nucleus farmers and outgrowers. This corresponds to USAID's 'Feed the Future' priority crops.[72]

Furthermore, although it is technically possible for smallholder farmers to apply for a sub-project under the GCAP, the demand-led approach means that smallholders are very unlikely to either bid for or be awarded a GCAP contract due to lack of resources and strong pre-existing commercial linkages, even amongst those who are growing rice, maize and soya. It is also notable that the Steering Committee of the GCAP, which includes representatives from various government ministries and the Ghana Private Enterprise Federation,[73] lacks representation from an apex federation representing smallholder farmers.[74]

The combination of an apparently limited consultation process with smallholder farmers at the project inception stage, and a highly demand-driven approach focused on a limited number of grain crops in the project implementation phases, seems to have severely limited the capacity of smallholders in the SADA region to engage in shaping the GCAP. Despite the size and scale of the GCAP, and its status as a model PPP for agriculture in Ghana (as suggested by the New Alliance framework agreement), it remains largely invisible to smallholders. For the president of the Gbankuliso Cashew Farmers' Association, Chief Adam, this was both frustrating and potentially a big missed opportunity for the PPP to build on the work of farmers who were already successful in developing commercial crops:

'The producers know their challenges, and perhaps they already have some approaches that they think would solve their challenges. And so if you work with them, it makes your work much easier, because they perhaps would have already done one or two things to a certain point that you can then help to improve on and achieve what you want to achieve.'[75]

Overall, mechanisms by both the Government of Ghana and donors to engage smallholders in the design of agricultural PPPs appear weak. This is exacerbated by the lack of strong apex farmer organisations across the country. There is also an imbalance between demand-side and supply-side driven approaches to the PPPs. Of particular concern in this regard is the risk that PPPs that pursue demand-led approaches focused on particular commodities of interest to private sector market actors risk 'closing down' the opportunity to develop partnership models in other subsectors; or indeed to pursue alternative models such as ecological agriculture, as identified by farmers.

3.1.2 Smallholder engagement in outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa

There have been differing degrees of engagement with smallholders over the course of the outgrower scheme's history. Our research found that there was weak engagement in relation to the PPP funded by the ADB. It is also important to note that not all smallholder farmers in Dwangwa benefitted from the ADB loan. EU intervention has subsequently tried to address these issues.

Whilst the New Alliance represents the most recent initiative, whether or not the existing scheme in Dwangwa can be defined as a PPP under this framework is still unclear. Nevertheless, even in its early stages of development, there has been limited engagement with smallholders.

Engagement under the African Development Bank (ADB) funding framework

Smallholders interviewed said they were not properly consulted and did not give prior informed consent to convert to irrigated sugarcane cultivation in Dwangwa.[76]

Decisions by traditional leaders to evict long-established communities and grant access to convert customary land to outgrower schemes,[77] together with flawed governance arrangements, means many smallholders have not adequately participated in and were not adequately consulted on the potential risks and benefits of switching to block system irrigated outgrower sugarcane production.[78] As a result, hundreds – and possibly over a thousand – smallholders are estimated to have lost access to customary land in Dwangwa.[79]

An EU-commissioned study (published in 2012) found that smallholders have been marginalised and have been unable to effectively engage with, participate in, and influence the scale, scope, speed and direction of the outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa.[80]

Illovo has reported that its efforts to promote alternatives for smallholders have been criticised as they are viewed as paternalistic and as undermining the outgrower bodies. For example, in 2008 Illovo offered a free extension service to the outgrowers as yields were low and the crop management was poor, but this was opposed by some of the outgrower management organisations.[81]

Indeed, strong local opposition has recently led ADB to decide to pull out of proposed outgrower schemes in Dwangwa:

'We have had consultations with stakeholders and found that a few individuals were resistant to the expansion of the outgrower sugar cane project under the Agriculture Infrastructure Support Project because they were afraid of losing land. In view of this environment, we recommend that in future there should be adequate consultations and social mobilisation process by engaging social experts as consultants during the project preparation phase (at least two years) before approval so that all issues related to land ownership/distribution are addressed before its implementation.' – ADB representative[82]

Outcomes of weak smallholder engagement
Based on field research, academic studies, High Court and legal documents, media reports, official correspondence and independent evaluations of EU and ADB support in Dwangwa, the main outcomes of the lack of smallholder engagement, influence and engagement in the outgrower PPP are described below.[83 84]

Land grabs[85]
At Kazilira in Dwangwa, at least 262 people claim they were forced off customary land and some allege they were beaten by armed police to make way for an ADB-funded outgrower scheme in 2008.[86] Some 125 houses were allegedly demolished and food crops destroyed after Senior Chief Kanyenda gave permission to convert the land at short notice.[87] Separately, 32 smallholders claim they have lost their land during the recent development of the EU-funded Kasitu North outgrower sugarcane scheme in Dwangwa.[88]

Compensation
Some affected smallholders claim they were poorly compensated and lost access to some or all of their land when small plots in the outgrower scheme were allocated by the Senior Chief, who was vested with the authority to redistribute land.

'I am from Bondo village, but when my one-acre garden was taken for Kasitu North [sugar] scheme, I was compensated MK4,000 ($23). I was surprised and refused it. I would rather continue with my crop. But I have not been given even the sugarcane plot.'[89]

While many of the original (often poorer and more vulnerable) land users did not receive land, or received smaller plots of land than before, other 'outsiders', elites or well-connected members from DCGL or Illovo were reported to have been allocated land.[90] Illovo however commented that it had no involvement in and was not consulted on the process. The Customary Land Bill which was passed by the Parliament in 2013 is intended to help deal with grievances without taking powers away from traditional leaders. In particular, the law stipulates that foreign nationals will only be allowed to own land in Malawi when they enter into a partnership or joint venture with a Malawian to use the land for investment purposes only.[91]

A review for the EU found the main effects of the current land allocation procedures in Dwangwa included 'reduced incomes' and 'a negative effect on poverty'.[92] Recent field research with 33 affected people at Kazilira confirmed that many in their communities are now landless and hungry.[93]

Others, though, appear to be gaining from higher incomes from outgrower sugarcane cultivation. While recent research indicates that household incomes for a sample of 225 sugarcane outgrowers in Dwangwa have increased significantly – estimated to have risen between 135–375% compared to subsistence farmers – the study shows that on average these outgrowers are not cultivating land areas which are typical of the size of farm of Malawian smallholders for other crops.[94 95]

In addition, Illovo has recommended, through EU study workshop forums, an inclusive model that accommodates all those who are farming on the land be adopted. This model was used for example with the Phata Sugar Cooperative at Nchalo, which involves 379 subsistence farmers growing sugarcane on 300 hectares of land.

Demand-led

A number of smallholder communities at Mtupi, Bua East, Liwaladzi and Kasitu East in Dwangwa have resisted pressure to convert to outgrower schemes under the PPP, and some have recently resorted to night-time land patrols to prevent the expansion.[96] Hundreds of villagers at Kasitu East have vowed to defend their land and successful mixed farming systems:

'We don't want to get into sugarcane. We are being forced. Instead we want practical help with increasing our production through organic methods.'
– Chairman of the Mkhuto Food Security Club at Kasitu East in Dwangwa[97]

Despite such resistance, groups such as DCGT have identified 4,800ha of suitable nearby land for outgrower expansion,[98] and the Nkhotakota District Lands Officer, highlights 11 new or proposed outgrower schemes covering almost 3,000 ha of customary land across the district.[99]

EU intervention in the outgrower sugarcane PPP

An EU evaluation published in 2012 found that trusts, companies and outgrower groups do not have the capacity or resources to engage in any national level policy or lobby groups.[100] In fact, the EU perspective is that outgrower PPP in Dwangwa is more a partnership between the outgrower management companies and Illovo rather than the smallholder community.[101] However, Illovo has pointed out that it is impractical or even impossible for it to engage with individual outgrowers, and that there is a need for a transparent and well-governed management/organising body with whom it can engage. This process has been applied in other countries (Mozambique, Swaziland and Tanzania) with success.[102]

However EU funding directed at capacity building of outgrower groups has started to reverse the trend in some cases for those who received this support:

'So when Concern Universal came here with a capacity building project from the EU, as a result some farmers were empowered on how to do cane farming. Now the cane farmers regard cane farming as a business and they are realising some profits. So they decided to mobilise themselves in order to have a stronger voice'
– LCGA representative on the creation of the LCGA as an umbrella body[103]

Other associated benefits include the ability to negotiate with Illovo on share of profits and addressing specific production issues.[104] Even though the Lakeshore Cane Growers Association regularly meets with Illovo in Dwangwa, the LCGA reported that Illovo has not shared its New Alliance expansion plans and that they don't have any input into the plans.[105] Illovo responded by highlighting that this expansion is in fact an incremental factory expansion which does not involve or affect smallholders of the LCGA other than indirectly, by increasing the ability of the plant to crush more cane. However, expansion plans are discussed in broad terms at the EU Sugar steering committee and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Private Sector Development working groups to which farmer organisations are invited, including the LCGA and the DCGT. Both the LCGA and the DCGT are in support of establishing an apex outgrower body at national level (at the time of writing, the body is in the process of being established) so that this body can articulate the issues affecting farmers and help strengthen their negotiating positions.[106]

Smallholder engagement with the New Alliance

Separately, key representatives interviewed as part of this research also felt there was a lack of smallholder engagement in the G8 New Alliance agreement at the national level. Recent research together with information from the EU Attaché and G8 New Alliance Development Partner Lead in Malawi,[107] shows representatives from the country's main smallholder networks did not participate in the drafting of Malawi's New Alliance country co-operation framework agreement until a very late and advanced stage and had little say or influence on the final New Alliance agreement. Whilst efforts were made to invite a number of civil society representatives to two roundtable discussions in April 2013, only four CSOs attended: Clinton Development Initiative, African Institute of Corporate Citizenship, Farmers Union of Malawi and the National Smallholder Farmers Association of Malawi.[108]

'By the time we came in, most of the New Alliance document had been done and there wasn't much we could influence. I felt we should have been consulted at a much earlier stage.' – National Director, CISANET (network representing 132 civil society organisations including NGOs, smallholder farmer groups and co-operatives)[109]

In addition, none of the smallholder and outgrower groups interviewed during field research in Dwangwa in February 2014 – including DCGT and Mkangadzinja – had heard of the New Alliance for Food Security & Nutrition in Malawi.

3.1.3 Smallholder engagement in Nyeri coffee and Sangana PPPs, Kenya

In Nyeri, before deciding to partner with KCCM to mill and market all of Nyeri coffee, Governor Gachagua appointed a taskforce to review various options for improving the incomes of coffee farmers. The taskforce hosted workshops and sought the views of several stakeholders, including representatives from smallholder coffee societies, before recommending that all Nyeri farmers should deliver their beans to the KCCM mill at Sangana.

However, the extent to which these consultations took on board the concerns of farmers is unclear. The leadership of the Fairtrade certified Mutheka Coffee Farmers' Society said that they had participated in the initial round of consultations, during which they raised concerns about the proposal to centrally mill and market all of Nyeri coffee. After this they were excluded from subsequent consultations.

The actual decision to create a partnership between Nyeri and KCCM to mill all of the county's coffee was taken at a political level by the governor and approved by the county legislative body. In this sense, farmers were not part of the actual decision-making process, and the new arrangement was issued to coffee societies as a directive. Participation in the scheme is obligatory, however the management of both Gikanda and Rumukia coffee farmers' societies (both Fairtrade certified) admitted that they had no formal agreement with Nyeri county government about how their coffee should be sold.[110] Mutheka defied the government order and stuck to its original deal to sell its coffee through a private milling and marketing agent.

In the case of the Coffee Climate Change Adaptation & Mitigation Program (Sangana) PPP, our research reveals that coffee farmers were not part of the process of selecting or designing the PPP. Their involvement began when SMS and GIZ organised a series of workshops to teach farmers about the causes and effects of climate change, and potential climate mitigation and adaptation strategies. The relationship between Baragwi Farmers Co-operative Society and the project stakeholders was brokered by SMS, so there was no contact with either GIZ or coffee importer Tchibo independent of SMS.[111]

According to the Secretary Manager of Baragwi, the project was introduced to them through their marketing agent at the time, SMS. They participated in a workshop on climate change with representatives of SMS and GIZ, at which they assessed changes to the local environment since the 1960s. The farmers had themselves already witnessed the initial negative impacts of changing rainfall and temperature patterns on coffee cultivation on the lower slopes of the valleys in the region, and were eager to learn more about how to address the issue.[112]

The partnership produced several concrete outcomes. It improved farmers' awareness of the drivers of climate change, its effects and the strategies that can be used to adapt to and mitigate its impacts. This led directly to the establishment of a tree nursery and an increase in the planting of non-coffee trees (such as gmelina) for carbon sequestration, shade and timber, although the level of intercropping with other tree species is balanced by the needs of farmers to ensure desired levels of coffee productivity. The society also gained certification under two ethical schemes with the support SMS/Ecom and Tchibo GmBh.[113]

Coffee is a crucial crop for the economy of Kenya, and it is also the principal source of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of small-scale farmers. The emergence of public private partnerships in the coffee sub-sector therefore has important implications for the country's small-scale farmers.

Coffee farmers interviewed for this study expressed mixed views about the Nyeri government's initiative. Given the opportunity to engage fully in the PPP, the farmers would have raised their major concern of lack of transparency in the supply chain. At a group discussion with the interim board of directors and members of the Gikanda Farmers' Cooperative Society, a Fairtrade certified organisation, farmers complained they lacked information about what was happening to their coffee after they had delivered it to the KPCU mill at Sangana. While the members of Gikanda did not want to go back to the previous system, they hoped to push the county government to enact new rules to make the negotiation of coffee prices more transparent, and to provide them with greater predictability of income. They also thought the county government could help them find direct buyers of their coffee.[114] One member also noted that while they would have to wait and see how the new system worked out, one positive effect was that the governor's move would force private companies to change their behaviour in terms of how they buy their coffee.[115]

However, others see the potential for improved market access. The new interim directors of the Fairtrade certified Rumukia Farmers Cooperative Society were more positive about the county government's partnership with KCCM. Going forward, they hoped that by partnering with the county government they could develop a more direct relationship between Rumukia and coffee consumers, e.g. through companies such as Marks & Spencer. However, the interim directors were concerned that they had very limited access to the governor's office, and stated that they were unaware what bids (if any) had come from potential buyers.[116]

The Fairtrade certified Mutheka Coffee Farmers Society is one of two Nyeri societies that declined to deliver their coffee to the KCCM mill. Like other cooperatives, Mutheka had already made an agreement with a private miller before governor Gachagua announced his plans to centrally mill and market Nyeri coffee. This decision resulted in a court case in which Mutheka and 12 other coffee societies took the county to court for trying to demand control over Nyeri coffee.

The Nyeri PPP is an unusual one, in that it has essentially created a monopoly milling and marketing scheme for all Nyeri coffee. While this has been welcomed by some, it has come under criticism from others for cutting across existing contracts between coffee societies and millers, and for being at being at odds with the overall national trend towards liberalisation of agricultural markets.[117]

Strengthening of co-operatives' capacity to negotiate better terms of trade is also important. In the case of the Sangana PPP, the relationship between Baragwi FCS and SMS became strained when farmers started to feel that the company was not offering them best terms for their coffee, and was dictating to farmers where their coffee was sold. The society decided to switch its marketing agent to another company, Tropical Farm Management Ltd. As a result of this switch, the cooperative lost another (non-Fairtrade) ethical certification which had been held by SMS rather than by the cooperative itself. It was also unable to maintain its relationships with either Tchibo or GIZ, both of which had been brokered by SMS.[118] Since then, Baragwi has reapplied and regained its ethical certification. However, it has not been able to develop new partnerships. They are also awaiting renewal of their 4C certification,[119] which lasts for three years, as this had previously also been arranged through SMS.[120]

The Secretary Manager of Baragwi noted that the farmers needed to take greater control over their relationships with buyers and other partners, and said that the society hoped to start milling its own coffee, in conjunction with other societies in the county, by 2016. The county governor is keen to help this process, by helping Kirinyaga farmers to market the county's brand to potential overseas buyers.[121]

3.2 Lessons Arising from Recent Smallholder Experiences with Agriculture PPPs in Africa

The case studies investigated in Ghana, Malawi and Kenya for this report profiled a range of very different types of PPPs.

In Ghana, the GCAP represents a large 'meta-project' initiative, still in its infancy, which will eventually have within its $145m profile a number of specific agricultural partnership projects. In Malawi, an established sugarcane outgrower project linked to the company Illovo in the central region of the country under the umbrella of the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition is facing ongoing challenges around land tenure and farmer representation. In Kenya, a subsector laden with historical baggage, has recently tried to adopt PPP approaches in different guises to address issues and challenges facing coffee farmers (dysfunctional market relationships in one case, and the threat of climate change in another).

Yet despite this diversity, and the specific insights offered by each, there are some common threads which connect the cases and point to wider lessons about the way in which agricultural PPPs are taking shape in the African context.

Lack of meaningful engagement
In Ghana, the key flagship initiative, the GCAP, has largely taken shape without meaningful engagement of smallholder farmers in the inception, design or development of the partnership. This was also reflected by coffee farmers in Nyeri, who mostly felt they had little choice but to subscribe to the county government-led PPP to centrally mill and market Nyeri coffee.

While the problems in Dwangwa in Malawi predate the New Alliance, the risk is that lack of consultation and involvement of smallholder farmers in this volatile context will simply reinforce earlier mistakes and exacerbate the situation. However, Illovo has pointed out that farmers do in fact have representatives on the grower trust bodies, and it has supported Concern Universal where possible to encourage the farmers to obtain better services and representation.

Top down approach
In the case of the Sangana Climate PPP in Kenya, coffee farmers' relationship with the external partners was highly dependent on their commercial relationship with the miller. Furthermore, the principle donor in the partnership took a demand-led approach and allowed the private sector partner to determine the nature of the partnership, as opposed to building relationships with and designing PPPs around the needs of the coffee societies. This demand-driven approach is also reflected in the thinking of the funding partners behind the GCAP in Ghana, as well as the expansion of the sugarcane outgrower scheme in northern Malawi.

Untested assumptions
With both the Dwangwa sugarcane PPP and the GCAP in Ghana there is also a strong sense that donors have come into the partnerships with a pre-conceived notion of how these initiatives should operate. With both cases, there is an implicit assumption that small farmers will automatically benefit from participation in outgrower schemes. Yet the research conducted in both countries suggests there is sufficient cause to question this assumption, and indeed to interrogate more closely how equitably the benefits and the risks of these programmes are likely to be shared.

Ineffective farmer representation
In some cases, the lack of engagement may be due to ineffective representation by farmers' representatives. PPPs must therefore reach out and develop the participatory capacity of smallholder farmers where it does not exist, especially if trying to reach poorer and more marginalised communities. For example, Illovo has reported that €4.2m has been spent through the EU capacity-building project implemented by Concern Universal to build the capacity of the farmers and to assist them to create platforms and communication forums.

International organisations, NGOs and academics that work directly with farmers are also drawing important lessons from recent PPPs. Common themes emerging for the successful involvement of smallholder farmers in agricultural PPPs include:[122]

- Setting out clear and upfront objectives
- Setting out clear roles and responsibilities
- Creation of trust
- Transparent communications and accountability
- Informal and formal mechanisms for exchange of resources
- Transparent contracts
- Dispute resolution mechanisms

In addition, it has been argued that 'invited' forms of participation in large-scale donor programmes work best where there are strong champions inside the government, organised groups that can help articulate the collective voice and well-designed processes for deliberation and decision-making that bring the two together.[123]

However, the extent to which governments and international development partners are taking these lessons into consideration in the design, development and implementation of agricultural PPPs is unclear.



4/ CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

International initiatives such as the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition are stimulating increasing interest and investment in agricultural PPPs to help meet the challenge of boosting agricultural growth and food security. Partnerships between the private sector, governmental bodies and smallholder farmers clearly have the potential to contribute to these objectives, particularly where cash crop producers are seeking to build stronger relationships with market actors, and /or to add value to their products. And a growing number of examples of initiatives where smallholders have played a strong and active role in shaping these kinds of partnerships can be found across the African continent.[124]

However, the research undertaken for this report indicates that PPPs in agriculture can often overlook the perspectives, current reality and aspirations of smallholder farmers, even where small-scale food producers are nominally a central constituency and/or beneficiary of these initiatives. Overall, mechanisms to engage smallholders in the design of agricultural PPPs in Africa appear to be weak. Smallholders' are likely to have limited engagement with PPPs where they lack a strong political voice – unless special efforts are made to ensure this happens. In some cases, they may not wish to participate at all, as was noted in the case of the Dwangwa outgrower PPP. Therefore PPPs which seek to engage poorer and more marginalised communities need to work harder to ensure participation.

Lack of engagement in the design of agricultural PPPs is particularly evident where PPPs are demand-driven, e.g. shaped predominantly by the commercial interests of private sector partners. Lying behind this 'demand-driven' approach seems to be an implicit perspective from government and donor partners that the problems of smallholders are already well understood, and that by inviting smallholders to participate in ready-made PPPs that provide them with opportunities to access inputs packages, linkages to markets or credit, they will automatically improve their prospects and ensure a win-win outcome. Arguably, this also requires that smallholder farmers be well organised and ensure that their ground-level interests are effectively communicated in the appropriate forum by their representatives.

Yet this study suggests that such assumptions often overlook the particular needs and priorities of smallholders. Agricultural PPPs do not operate within a vacuum. They are framed by the political economy of their location. As such, the likelihood of any given partnership meeting the needs of smallholders will depend on a variety of factors, including the existing and preferred livelihood activities of smallholder producers, the strength of local community institutions, security of land rights, existing market participation and relationships, the state of local infrastructure, presence of extension services, etc.

There is also the question of how relationships between women and men and power relations at the community level are likely to shape how PPPs create (or deny) opportunities for benefit sharing both within and between households. A failure to adequately consider such factors, and tailor PPPs accordingly, can lead to partnerships that miss or ignore smallholder farmers' priorities or in the worst case scenario, actually aggravate local social and economic disparities and inequalities and exacerbate poverty. Smallholder involvement in the design of PPPs is therefore crucial from the outset – they should be seen as partners and not just beneficiaries.

AN EXCLUSIVE FOCUS ON DEMAND-SIDE-DRIVEN PPPs RISKS CLOSING DOWN THE SPACE FOR ALTERNATIVE PARTNERSHIP MODELS

Although they may be appropriate in certain circumstances, an exclusive focus on demand-side-driven PPPs risks closing down the space for alternative partnership models which integrate farmers' visions, priorities and opportunities in a more participatory process. Every PPP represents the outcome of a series of choices about how and where investments are made – and thus reflects a hidden opportunity cost about which investments are not made. For example, farmers may be keen to explore opportunities to grow and market organic produce when a donor initiative is promoting new seed technologies. Similarly, farmers may see their most urgent need as boosting productivity and/or quality through technical support and capacity building rather than in policy reforms. This consideration is particularly relevant to budgetary decision-making processes by government agencies and development co-operation partners. If the vast majority of the partnerships adopt demand-driven approaches, then there is a high risk that PPP models shaped by the perspectives of local farming communities will be neglected.

4.2 Recommendations

The findings of this study suggest that governments and international development partners can do much more to ensure that smallholder farmers are given the opportunity, space and information to play an active role in the design and development of agricultural PPPs – should they wish to participate in them. Below we offer some initial ideas on how each of the case study PPPs could be improved in this regard, as well as some general thoughts and recommendations for improving future engagement of small-scale food producers in agricultural partnership initiatives.

General Recommendations to Governments, Donors and Companies

Framework PPPs

- Ensure any use of government or donor money is directed to deliver development goals through identification of clear target groups and indicators on sustainable livelihoods and poverty eradication, together with effective monitoring and evaluation
- Ensure that governments have a functioning land policy and legislation in place. This will clarify land tenure arrangements in customary land and formalise rights for local communities. The FAO Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure and the African Union Principles of Land Tenure should be used as a guide
- Ensure framework PPPs are designed through a transparent and participatory process.
  This should include:
  - Joint conceptualisation and design of PPPs with smallholder farmers through existing or new national and local fora for representatives of smallholder organisations and relevant stakeholders
  - Clear and upfront objectives, roles, responsibilities and dispute resolution mechanisms
  - Make information on PPPs publicly available in local languages to assist in the transparency and accountability of these arrangements. Governments and companies should ensure full stakeholder consultation and public transparency before committing to any agricultural PPP.
    This should include:
    – Investment commitments from all companies
    – Donor and national government commitments (policy, regulatory, financial and in-kind)
    – Disclosure of information on the Memorandum of Understanding, or Shareholder Agreement.
    – Any financial liabilities held by the public sector or donor.

The following recommendations apply to both framework and project PPPs:

- Ensure agricultural PPPs strike a fair balance between the market access needs and priorities of small-scale producers and farmer-based organisations and market demand whilst also reinforcing national development plans
- PPP processes should recognise the value of smallholder farmer engagement and invest in producer organisations to strengthen their governance and representative capacity
- Develop PPPs within a reasonable timeframe to allow sufficient time for thorough and meaningful consultation processes
- PPPs should seek to reinforce and abide by public policy frameworks that ensure inclusive approaches to new partnerships
- As part of the current review of co-operation frameworks under the New Alliance for Food Security & Nutrition, donors, governments and companies should ensure full engagement of smallholder communities in determining the future direction of PPP initiatives
- Companies participating in agricultural PPPs should apply the highest existing labour, environmental and human rights standards to their operations in line with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Ruggie Principles) and the United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment. Companies should begin by conducting rigorous social impact assessments of proposed investments so as to identify and mitigate potentially harmful impacts
- Project partners – particularly external ones – should build their understanding of how local political economy factors shape how particular community members might be affected by a PPP
- Develop, build on and strengthen the institutional capacity of farmer-based organisations and cooperatives by engaging directly with communities and farmers.

Case-study specific recommendations

Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project (GCAP) in the SADA region

The methods and mechanisms that both the Government of Ghana and donors use to engage smallholders in the design of agricultural PPPs appear weak.

- Before issuing any further contracts, the Government of Ghana and donors should:
  - Undertake timely and in-depth consultations with established farmer-based organisations already involved in the production of commercial crops in the north of Ghana to see how the GCAP can build on and diversify existing relationships between farmers and private sector actors
  - Restructure its executive committee to include elected representatives of smallholder organisations in the SADA region.
- Develop new multi-stakeholder fora at national, provincial and district levels through which smallholder farmer groups could engage with public and private bodies to voice their opinions about their needs and priorities and shape the direction of agricultural PPPs such as GCAP to ensure that their needs are met.

Outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa, Malawi

In order to ensure smallholders can actively engage with, choose to participate in and influence PPP initiatives – such as the outgrower sugarcane PPP in Dwangwa and Malawi's wider G8 New Alliance framework agreement – the Government of Malawi and key donors such as the EU, USA and UK, should:

- Build the capacity of outgrower trusts and companies to represent the interests of smallholders and strengthen the effectiveness of their management and advocacy before the next phase of the PPP commences
- Ensure full engagement with the national level apex sugarcane outgrower body, including understanding who is best placed to represent ground-level issues/concerns and therefore must be engaged in the process
- Further development of the sugarcane PPP should respect land rights including effective implementation and enforcement of the Customary Land Act 2013
- Ensure full transparency and smallholder engagement in the G8 New Alliance through enhanced monitoring, participation and scrutiny of the New Alliance and its reform commitments, including the annual review of the Co-operation framework.

Coffee PPPs in Central Kenya

Power imbalances in the value chain are preventing farmers from developing strategic partnerships to realise the potential value of their crop. For future PPPs in the coffee subsector:

- Establish more open and transparent relationships between coffee societies, government officials, coffee millers and marketers (whether public or private) that can empower coffee farmers and create the basis for more equitable benefit sharing
- Government agencies and development co-operation partners should seek out and engage well-organised co-operative societies to develop supply-led partnerships, and to help to strengthen governance systems and professional capacity within coffee societies
- Establish participatory fora at which smallholder coffee farmers can meet with national and county government officials, coffee millers and marketers, donors, NGOs and other actors to jointly discuss issues in the sector, and potentially create more equal partnership arrangements.

ANNEX 1

FARMER INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Face to face interviews with farmers were based on the following questions:

1 Are you a farmer or farm worker?

2 Are you the head of your household?

3 Which age range are you within?
- 16-22
- 23-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-65
- 65+

4 Have you heard about the xxx project?

5 How did you hear about the project?

6 How well do you know the details of the project (for example, its main objectives, the size of the project area, who is involved and how long it will run)?

7 Have you or a member of your household been invited by project officials to discuss the project?

8 Has a representative from your local organisation met with project officials?

9 Do you feel that the project has been designed to benefit local people?

10 Do you think the project will affect your life?

11 How do you think the project will affect your family?

12 If the project has already started, have you noticed any impacts on your life?

13 How do you think the project will change your area?

14 What do you think is the most important need to improve the livelihoods of small farmers in your area?

15 How well do you feel that local government officials understand this need?

16 Do you feel like your household can participate in local agricultural development planning processes?

Is there anything else you would like to say about the xxx project?

ANNEX 2

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Ghana, 2-7 March 2014
- Gbankuliso Cashew Famers Association
- Bole District Farm Block Officer
- Agriculture Coordinator for SADA
- SADA zone coordinator for GCAP
- Senior Agriculture Economist, World Bank, Accra
- Deputy Director, Office of Economic Growth, USAID, Accra

Malawi, December 2013 – March 2014

Producer groups:
- Lakeshore Cane Growers Association
- Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust
- Mkangadzinja Smallholders Limited

Other stakeholders:
- Mkhuto Kazilira Dambo Club, Dwangwa
- Mkhuto Food Security Group, Kasitu East, Dwangwa
- Standards Manager, Fairtrade Africa
- National Director, Civil Society Agriculture Network (CISANET), Lilongwe
- Executive Director, Find Your Feet, London
- Research Fellow, Business and Development Centre Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University
- National Coordinator, LandNet Malawi
- Coordinator, Malawi Fairtrade Network
- Senior Lecturer, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, Chancellor College, University of Malawi
- Academic, Chancellor College, University of Malawi
- Rural Advisor, Evangelical Association of Malawi
- Managing Director, Foodsec Consulting, Malawi
- Senior Lawyer, Centre for Environmental Policy and Advocacy, Blantyre
- Academic, German Development Institute, Bonn
- Project Manager, Capacity Building for Sugar Outgrower Project, Concern Universal
- Researcher, Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, Cape Town
- Research Fellow & Country Program Leader, IFPRI Malawi, Lilongwe

- UNDP Malawi, Private Sector Development Specialist, Lilongwe
- Convenor, Sugar Cane Products Technical Working Group, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Malawi
- Sugar Plantation Allied Workers Union of Malawi
- Nkhotakota District Lands Officer
- EU project manager, Nkhotakota
- Sugar sector specialist and G8 New Alliance consultant, Imani Development, Lilongwe
- EU Attaché - G8/New Alliance Development Partner Lead, Delegation of the European Union to Malawi, Lilongwe
- EU Attaché - Rural Development & Food Security Section, Delegation of the EU to Malawi
- Senior Agricultural Officer, African Development Bank, Lilongwe
- Private Sector specialist, DFID Malawi
- General Manager, Illovo Sugar Ltd, Dwangwa
- Development Consultant, Illovo Sugar Ltd, Blantyre
- Acting National Coordinator, Green Belt Initiative
- Sector Manager-Agriculture and Food Security, Ministry of Finance, Malawi
- Director of Business Development, AgDevCo, London
- Representative for Senior Chief Kanyenda, Dwangwa

Kenya, 23-29 March 2014

Producer groups:

- Gikanda Farmers Co-operative Society
- Rumukia Farmers Co-operative Society
- Mutheka Coffee Farmers Society
- Baragwi Farmers Co-operative Society

Other stakeholders:

- Head of Operations, Coffee Management Services
- Coffee Board of Kenya
- Kenya Cooperative Coffee Mills
- GIZ

ANNEX 3

LIST OF REVIEWERS

Chris Penrose-Buckley, DFID
Kate Mathias, on behalf of Illovo Sugar Ltd
Robin Willoughby, Oxfam
Jodie Thorpe, IDS
Sarah Montgomery, CAFOD
Kwame Banson, Fairtrade Africa
Doreen Chanje, Malawi Fairtrade Network
Alinafe Kasinja, Malawi Fairtrade Network
Jennifer Mbuvi, Fairtrade International (Producer Services and Relations)

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[5] International Development Committee, First Report – Global Food Security, HC 176, 4 June 2013 at para. 33: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmintdev/176/176.pdf

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66 Ibid.

67 This was a workshop held in Tamale in October 2011, attended by two dozen farmers. It is unclear how these people were selected, how many people they represented, or how feedback from this event

influenced the final project plans. According to the records, four people who described their occupation as 'farmer' made interventions during the workshop. A subsequent event was held in Tamale in December 2011, but only one person who described their occupation as a 'farmer' attended this event. At this event, a representative from the Ghana Irrigation Development Authority asked: 'Were the old and seasoned farmers in the project area consulted, since the consultants may not be abreast with the current situation in the region'. The reply to this question from the GCAP project team was simply: 'The investors will consult with the farmers before the project starts'. See: Ministry of Food & Agriculture (Dec 2011) Ghana Commercial Agriculture Project: Stakeholder Consultation and Participation Report: https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B4fn1Fz6J8K9NjcxZjk2MWEtNDg4MS00YjM5LWI0YzAtMzk0YjZmOTBiZjFl/edit?pli=1

[68] This is an irrigated rice growing area in the Nasia valley, near to Bolgatanga, and is the first of the planned rice, maize and soya outgrower expansion projects. (Interview with SADA zonal Coordinator for GCAP, March 5, 2014).

[69] Two separate interviews with members of the Gbankuliso Cashew Farmers Association in Bole town; five male members on 4 March, 2014, and two female members on 5 March, 2014

[70] Interview with Bole District Farm Block officer, Bole town. 4 March, 2014

[71] Interview with Chief Adam Tampuri, Accra. 3 March, 2014

[72] Interview with SADA zone Coordinator for GCAP, 5 March, 2014

[73] The PEF was established in 1994 by the Association of Ghana Industries, Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ghana Employers' Association, and the Federation of Associations of Ghanaian Exporters as an apex institution to advocate for Ghana business.

[74] http://gcap.org.gh/index.php/2013-10-03-15-56-33/2013-10-07-15-41-37?tmpl=component&print=1&page

[75] Interview with Chief Adam Tampuri, Accra. 3 March, 2014

[76] Group interview with Committee Chair and 7 members of Mkhuto Kazilira Dambo Club, on 17 February, 2014

[77] Chinsinga B & Chasukwa M (2014) Large-Scale Land Deals in the Sugar Industry and Rural Development in Malawi: A Political Economy Inquiry, in Mihyo PB, (Ed) International Land Deals in Eastern And Southern Africa, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA): Addis Ababa

[78] Landell Mills (2012) Study into land allocation and dispute resolution within the sugar sector and other EU irrigation development programmes in Malawi 2012/2841154, Final Report, October 2012, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK

[79] Interview with National Coordinator, LandNet Malawi, on 16 February 2014

[80] See: Landell Mills (2013) End of Term Evaluation of the Accompanying Measures for Sugar 2007 in Malawi, Reference Number FED/2013/317-142, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK

[81] Illovo response to draft Fairtrade Foundation report, June 2014.

[82] Interview with Senior Agricultural Officer, African Development Bank on 20 February 2014 and confirmed by e-mail on 26 June 2014.

[83] See: Group interviews with nine male members and 18 female members of Mkhuto Kazilira Dambo Group in Dwangwa and Kazilira on 17 February 2014; a group interview with four male members of the Mlala Growers Group at Dwangwa on 17 February 2014; a group interview with 12 community representatives and meeting with 350 villagers at Kasitu East on 17 February 2013; Sweet grab, sweat labour': Malawi sugar plantation exploits', Collins Mtika, Pambazuka News, 2014-01-08, Issue 660; Landell Mills (2013) End of Term Evaluation of the Accompanying Measures for Sugar 2007 in Malawi, Reference Number FED/2013/2013-142, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK; Landell Mills (2012) Study into land allocation and dispute resolution within the sugar sector and other EU irrigation development programmes in Malawi 2012/2841154, Final Report, October 2012, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK; African Development Fund (2010) Malawi: Smallholder Outgrower Sugarcane Production Report, Project Completion Report, 1 February 2010, African Development Fund: Lilongwe

[84] See: Group interviews with 9 male members and 18 female members of Mkhuto Kazilira Dambo Group in Dwangwa and Kazilira, on 17 February 2014; Chinsinga B & Chasukwa M (2014) Large-Scale Land Deals in the Sugar Industry and Rural Development in Malawi: A Political Economy Inquiry, in Mihyo PB, (Ed) International Land Deals in Eastern And Southern Africa, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA): Addis Ababa; Landell Mills (2012) Study into land allocation and dispute resolution within the sugar sector and other EU irrigation development programmes in Malawi 2012/2841154, Final Report, October 2012, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK; European Commission (2011) End of Term Review of AMPS 2006, Stabex Kasitu North and Mid Term Review of AMSP 2007, Final Report, Project No.2011/266487 – Version 1, European Commission/HTSPE: Brussels/Hemel Hempstead, UK; 'Sweet grab, sweat labour': Malawi sugar plantation exploits', Collins Mtika, Pambazuka News, 2014-01-08, Issue 660; Letter from the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Synod of Livingstonia, Church and Society Programme, 8 December 2008, titled, 'Displacement of Several People, Land Grabbing and Maricious [sic] Damage to Property by the Nkhunga Police'

[85] The 2011 Tirana Declaration defines land grabs as land acquisitions that are one or more: *(i) in violation of human rights, particularly the equal rights of women; (ii) not based on free, prior and informed consent of the affected land-users; (iii) not based on a thorough assessment, or are in disregard of social, economic and environmental impacts, including the way they are gendered; (iv) not based on transparent contracts that specify clear and binding commitments about activities, employment and benefits sharing, and; (v) not based on effective democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation.* See: www.landcoalition.org/about-us/aom2011/tirana-declaration

[86] Letter from the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Synod of Livingstonia, Church and Society Programme,

8 December 2008, titled, ‘Displacement of Several People, Land Grabbing and Maricious [sic] Damage to Property by the Nkhunga Police’

87 A list of 125 destroyed houses provided to researcher Alex Wijeratna by Reverend A. on 17 February 2014

88 Group interview with Committee Chairman and eight members of the Mkhuto Food Security Group, Kasitu East, on 17 February, 2014, and follow up email correspondence and document on 2 May, 2014

89 Landell Mills (2012) Study into land allocation and dispute resolution within the sugar sector and other EU irrigation development programmes in Malawi 2012/2841154, Final Report, October 2012, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK

90 Ibid.

91 See http://www.nyasatimes.com/2013/06/01/malawi-lawmakers-pass-land-billtough-conditions-for-foreigners/

92 Ibid.

93 Group interviews with 7 members of Mkangadzinja Smallholders group at Kazilira on 17 February, 2014; group interviews with eight8 male members of the Kazilira Mkhuto Dambo Group at Dwangwa and 18 female members of same group at Kazilira, both on 17 February, 2014

94 Herrmann, R et al. (2014) Large-scale Agro-Industrial Development and Rural Poverty: Evidence from Sugarcane Investments in Malawi. Mimeo

95 National Statistical Office (2012) Integrated Household Survey 2010-2011, Household Socio-Economic Characteristics Report, Republic Of Malawi, National Statistical Office: Zomba

96 Group interview with Committee Chairman and 8 members of Mkhuto Food Security Group, Kasitu East, on 17 February 2014

97 Interview with Committee Chairman, Mkhuto Food Security Club, Kasitu East on 17 February 2014

98 Interview with Executive Secretary of the Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust, in Dwangwa on 18 February, 2014

99 Interview with Nkhotakota District Lands Officer in Nkhotakota on 19 February, 2014

100 Landell Mills (2013) End of Term Evaluation of the Accompanying Measures for Sugar 2007 in Malawi, Reference Number FED/2013/317-142, Landell Mills: Trowbridge, UK

101 Interview with EU Attaché – Rural Development & Food Security Section, Delegation of the EU to Malawi on 21 February 2014

102 See for example the LUSIP project in Swaziland - the Swaziland Water and Agricultural Development Enterprise, which is a government agency, was the primary implementer and manager of the scheme’s development.

103 Interview with Secretary of Lakeshore Cane Growers Association, in Dwangwa on 18 February, 2014

104 Ibid.

105 Interview with Secretary of Lakeshore Cane Growers Association, in Dwangwa on 18 February, 2014

106 Interview with Secretary of Lakeshore Cane Growers Association in Dwangwa on 18 February, 2014 and Interview with Executive Secretary of DCGT on 18 February, 2014

107 Skype interview with EU Attaché to Malawi and G8 New Alliance Development Partner Lead, on 19 March 2014, and information provided in emails between 25 April and 13 May 2014

108 Ibid.

109 Interview with National Director– CISANET, Lilongwe. 20 February 2014

110 Group discussion with interim committee and members of Gikanda FCS, March 26, 2014 and interview with interim leadership of Rumukia FCS, March 26, 2014.

111 On-farm interview with Secretary Manager of Baragwi FCS, Kianyaga, March 27, 2014.

112 On-farm interview with Secretary Manager of Baragwi FCS, Kianyaga, March 27, 2014

113 http://www.baragwicoffee.co.ke/certification.html

114 Group discussion with interim committee and members of Gikanda FCS, March 26, 2014

115 On-farm interview with farmer, Gikanda FCS, March 26, 2014.

116 Interview at Rumukia FCS, March 26, 2014. The executive committee members, who had only recently been elected on an interim basis, also noted that ‘irregularities’ within the leadership of some coffee societies, including their own, had fuelled past problems of farmers being cheated. They supported the governor’s call for an investigation into mismanagement of funds in some coffee cooperative societies. http://kenyanewsagency.go.ke/?p=14727; http://mobile.nation.co.ke/counties/Rumukia-coffee-society-fire-/-/1950480/2289794/-/format/xhtml/-/5ensak/-/index.html

117 For an interesting and balanced discussion of both ‘pro’ and ‘anti’ perspectives on this initiative by a well-respected coffee buyer, see http://sprudge.com/counter-culture-coffee-to-host-discussion-about-the-crisis-in-nyeri-kenya.html

118 In an interview with a representative from GIZ at their offices in Nairobi, (March 28, 2014), they stated that they approach PPPs from the demand side of the market, remarking that it is ‘beyond our capacity’ to engage directly with farmers’ in PPPs from the supply side.

119 http://www.4c-coffeeassociation.org/

120 On-farm interview with Secretary Manager of Baragwi FCS, Kianyaga, March 27, 2014

121 Ibid.

122 Private communication with Jodie Thorpe, Research Fellow at Institute of Development Studies, 24 March, 2014.

123 Gaventa, J. Participation makes a difference – But not always how and where we might expect, Development Outreach 2011 13:1, 70-76.

124 See for example http://www.ifad.org/newsletter/pf/9.htm#2

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