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The role of South-South Cooperation in inclusive and sustainable agricultural development: Focus on Africa

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Poverty In Focus

Number 24

International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth
Poverty Practice, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP



The Role of South-South Cooperation in Inclusive and Sustainable Agricultural Development



Focus on Africa

GUEST EDITORS

The *Poverty in Focus* is a regular publication of the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth. The purpose of this edition is to present the findings of research and dialogue on inclusive and sustainable development, in the context of South-South Cooperation in Agricultural Development in Africa. Support is provided from the UK Department of International Development (DFID).

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Front page: *People, Policies, and Institutions* is the spirit behind this *Poverty in Focus*. The images represent the range of issues, the people, processes of collaboration which lead to progress and the possibilities for solutions to work side-by-side. The duality between the micro-economy and the macro-economy and commercial and small-farmer agriculture also comes through, suggesting the need for careful analysis, a diversity of instruments and multiple approaches.

Images 2 and 3 are from the IPC-IG "Humanizing Development" Global Photography Campaign (photographers respectively: Siena Anstis and Rolando Villanueva). Image 1, John Nyberg; Image 4, Igor Spanholi; Image 5, Maciej Pawlik; Image 6, Daniel Battiston and Image 7, Amal Manikkath. Stock.xchng, <<http://www.sxc.hu>>.

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IPC-IG is a joint project between the United Nations Development Programme and Brazil to promote South-South Cooperation on applied poverty research. It specialises in research-based policy recommendations on how to reduce poverty and inequality. IPC-IG is directly linked to the Poverty Group of the Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP and the Government of Brazil.

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Focus on Africa: Making South-South Cooperation on Agricultural development more inclusive and sustainable

With Rio+20 only a week away, the theme of this *Poverty in Focus* resonates clearly with the broader discourse on sustainable development, in particular the expanded efforts to mainstream inclusion and equity and to improve institutional frameworks for sustainable development. The United Nations Development Programme's first *Africa Human Development Report*, launched on 15 May 2012, highlights the extent to which recent growth in Africa has neither sufficiently reduced extreme poverty and hunger nor provided the number and scope of opportunities envisioned. One of its key messages is a call for more investment in agriculture to ensure both sustained growth and poverty reduction.

The evidence is clear. We need new mechanisms, approaches and tools to address an ever-increasing combination of deeply embedded inequalities and new variations of instability and unsustainability.

The international seminar on the Role of *South-South Cooperation in Agricultural Development in Africa* held on 17 May in Brasília served as an important space for dialogue to explore some of these issues, specifically in the context of agricultural futures and in the broader context of development. Emerging clearly was the conviction that South-South Cooperation, as a mechanism, could be catalytic, if well designed and harnessed, effectively shaped and defined within a context of exchange, mutual benefits and learning.

With the increasing attention on both the inclusivity of growth and its environmental sustainability, now being framed in the context of inclusive green growth, more reliance is also likely to be placed on South-South Cooperation in defining a number of answers to the 'how'.

As the Government of Brazil hosts Rio+20, attention also falls on the country's role as a broker for such forms of South-South exchange, particularly on models which can deliver triple wins for the economy, society and the environment. A number of successes in reducing inequality, enhancing both social and productive inclusion and, in particular, engaging smallholder farmers in the growth process while also maintaining a successful commercial agriculture sector are among the important lessons/entry points for Brazil-Africa exchange in this context. At the same time, successes and innovations are also emerging from sub-Saharan Africa, in discrete flagship programmes, policies and in sectors. Thus far, there has been less discussion about bi-directional flows of good practice, lessons learned and technology transfers than the current reality merits.

This *Poverty in Focus*, designed as a value-added output of the May 17 seminar, gives specific voice to the above, as well as some of the challenges and opportunities facing South-South Cooperation as a tool for 'development' and not just development cooperation. This opportunity to discuss agriculture not just as a sector but as a force for development, for poverty reduction, food security, for greater cooperation within the South, and for greater lessons from the South to emerge on the international landscape builds on other similar efforts and discussions in 2012. It resonates with a key motto of one of our coordinating partners—*agriculture is a key pathway out of poverty*.

Looking forward, the nexus between agriculture and development highlights two key issues: *eliminating hunger* and *rethinking agriculture, in light of sustainability and equity*. Climate change, livelihoods and food security, in particular, represent both challenges and opportunities for achieving these two objectives, and many questions do remain.

It is the role of knowledge-based institutions, such as IPC-IG, the Futures Agricultural Consortium, CIRAD, Articulação Sul, with the support of DFID and UN Women, and in partnership with the World Food Programme (WFP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the African Climate Policy Centre (ACPC), to probe and critically assess towards a greater understanding of both the potential and limits of South-South Cooperation and to identify potential answers to urgent policy questions.

It is our hope that the approach taken in the seminar and this *Poverty in Focus* defines a new scope for critical and inclusive policy dialogue, while shining a brighter light on some of the underlying development questions of our time, including how to maximise Africa's incredible natural, social and cultural wealth into a source of sustainable growth for all its citizens.

*by Jorge Chediek,
Interim Director, IPC-IG*

Overview: Agricultural Futures and the Role of South-South Cooperation

by Leisa Perch, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth and Daniel Bradley, DFID¹

New forms of South-South Cooperation led by emerging growth poles such as Brazil and China are redefining international development cooperation. Impressive domestic results of Brazil and China in boosting growth and tackling domestic poverty—including through the role of agriculture—give them a certain credibility with developing country partners who are seeking the same success.

As the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food highlighted, “the most pressing issue regarding reinvestment in agriculture is not how much, but how” (De Schutter, 2010). South-South Cooperation offers potentially useful perspectives on ‘how’ agricultural development might take some steps forward. It is appealing on many levels, breaking down traditional donor-recipient roles in partnerships between countries offering mutually relevant experience. The emergence of new development actors opens up different choices of development tools and forms of institutional relationships. This gives developing countries more diverse options regarding the kind of partnership—and future—that they wish to pursue.

South-South Cooperation is, therefore, a useful shot in the arm for development that helps all development actors to reconsider their approaches. But as with development in general, it is not a case of ‘out with the old and in with the new’. South-South Cooperation is, in many situations, largely unproven; the evidence base for its impact on reducing poverty still largely unwritten. This edition of *Poverty in Focus* provides a space for critical reflection on South-South Cooperation, to inform debate on how this promising development tool can be best applied to help us move towards more productive, inclusive and sustainable agricultural futures.

Part of the value of South-South Cooperation is its role in empowering countries to look in more depth at home-grown rather than externally driven responses to tough development problems. The Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), a home-grown framework, represents a foundation for both how Africa may approach a number of these issues and what it wants to achieve. And noteworthy policy reforms for socially accountable access to natural resources have emerged in Africa, Latin American and Asia (Khoday and Perch, 2012). These seek to address structural inequalities as well as better environmental stewardship.

Such innovation in the South is vital to generate new tools and partnerships for tackling critical social, economic and environmental problems. Business as usual is not going to deliver at the pace and scale required. With regard to agricultural and broader rural development, a series of key ‘gaps’ remain to tackling poverty effectively, including:

- the **productivity gap** – productivity growth has stagnated in many countries where its potential to drive inclusive growth are needed the most;
- the **food and nutrition gap** – globally, one in seven people have insufficient access to adequate food and nutrition; the rate is closer to one in three in sub-Saharan Africa, despite the agricultural potential of much of the continent; and
- the **energy gap** – 75 per cent of sub-Saharan Africa and 90 per cent of its rural population still lack access to electricity. The approach to meeting this gap will have significant

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Approaches that recognise smallholder farmers offer a potential win for inclusion, but it remains to be seen whether pro-smallholder models can be applied in different contexts.

As with development in general, ‘adaptation to context’ must be a key principle of South-South Cooperation.

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We also want to thank Josique Lorenzo, Pablo Burkolter and Thais Fernandes for their assistance and support to the preparation of this *Poverty in Focus*.

implications for carbon emissions in general and the carbon intensity of the agricultural sector in particular.

These critical gaps will be exacerbated by the effects of **climate change and variability**, which threaten to make tough development problems even tougher. Agriculture is particularly sensitive to climate, and higher temperatures, shorter growing seasons, changing rainfall patterns and extreme events will hit poor people hardest.

The article by Tom Owiyo of UNECA highlights the need for a long-term agenda of climate-compatible development in Africa, which requires that development is sustainable, resilient and equitable. This is echoed by a collective article by representatives of AWAN and UNDP South Africa, which also highlights the critical and often under-valued role and leadership capacity of women.

An article by three Brazilian rural women (Justina Cima, Jomar Amaral and Sandra Maria da Silva) highlights common struggles but warns against generalising the experience, challenges and potential of rural women. Their diverse stories also reveal how distinct factors combine to exclude, marginalise and create structural barriers to progress.

This need to focus on local realities is picked up by four African researchers (Kojo Amanor, Sérgio Chichava, Blessings Chinsinga and Langton Mukwereza) as they take a critical view of South-South Cooperation to-date and advocate for a horizontal process of two-way exchange that benefits both sides. Africa is not simply a recipient of assistance—African countries have not been idle (Sibanda, 2011) and their innovations too can be valuable to the broader South.

African countries have also been active in looking for successful examples of boosting agricultural productivity. Articles by Radhika Lal, Ryan Nehring and Ben McKay as well as Darana Souza and Israel Klug set out how Brazil has achieved impressive results on this agenda by harnessing small-scale farmers to achieve social and productive inclusion. The resultant positive impacts on poverty, inequality and food insecurity

offer significant lessons for Africa's complex development reality (IPEA, 2010). Brazil has been active in its response to African demand, and its Food Purchase Programme (PAA) is already being shared with a number of African countries.

More broadly, cooperation on agriculture among countries in the South potentially could deliver critical development outcomes, both for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and possibly for the emerging consensus around Sustainable Development Goals. Gubo Qi's review of China's complex and long-standing relationship with Africa presents a view of cautious optimism. Many lessons emerge from the Chinese story despite the fundamental differences in approach.

The article by Frédéric Goulet and Eric Sabourin contrasts the scale, scope and evolution of Argentine and Brazilian approaches to South-South Cooperation. They conclude that the dual smallholder/agribusiness model practised in both countries will be critical in defining the impacts of policy as well as technology transfers.

Approaches that recognise smallholder farmers offer a potential win for inclusion, but it remains to be seen whether pro-smallholder models can be applied in different contexts. Although parts of Brazil share similar eco-climatic characteristics with much of sub-Saharan Africa, Lidia Cabral and Alex Shankland caution against the wholesale transfer of the Brazilian model to African soil, particularly because of important social and institutional differences between the regions. As with development in general, 'adaptation to context' must be a key principle of South-South Cooperation. This will require flexibility in 'learning by doing': articles by André Dusi and Thomas Patriota/Francesco Maria Pierri highlight how this approach has been applied and how programmes have evolved.

A development agenda driven more by the South is an appealing and progressive idea. Its effectiveness will be judged by its results. To increase the chance of those results being positive and transformational requires potential partners to engage critically

with both the good practice and the weaknesses and challenges. For example, Adriano Campolina urges us to look at the contradictions of Brazil's agricultural model, which has not always worked for every part of society, nor for every pillar of sustainable development at all times. And Eunice Borges's review of structural gendered inequalities in the Southern Cone region highlights how good macro models have still failed key groups in the population.

Making development inclusive can be a significant focus for lesson-sharing between Southern partners. Anabel Marin's article on making Natural Resources Industries good for all in Argentina highlights the policy challenge of making economically entrenched industries, like agriculture, more inclusive. Key lessons resonate here for highly mineral- and natural-resource-dependent African countries, where resource conflicts continue to restrict access to land for livelihoods. Bianca Suyama and Lara Leite's contribution highlights the importance of knowledge-based institutions in driving a more inclusive dialogue process within Brazil and elsewhere.

In this series we have addressed some key questions identified in Issue No. 20 of IPC-IG's *Poverty in Focus* series as well as concepts highlighted in Issue No. 23, particularly on issues of social sustainability. These include:

- How can cooperation involve the more direct participation of a broader set of African stakeholders, to ensure broad-based ownership of policies as opposed to ideas imposed from the outside?
- Can South-South Cooperation be developmentally driven as well as a source of political solidarity?
- Is it capable of shifting the paradigm and offering a better model of development?

There is still much more to do and learn before these questions can be fully answered. There is an emerging consensus that South-South Cooperation has a greater contribution to make and can help to inform continuous

innovation in development policy and practice. Perhaps it has a special role to play in promoting empowerment and inclusion alongside growth and economic opportunity and in sharpening our focus on a 'value' approach to cooperation built on a combination of **people, policies and institutions**.

Happy Reading!

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Can South-South Cooperation Deliver Key Answers to Africa's Challenge on Climate-Smart Agriculture and Green Growth?

by Tom Owiyo, African Climate Policy Center (ACPC)¹

Producing food in sufficient quantity and quality has never received as much concerted global attention as it has in the last five years. A global food crisis side-by-side with the economic and financial crises of 2008 revealed just how much the agricultural sector has been neglected in the recent past. In most developing countries, especially in Africa, investment in the sector remained at just about 4 per cent even though the sector provides jobs to the majority and contributes to 30 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP). This has led to a substantial reduction in financing for agricultural research programmes, extension services and capacity-building programmes in institutions of higher learning (FAO, 2010). The consequences have been a dearth of innovation, incubation, and poor dissemination of new technologies.

With climate change and climate variability, producing enough food for the projected global population of 9 billion people in 2050 must be done in ways that are climate smart: that increase the overall efficiency, resilience, the adaptive capacity and the mitigation potential of the agricultural production systems (Ibid). Within the context of green growth, such a transformation must be environmentally and economically sustainable and socially inclusive.

In pursuing climate-smart agricultural production systems, the differing objectives and capacities of smallholder producers must be clearly distinguished from those of large-scale producers. The former form the majority in many Less Developed Countries (LDCs), and—unlike the large producers—for them, agriculture is a source of livelihood as well as of income. Africa's smallholder producers will likely bear the burden of the effects of climate change, even though they contribute the least to greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions.

As such, while the large-scale producers in developed countries (Annex I Parties) pursue programmes that promote mitigation, the smallholders in Africa and other LDCs need mechanisms that enable them to adapt to the effects of climate change and climate variability.

Despite limited progress within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), African countries still need to urgently improve their agricultural production systems and address the challenges of climate change and climate variability.

1. Tom Owiyo is a Senior Specialist in Agriculture and Climate Change at the African Climate Policy Center (ACPC) of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Making Agricultural Production Systems Climate Smart Demands Sustained Attention in Three Main Domains:

- generation and access to appropriate technologies;
- establishment of an institutional and policy environment at local, national and regional levels; and
- availability of appropriate financing mechanisms to promote uptake of improved technologies at all levels.

To date, climate change negotiations have not resulted in a specific work programme for agriculture. During the Committee of Parties (COP) 17 in Durban, the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SUBSTA) was mandated by the parties to consider issues related to agriculture so that the subsequent COP might adopt a decision.

This is a reflection of the wide division that exists between the parties on creating a specific work programme for agriculture. Indeed, Annex I Parties seem only keen to have a work programme under the framing of mitigation and one with much less emphasis on adaptation (Stabinsky, 2012). It is plausible that under mitigation, they aim to compensate emissions reductions in developing countries rather than cutting their own emissions. For their part, LDCs continue to insist that a significant emissions reduction is a prerequisite for the success of adaptation programmes. Despite limited progress within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), African countries still need to urgently improve their agricultural production systems and address the challenges of climate change and climate variability.

What can African countries learn from the green revolution?

A strong institutional framework that enhances the integration and coherence of the National Action Plans for Adaptation (NAPAs) and the Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs) with the national development strategies such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) is fundamental. At the continental level, African countries have taken a number of reform initiatives—for example, the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). One of its key objectives is to promote public investments in the agricultural sector to about 10 per cent of national budgetary expenditure.

This would reinvigorate support to the key aspects of agricultural research and technological development, dissemination through extension services and provision of necessary financial support to producers to adopt transformational production practices. Such a transformation

must essentially be at par with the requirements for a greener model of growth—that is, low carbon, highly resilient and socially inclusive—which will require approaches which focus not just on quantitative but also qualitative changes.

Climate-smart agricultural production systems can optimise the use of inputs and use efficient post-harvest management. On the input side, many practical approaches exist for soil and nutrient management: the use of improved seeds, water use efficiency, pest and disease control mechanisms, improved livestock and fisheries systems, the use of improved genetic resources and ecosystem management. Access to and affordability of energy is also critical for the agricultural sector, especially for post-harvest processing and to meet the needs of smallholder producers, particularly subsistence farmers, many of whom are poor.

By blending different financial resources, together with innovative approaches Africa will be able to exploit its huge potential for climate smart agriculture and a green economy transformation.

According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), a key challenge for many subsistence farmers in Africa is the depletion of soil quality and poor nutrient availability (FAO, 2010). African governments must, therefore, support a suite of technological options that includes soil amendments through mineral and organic fertilisers and access to high-yield certified seeds.

Management of water resources is another critical element of making agricultural production in the continent climate resilient. Indeed, with appropriate water resource management and water harvesting techniques, Africa could significantly reduce the dual impact of floods and droughts that are frequent features of the production landscape. Furthermore, with just under 4 per cent of its agricultural production under

irrigation, Africa still has significant potential to increase agricultural production and productivity without necessarily opening up more land to cultivation. Water, both availability and quality, and the potential challenges posed by climate variability and change were among the issues raised by representatives from African Embassies at the 'International Seminar on the Role of South-South Cooperation in Agricultural Development in Africa' held in Brasilia on 17 May 2012.

What can South-South Cooperation offer a climate-dependent Africa?

A clear focus is needed on the key underlying challenges to production. Successful initiatives in one country are not always immediately adaptable to another. While it is often claimed that Brazil shares much in common with Africa, one significant difference is the amount of irrigated land as a percentage of arable land. Another is the access to and availability of technology and financing for innovation as well as experimentation.

South-South Cooperation initiatives can potentially help to unpack some of Africa's more persistent problems including the coordination of the generation and sharing of climate science data, improvements in the analytical capacity and the ready availability of information to promote decision-making on agricultural production.

As the FAO (2010) notes, the sustainable transformation of the agricultural sector which necessitates **combined action** on food security, development and climate change will come at significant costs.

The World Bank, for example, estimates adaption in the agricultural sector in developing countries, alone, to cost US\$2.5–2.6 billion a year between 2010 and 2050 (World Bank, 2010). Many initiatives exist—for example, the Copenhagen Accord that committed developed countries to provide US\$30 billion in fast-track start financing from 2010 to 2012 (divided equally between adaption and mitigation). However, the current performance of climate financing shows large gaps between resources pledged, deposited and actually disbursed.

Moreover, available financing mechanisms neither facilitate nor make possible such combined responses.

It is only by blending different financial resources, including national budgetary allocations, private-sector financing, Official Development Assistance (ODA), and opening windows for agriculture in existing mechanisms such as the REDD+ and the Clean Development

Mechanisms together with new innovative approaches that Africa will be able to exploit its huge potential to make agriculture not only climate smart but an integral part of its green economy strategies. South-South Cooperation provides a number of windows into the kind of mechanisms and approaches that can unlock this potential and make it a reality. ■

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African Women's Leadership in Agribusiness: a Force for More Inclusive Development and South-South Cooperation

by Clara Ibiha¹ and Eunice Mwangera² of AWAN East Africa and Tonni Brodber, UNDP South Africa³

Sustainable inclusive development is one of the most pressing realities of the 21st century, especially in the developing world, where countries must struggle to meet the needs of increasing growth within the context of sustainable agricultural practices. Agriculture not only contributes to overall economic growth, but it is also a key source of livelihoods and often the entry point for how countries can and do manage natural resources and the environment. Those engaged in agriculture are the custodians of economic growth, food security and sustainable development.

Agriculture is also fundamental to economic development in sub-Saharan Africa, where 417 million rural people live in countries with agriculture-based economies (World Bank, 2008). Studies have observed that gross domestic product (GDP) growth that originates in agriculture is approximately four times more effective in reducing poverty than GDP growth that originates outside the sector (Ibid). Currently, 30 to 40 per cent of the continent's total GDP and approximately 60 per cent of its total export earnings are directly linked to agriculture (Ibid.). Most African women reside in the rural areas where more than 70 per cent of the continent's poor people live (International Fund for

Agricultural Development, 2011). More broadly, even where agriculture is not the mainstay of the economy, it is still the lynchpin of poverty reduction and inclusive growth. Often, the face of such poverty and exclusion is female and rural; on average 65 per cent of Africans rely on agriculture as their primary source of livelihood (Fan et al., 2009).

While much of the growth in agricultural production in other heavily agriculture-dependent economies in developing and middle-income countries (MICs), in particular Brazil, China and South Africa, is a result of big commercial farming operations, African agricultural development has largely been accelerated by smallholder farmers.

Small-scale farmers are responsible for more than 90 per cent of Africa's agricultural production (Ibid), and women make up 70 per cent of smallholder farmers in sub-Saharan Africa (IFAD, 2011). Women's agricultural activity contributes not only to GDP but also enhances food security by producing the majority of food consumed in local households.

Estimates of women's contribution to the production of food crops in sub-Saharan Africa have ranged from 30 per cent in

Agriculture not only contributes to overall economic growth, but it is also a key source of livelihoods and often the entry point for how countries can and do manage natural resources and the environment.

Regional networks such as AWAN.EA also allow African women smallholder farmers to contribute to national, regional and global practices in agribusiness.

A study in Burkina Faso, for example, links gender-based restrictions on access to labour and basic farm inputs with a 30 per cent reduction in yields on plots farmed by women compared to those maintained by men (Meinzen-Dick, et al., 2011).

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2. Chair of Kenya Chapter of AWAN East Africa and owner of Hillside Green Ltd.

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Sudan to 80 per cent in the Congo, while their proportion of the economically active labour force in agriculture ranges from 48 per cent in Burkina Faso to 73 per cent in the Congo and 80 per cent in the traditional sector in Sudan (FAO, 1993).

Therefore, the attainment of gender equality, especially through equal access to resources, and the empowerment of rural women engaged in agriculture are critical elements of reducing poverty, reducing hunger through food security and attaining meaningful inclusive economic growth and sustainable development in sub-Saharan Africa.

From agriculture to agribusiness

Although African women are the guardians of food security, and a crucial force within the agricultural sector, gender dynamics and stereotypes (see Figures 1 and 2) often result in their marginalisation and structural exclusion from the business side of agricultural development.

Their minimal control over access to resources such as land, inputs such as improved seeds and fertiliser, credit and technology hampers their capacity to leverage agricultural production into a business opportunity. African women face widespread restrictions on their ability to buy, sell or inherit land, open a savings account, borrow money or sell their crops at market. They also are more likely than men to lack access to rudimentary basics of farming such as fertilisers, water, tillers, transportation, improved crop and animal varieties, and extension services. This directly affects crop yields and productivity.⁴ A study in Burkina Faso, for example, links gender-based restrictions on access to labour and basic farm inputs with a 30 per cent reduction in yields on plots farmed by women compared to those maintained by men (Meinzen-Dick, et al., 2011).

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that reducing these gender-based barriers globally could increase total agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5 to 4 per cent and reduce the number of hungry people in the world by 12 to 17 per cent—or approximately 100 to 150 million people (FAO, 2011). Such analysis makes a strong economic, productivity-

and capability-based case for the productive and economic inclusion of women, alongside more traditional and still very valid social arguments.

While it is imperative that governments and development partners accelerate improvements in agricultural production and trade by reducing gender-based barriers and providing the necessary support for women's small and medium-sized agribusiness enterprises, civil society and women's organisations are also critical stakeholders and key actors in promoting and supporting the important transition of more African women in agriculture into agribusiness by overcoming institutional and cultural barriers to rural women's entrepreneurship.

The African Women Agribusiness Network (AWAN) was established in 2002 to respond to the increasing need for African women to receive vital information on trends, opportunities and challenges in regional and international agribusiness. AWAN East Africa (AWAN.EA) is a regional organisation that serves members in seven countries across East Africa. It provides management training, technical expertise and networking forums to build the capacity of women to succeed in the global agricultural trade by enhancing the quality and profitability of their products in regional and international markets.

Such links to international markets are being afforded through training as well as collective enterprise development. For example, AWAN.EA is undertaking a joint programme to have an export house by the name of 'Da'bidii House' which is a fusion of two Swahili words 'Dada' and 'mwenyebidii', meaning 'hardworking sister'. The brand name for the house is 'Ma'Mama's Kitchen' as a strategy to meet volumes, especially the export market. Currently, plans are in place for 15 members from Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Ethiopia to be trained as part of the pilot start-up phase of the export house initiative.

Because of their consistent and direct interactions with the environment through tasks such as gathering water, collecting firewood and farming, many women farmers in Africa are at the

forefront of innovation in adaptation to climate change and sustainable farming. While agricultural technologies and knowledge that assisted farmers in China, Brazil, India and South Africa to boost their development have proven to be valuable for smallholder farmers in other countries with similar challenges, African women smallholder farmers in less developed countries using networks such as AWAN.EA are also organising to share their best practices across the continent and globally to boost development.

Regional networks such as AWAN.EA allow African women smallholder farmers to contribute to national, regional and global practices in agribusiness. Through these networks, women are provided with a platform to build their own capacity further through partnerships with networks of women farmers in other developing regions and countries.

The scope for such knowledge and exchange between Africa and other actors in the South including Brazil and China is now emerging, and the recent international seminar on the role of South-South Cooperation in Agricultural Development in Africa, in Brasilia, hosted by the IPC-IG, the Future Agricultures Consortium and other partners, allowed small-scale women farmers from both Africa and Brazil to meet within the context of a broader forum on policy and development, to connect and to contribute.

Towards a greater role for social innovations in South-South Cooperation

As both recipients and donors of aid, many MICs understand the importance of a participatory approach to development. As a result, for the most part South-South Cooperation in agriculture has consisted primarily of MICs sharing technical developments, ranging from improving livestock breeds and health to food processing technologies to more efficient water use, with less developed countries.

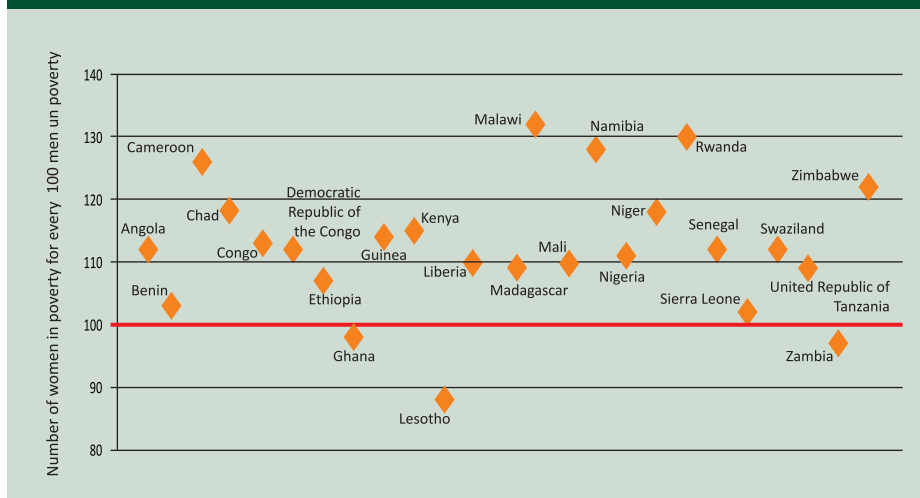
Emerging experiences such as that of the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT)⁵ in Andhra Pradesh in India demonstrate how women can use science to shift from subsistence farming to successful

agribusiness, sustainable development and poverty alleviation. Since access to science and technology is challenging in rural areas, South-South Cooperation potentially can do much more by making more explicit efforts to address capacity and access gaps. Globally linking regional African networks such as AWAN.EA to networks in India, China and Brazil, including the bridging of various language divides, that can share success stories and better practices of engaging women smallholder farmers in science and technology would contribute directly to the organisation's goal to transform African women agribusiness.

Not only can further and increased South-South Cooperation in such specific ways contribute to better practices related to science and technology, but such broader networks can also help to build additional good and social practice by bridging the resource gap facing women farmers who are even more marginalised because of disabilities and HIV and AIDS.

Additionally, high-level South-South policy engagement among governments to highlight gender-responsive agricultural policies that directly tackle economic marginalisation and unequal access to resources would accelerate and expand public attention towards the creation of an inclusive and enabling environment for women's agribusiness.

Figure 2
Ratio of Women to Men of Working Age in the Poorest Households in sub-Saharan Africa



Source: UN Women, 2012b.

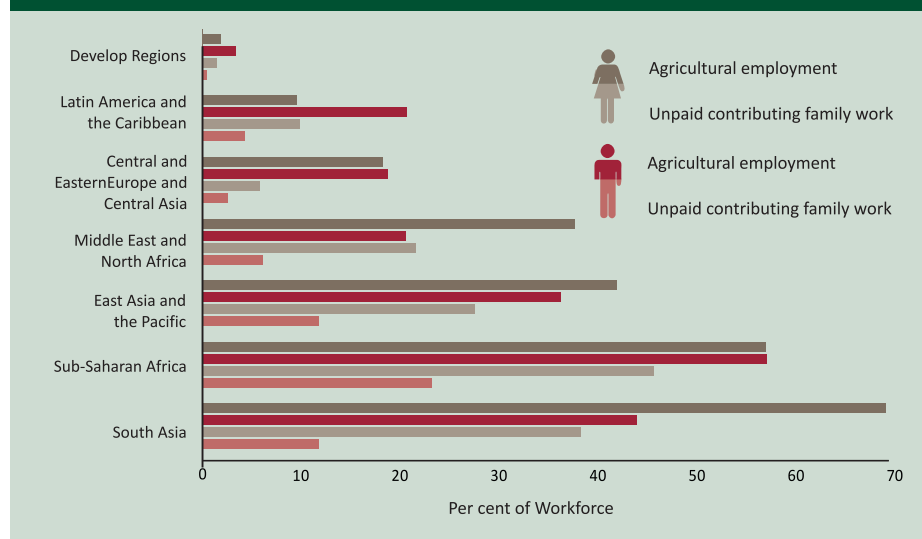
International organisations, development partners and governments also have a potentially pivotal role in facilitating dialogue around such a role for South-South Cooperation, with triangular cooperation being one potential model, and in enhancing the scale and scope of exchanges which promote capacity-building among social networks and incubators for women in smallholder agribusiness.

Critically, in a time of significant financial austerity, even greater focus is needed to ensure that women's economic

empowerment is enabled by increased access to inclusive finance as well as to development financing that makes such critical exchanges on social innovations for economic empowerment possible. Organisations such as New Faces, New Voices, a regional women's organisation founded on the belief that women are an under-tapped resource and that investing in women can have a significant development impact that would accelerate economic growth on the African continent, are interrogating the structural and institutional barriers that prevent women from accessing finance. Greater collaboration between women's organisations advocating for inclusive finance and those promoting women's agribusiness is essential to create the necessary multiple effects and catalytic change needed to eliminate structural inequalities.

Many challenges remain in securing inclusive sustainable development and economic stability for African countries and developing countries more globally. While women, especially rural women, are often characterised by their acute vulnerabilities, they are also capable agents and a driving force for economic

Figure 1
Proportion of the Workforce in Agriculture and Unpaid Family Work, by Sex



Source: UN Women, 2012a.

4. As a result, female farmers produce a lower yield on their crops than male farmers by an average of 25 per cent (IFPRI, 2011).

5. See: <www.icrisat.org>.

and sustainable development. Reducing gender-based barriers and promoting platforms that increase the voice and participation of women in Africa and globally in agribusiness can result in increased national growth and sustainable and equitable livelihoods.

South-South Cooperation for development, will of necessity, need to directly embrace these concepts and principles so that the development thrusts proposed, particularly in African agriculture, are sustained and sustainable. ■

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Towards More Inclusive Agriculture – A Common but Differentiated Reality: Three Rural Women's Experiences from Brazil

by Justina Cima, Jomar Amaral and Sandra Maria da Silva

When talking about rural women, it must be recognised that this is not a homogenous group, even within national borders.

Peasants, environmentalists and academics advocate for change in the way that agrarian, economic and social projects are designed and implemented, to better ensure the sustainability and survival of the planet and the ecosystem.

Land expropriation by big business (agro-business and timber firms) highlights the lack of effective protection and legal means to protect indigenous rights and access to land.

With a continental size and a history marked by slavery and migration, Brazil's social make-up reflects cultural and ethnic plurality as well as racial inequality and other forms of discrimination. Like other multicultural and multi-ethnic societies, it has made significant advances but is still challenged by structural inequalities.

The authors of this article are an example of this reality. Justina Cima, from the *Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas* (MMC – Peasant Women's Movement), Jomar Amaral, from the *Associação de Mulheres da Amazônia* (AMA – Amazon Women's Association) and Sandra Maria da Silva, from the *Coordenação Nacional de Articulação das Comunidades Negras Rurais Quilombolas* (Conaq – National Joint Coordination of the Rural Black Quilombolas Communities), were in Brasília to express this individual and group-related reality which defines the experience of rural women at the local/micro level.

They are unanimous when asserting that their individual experiences reflect that of all Brazilian women. And they go

further: during the dialogue with African women at the international seminar on the role of South-South Cooperation in African agricultural development on 17 May 2012, although there were particularities, they found many similarities. They concluded that the Brazilian women's ongoing experience is also reflected in that of women across the world.

When talking about rural women, it must be recognised that this is not a homogenous group, even within national borders. 'Rural women' as a collective term used for policy dialogue captures very different ethnic groups and realities. This is why the perspectives of these three authors from different ethnicities—black, white and indigenous—are an important addition to this edition of *Poverty in Focus*. It builds on an earlier edition on *Indigenising Development*.

Their statements and experiences direct our understanding of the more 'invisible' structural challenges and open up the debate about the social and cultural contexts for defining sustainability, food sovereignty and recognition of women's work and empowerment (see Figure).

Their contribution here grounds the broader discussion about inclusive sustainable agriculture in the context of racial inequality, gender discrimination, sexism and poverty, which define the reality for some in both Africa and Brazil.

A peasant woman's perspective

Studying was Justina Cima's dream during her childhood. Born in an inner city of Rio Grande do Sul, of Italian descent, she left school after the 5th grade, so she could work. Still young, she moved to the city of Quilombo, in the extreme west of the state of Santa Catarina, 581km from the capital, Florianópolis.

Justina has witnessed many political, social and economic changes throughout the last 30 years. During the military dictatorship, from 1964 to 1984, she observed the 'Green Revolution'—a programme to increase agricultural production through the genetic improvement of seeds, intensive use of pesticides and large-scale monoculture. She also witnessed the many social and environmental impacts caused by this input-extensive agricultural model: the indebtedness of small farmers, the increasing rural exodus, the concentration of land, the production reserved for export, and a strong impact on the culture of traditional communities whose relationship with nature means that agriculture and the extractive activities are not just productive activities but a way of life.

Peasant farmers began to self-organise in assemblies and trade unions. They opened up the debate on land reform, social justice, the right to land, fair prices and social security rights. From 1982 to 1988, with other peasant women, Justina participated in the processes of redemocratisation of the Brazilian political system.

Since 2000, a change of vision has occurred, with an increasing awareness that everyone belongs to the same planet. Peasants, environmentalists and academics advocate for change in the way that agrarian, economic and social projects are designed and implemented, to better ensure the sustainability and survival of the planet and the ecosystem.

The collective consciousness of peasant women in Brazil has been

clearly articulated at national and international levels. MMC belongs to the Latin American and Caribbean networks and has maintained strong links with International *Via Campesina*, which now has a secretariat in Mozambique.

Justina believes that cooperation projects among Brazil, South Africa and Mozambique are extremely positive, and MMC participates in these projects. She notes specifically: "This cooperation must respect the culture of each place and must be a knowledge exchange."

The mutual benefits begin with the awareness that South-South Cooperation cannot be a passive relationship, in which one actor teaches and the other one learns. The experience exchange is of utmost importance. The definition of the model to be shared is also a fundamental step.

Brazil is the world's leading consumer of pesticides, reaching 5.2 litres per person per year (Ministério Público do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul, 2011). MMC supports land reform and the shift away from the model of commercialisation of natural resources. It also endorses the creation of adequate public policies and cooperation that stimulate the use of traditional seeds and diversified cultivation techniques. On the issues of eradicating hunger and poverty, MMC promotes a debate that goes beyond food and nutritional issues.

It also opposes exporting the green revolution model and requires the right to food sovereignty. It considers it essential to value women's and youth labour, and it believes that the environment is a system where everything is connected: the rural and the urban, transportation and the treatment of garbage, women's empowerment and the fight against discrimination. It believes that social organisations and social movements are indispensable to the promotion of social transformation which is at the heart of development cooperation in a South-South context.

A quilombola woman's perspective

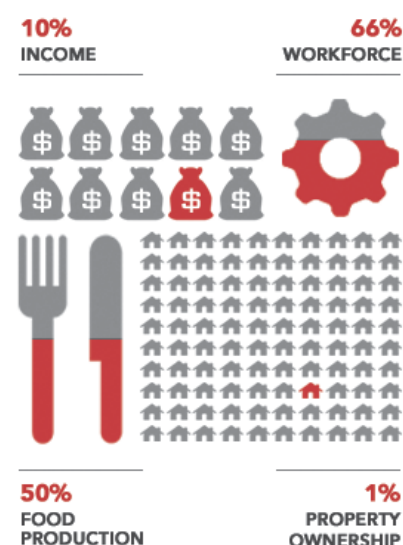
The Brazilian *quilombos* were created as a strategy to counteract the structural realities of slavery. These communities of ex-slaves occupied lands which were

The mutual benefits (of South-South exchange) begin with the awareness that it cannot be a passive relationship, in which one actor teaches and the other one learns.

The gathering of quilombola women, discovering their rights, making new contacts with feminist and peasant movements and exchanging experiences, have all enriched and strengthened the community.

To include rural women in debates and cooperation projects means having active voices that make the connection between the structural and the local, the theoretical and the practical.

Women account for:



Source: Vital Voices and BlueCadet Interactive (2012) <<http://www.vitalvoices.org/what-we-do/issues/economic-empowerment>>.

difficult to access, for obvious reasons at the time. Now, in Brazil, there are *quilombos* in 25 Brazilian states. According to Sandra Maria da Silva, from Minas Gerais, there are 600 *quilombolas* communities registered in Conaq.

The historical processes have been different in each region, but, in general, land speculation, the illegal occupation of public land and the spread of agro-business have expelled a number of communities from lands they occupied.

Sandra states: "It was easy to expel us. Suddenly, a landowner appeared. We were considered people with no soul, with no land, with nothing. There was no perception that a crime or crimes were being committed."

At the age of 13, Sandra left her community and moved to the big city, so she could study and work. Her *quilombo*, called Carrapatos de Tabatinga¹ is located at Bom Despacho, an inner city in the state of Minas Gerais, 158km away from the capital, Belo Horizonte. In the capital, her dream was to become a lawyer, since she wanted to serve as an advocate for her community and their rights. When she was 24 years old, she experienced some hard times and returned to her community to help her mother.

In 1984, a housing complex was built in the middle of the *quilombo*, causing the destruction of the community's water supply. Further deforestation caused negative impacts on local production.

At that time, the *quilombola* women started to work as housemaids in the new houses, often in horrible human conditions. After many complaints of abuse, Sandra tried to find support at *Via Campesina* and at *Fundação Cultural Palmares*.

The gathering of *quilombola* women, discovering their rights, making new contacts with feminist and peasant movements and exchanging experiences have all enriched and strengthened the community. Nowadays, children and youth are aware of their rights from an early age, and the community has zero tolerance for humiliation or racism.

According to Sandra, it is the women who remained in the community to take care of their children and to ensure their survival, and who continue to lead activism in the movement. In 2005, they participated in the 1st Meeting of Quilombola Communities in Minas Gerais, where the National Federation and Conaq also came into being. These changes also resulted in a rise in the self-esteem and self-determination of the *quilombolas*, but there is still a long way to go. Their efforts focus significantly on programmes to empower women in rural areas, in political processes and in cooperative economic activities.

In 2011, Conaq developed a programme with *Artesãs do Mundo* (Craftswomen of the World), in France, in which the peasant women of Mali and Senegal also participated. They have exchanged traditional knowledge, debated ecological agriculture and shared best practices and difficulties of each community. The conclusions of this exchange will be discussed at the Rio+20 conference in Rio de Janeiro. "We learn the theory, but the practice is a lot more important," Sandra states, supporting the value of dialogue and exchange for development.

An indigenous woman's perspective

To get to the city of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, one needs to travel four days in a boat that goes up to the Rio Negro, crossing 852km that divides the county of the Amazon capital, Manaus. This is where Jomar Amaral, of the Dessana ethnicity, was born.

At the age of 13, Jomar went to Manaus, where she worked as housemaid and finished her high school studies. One day she was making a speech to the *Associação de Mulheres Indígenas do Alto Rio Negro* (Association of Indigenous Women from Alto Rio Negro) to tell them about her experience, and that was when she encountered for the first time the tending looms, bracelets, earrings, baskets and all the handicrafts made by these women. These brought back memories and a sense of common identity from her youth and her community. This was her entry point into indigenous and social movements, the *Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da*

Amazônia Brasileira (Coiab – Coordination of Brazilian Indigenous Organisations from the Amazon) and her department of indigenous women. Nowadays, she is a member of AMA, which covers nine Brazilian states and has 20 years of experience in fighting for indigenous people's rights.

Jomar states that land expropriation by big business (agro-business and timber firms) highlights the lack of effective protection and legal means to protect indigenous rights and access to land. In her own region, São Gabriel da Cachoeira, there is a big forest area without any form of agrarian development.

"The severing of their relationship with the land, the disrespect to the indigenous culture and tradition and migration result in a disastrous cultural disruption that ends up causing alcoholism, use of drugs, domestic violence, prostitution and suicide among the communities. The violation of their identity also causes the loss of linguistic history and of the accumulation of knowledge and traditions that have persisted over millennia, similar to what happens with many African tribes. In the end, the fight for all of us women is the same one," Jomar asserts.

These statements show how economic empowerment and contact with women's and feminist movements have made a significant difference to their trajectories. Their participation in decision-making spaces and in the construction of public policies is reflected directly in their ways of thinking and acting. To include rural women in debates and cooperation projects means having active voices that make the connection between the structural and the local, the theoretical and the practical, to improve the lives and well-being of those who need such support the most. ■

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Public Policies for Inclusive and Sustainable Agriculture: an Emerging Agenda for South-South Cooperation?

by Radhika Lal, Ryan L. Nehring and Ben McKay¹

The recent food price crisis and the continuing volatility in food prices have underscored the imperative to invest in agriculture and the need to adopt policies to enhance access to food especially for poor and vulnerable people. There is also a premium on technological options that better utilise scarce natural resources and industrial inputs as part of an ‘evergreen’ revolution for sustainable agriculture.

These concerns are also reflected in the South-South Cooperation agenda. A parallel focus is emerging on increasing productivity via large-scale farming coupled with support to family or smallholder farmers as a way of trialling sustainable technologies and addressing local food security and poverty reduction in rural areas.

Brazil’s experience offers lessons for both paradigms: its unusual institutional framework encompasses both a Ministry for Agrarian Development (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário – MDA) with a National Secretariat for Family Farming and a Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply (Ministério da Agricultura, Pecuária e Abastecimento – MAPA).

With a view to fostering South-South learning on policy options for smallholder or family farm production this article explores the contribution of Brazil’s Public Food Acquisition Programme (*Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos* – PAA) to social and environmental sustainability outcomes. Souza and Klug (2012), in this series, discuss in more detail the PAA’s food security dimensions and its application in the context of the PAA Africa programme.

The smallholder farming dilemma

The current agriculture and food regime prioritises production at scale and at competitive prices. While even the poorest family farmers, for the most

part, need to produce for sale to acquire cash to meet basic needs, access to the market is often unreliable, risky and tends to take place on relatively unfavourable terms. Programmes that provide access to finance, inputs and training and encourage integration in value chains are not always up to the task for small farmers.

A new generation of *productive inclusion* programmes (see Lal and Junior, 2010), such as the PAA, potentially adds significant value here.

Within the framework of a *socially regulated market mechanism* that characterises the PAA, the government purchases various goods at market prices to build up public food stocks that regulates prices and channels food to local institutions serving food-insecure populations. The PAA has a number of different modalities, and from the point of view of local development, the simultaneous donation programme is particularly innovative.

While a number of countries have food procurement systems, one of the major innovations of Brazil’s PAA is its decentralised procurement modalities. This contributes to realising a number of sustainable local development outcomes including employment and rural entrepreneurship (see Table, next page).

Specifically, these outcomes are:

Social inclusion and sustainability:

Three important dimensions of social sustainability are considered here, namely, income, social protection and health. The PAA offers family farmers predictable demand and hence basic income security. They can sell to the programme at market prices until they reach a predefined (financial) maximum.

The current agriculture and food regime prioritises production at scale and at competitive prices.

One of the major innovations of Brazil’s PAA is its decentralised procurement modalities. This contributes to realising a number of sustainable local development outcomes including employment and rural entrepreneurship.

1. Radhika Lal, Ryan Nehring and Benedict McKay, co-coordinator, consultant and visiting researcher, Employment, Social Protection and Development Team, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth.

By linking across multiple dimensions and levels, the PAA proves to be a very practical instrument for building the capacity of farmers to produce goods of quality with scope to access other market opportunities over time.

Agro-ecological producers are able to secure increases in crop resiliency, diversity and quality—additional benefits for resource conservation and sustainability efforts. However, this can involve higher costs initially.

Prices are higher than those that family farmers would normally receive given their limited bargaining power with intermediaries and dependence on the local market. Findings from the PAA management group, Grupo Gestor do PAA (2010), suggest that beneficiary farmers received three times the income of non-beneficiaries as a result of marketing produce through the PAA.

The food procured through the PAA finds its way into institutions serving a social purpose—from community kitchens to schools, also part of a broader national social protection framework. In many communities, the PAA-procured food goes to a popular distribution centre which then provides free basic food staples to vulnerable groups. The food is fresher and provides a particular boost in nutrition for children, improving their cognitive ability, energy and their overall health.

Environmental sustainability:

The PAA avoids unsustainable build-ups of stocks and reduces the need for extensive transport and distribution networks. It is thus potentially low-carbon in its approach to consumption. It works with farmers who are, by default, less likely to deploy natural resource-

intensive technologies. The PAA also offers agro-ecological producers a price incentive of an additional 30 per cent which contributes to greener agricultural outputs. Agro-ecological producers not only have a more predictable market but also increased access to price insurance and social security. Products that are produced sustainably but are difficult to certify are channelled to local markets, fairs and certified organic products and wider market outlets.

Conventional agriculture, on the other hand, tends to prioritise productivity in the short term and often leads to soil depletion and increased susceptibility to pests. Agro-ecological producers are able to secure increases in crop resiliency, diversity and quality—additional benefits for resource conservation and sustainability efforts. However, this can involve higher costs initially. The programme provides incentives that encourage farmers to transition away from the use of agro-chemical inputs, to diversify production and incorporate local knowledge, techniques and seeds, which is critical to ensuring sustainable increases in productivity and resilience over time.

Economic sustainability through local development:

The PAA serves to inject cash with stimulus effects on the local economy while invigorating local supply chains. PAA-type programmes are particularly important for areas with poor infrastructure that are far from urban markets. Their growing role in the poorer states of Brazil (North and North-East) contributes to reducing sub-national spatial disparities (see Figure for changes in regional presence over time). By linking across multiple dimensions and levels, the PAA proves to be a very practical instrument for building the capacity of farmers to produce goods of quality with the scope to access other market opportunities over time.

Farmers are more likely to be concerned about the quality and safety of their products when they have a relationship with consumers—for example, when procured food is distributed to local schools attended by the farmer's children.

PPA Modalities			
Direct purchase from family farming	Focused on procuring products at low prices or for the purpose of meeting the food demands of populations facing food insecurity.	R\$ 8 thousand	MDA and MDS
Support to family farming stock formation	Provide resources for family farming organizations to build stocks of their products to market them later when market conditions are more available.	R\$ 8 thousand	MDA and MDS
Procurement with simultaneous donation or local direct procurement	Responsible for donating products purchased from family farming to people facing food and nutrition insecurity.	R\$ 4,5 thousand	MDS
PPA Milk	Ensures the free distribution of milk through actions designed to combat hunger and malnutrition of people facing socially vulnerable situations and/or food and nutrition insecurity. Covers the northeastern states.	R\$ 4 thousand per semester	MDS

Source: MDA, 2010.

The value of connecting people, policies and institutions

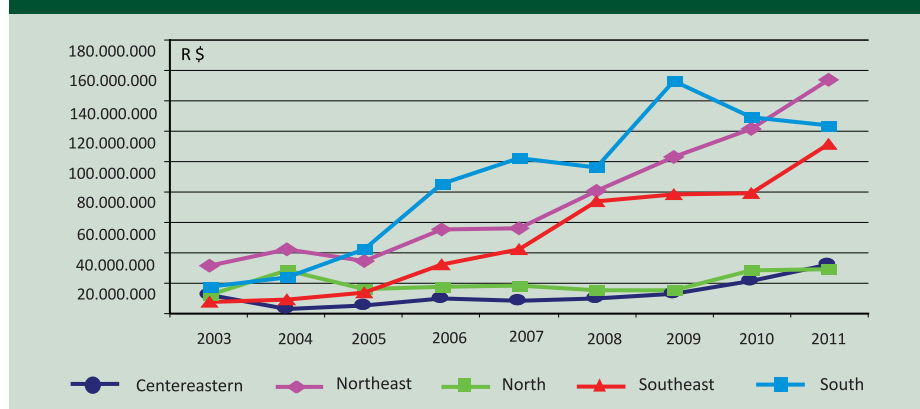
There are a number of policy issues that arise as regards implementation of a programme that targets smallholders.² The PAA sets limits to how much it will procure and is thus more attractive to poorer farmers than other public food distribution systems, which tend to attract and rely on big producers.

A significant determining factor is *outreach and identification of the target group and linking them to critical services*. Brazil uses a basic registry to deliver credit to family farmers (DAP). This does not necessarily capture poor people, who are more likely to show up in the single registry (*Cadastro Unico*) that is used for its social programmes. Greater integration between the two is a focus under the new national strategy *Brasil sem Miséria*.

Moreover, while linking local production to local consumption is potentially low-carbon and more sustainable, *access to transportation* is still a challenge for poor farmers. Ensuring local coordination and support for delivery and pick-up, especially of fresh produce, is thus a priority issue. The experience of Brazil and other countries also points to the *importance of local organisers that can serve as connectors and facilitators* to raise awareness and connect poor and under-served farmers to technical and programme services. In Brazil, local organisations and food security councils provide the core platform for the continued evolution of the programme. The PAA seeks to ensure *programme sustainability* by stipulating a maximum level of predictable demand and hence income from the programme while providing farmers with experience in producing for sale coupled with services necessary for diversification.

Since its inception in 2003 the budget for public food purchases in the programme has expanded from just over US\$43 million to now over \$427 million, with a total of US\$1.9 billion invested in procuring 3.1 million tons of food that went to benefit more than 15 million people in some 2,300 municipalities. Over 200,000 family farms have participated in procurement through the PAA (Conab, 2012). Due to its

Figure
Evolution of Resource Allocation from the PAA by Region



Source: Conab, 2012.

success the Brazilian government plans to more than double the number of family farmers involved to almost 450,000 families by 2014 (MDA, 2012). Similar tailored domestic support for smallholder agriculture is needed in other countries now more than ever.

Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento (Conab) (2012). Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos: Resultados das Ações da Conab em 2011. Brasília, Conab. **Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento (Conab) (2012). Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos: Resultados das Ações da Conab em 2011.** Brasília, Conab.

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Rosset, P. (2000). 'The Multiple Functions and Benefits of Small Farm Agriculture in the Context of Global Trade Negotiations', Development 43: 2. Rome, World Food Programme.

The experience of Brazil and other countries also points to the importance of local organisers that can serve as connectors and facilitators to raise awareness and connect poor and under-served farmers to technical and programme services.

Greater integration between the basic registry to deliver credit to family farmers (DAR) and the single registry (Cadastro Unico) that is used for social programmes, will be an important step forward.

2. These are some of the critical issues and insights that emerged from field research conducted by the authors in the states of Piauí and Ceará. Piauí and Ceará are two of the poorest and most unequal states in the country.

by *Darana Souza,*
WFP Centre of Excellence against Hunger,
and Israel Klug, FAO, Brazil

A Multidimensional Approach to Food Security: PAA Africa

PAA Africa is organised into two strategies: The first covers Brazilian humanitarian cooperation and the second Brazilian technical cooperation.

PAA Africa has the potential to promote, within public policy agendas, trade channels that can offer large and stable demand along with more profitable prices for this public.

National governments, UN agencies, smallholder farmers' organisations and local communities are among the key stakeholders considered.

The development of South-South and Triangular Cooperation raises a number of questions about its potential to contribute to more inclusive and sustainable policy practices. As far as food security policy is concerned, the opportunity for knowledge-sharing among countries that face or have faced common challenges represents a path yet to be expanded and consolidated.

In this regard, as Brazil diversifies its partners and support activities for food security in developing countries, it is pertinent to analyse the potential of these initiatives to suitably tackle the different dimensions of this matter. This article examines the defining features of the PAA Africa programme, a cooperation initiative which starts in 2012 in 10 African countries.

The PAA Africa programme emerged from a political commitment made by the Brazilian government during the high-level summit 'Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security, the Fight against Hunger and Rural Development', held in Brasilia in 2010. It aims to contribute to food security and income generation by linking small-scale farmers to food assistance initiatives through local food purchase.

The programme is organised into two strategies. The first covers Brazilian humanitarian cooperation and will be implemented by the General Coordination for International Action Against Hunger (CGFOME) through an agreement with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Food Programme (WFP). It focuses on five countries: Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger and Senegal. Other partners are contributing to this strategy such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID), which supports the

related South-South knowledge-sharing activities with WFP. The second strategy covers Brazilian technical cooperation and will be implemented by the Brazilian Technical Cooperation Agency (ABC), partnered with the FAO. It targets Ghana, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire.

Each strategy has its particularities as regards partners, methodologies and activities. Two major components, however, are present in both cases. One concerns the development of a pilot project for local food purchase in each country, to be designed and implemented according to an assessment of each national context. The other regards strengthening knowledge of related stakeholders for the development of a longer-term local food purchase strategy within national policy.

Implementation of the programme will cover a range of activities, notably technical visits, seminars and dissemination of pertinent documentation. National governments, UN agencies, smallholder farmers' organisations and local communities are among the key stakeholders considered.

PAA Africa was inspired by the Brazilian experience with public procurement of food items from family farmers.¹ As part of the Zero Hunger strategy, the Food Purchase Programme (PAA) and the School Feeding Programme (PNAE) allow government procurement of local food items, whether solely from family producers, in the case of PAA, or through a quota system, in the case of PNAE. While PNAE's impact in this regard needs to be analysed further, since the local purchase quota only began in 2009, PAA has proven to have achieved important results over its nearly 10 years of operation. It has made available

1. In Brazil, family farmers are legally defined in the National Family Farming Act (Law 11.326) according to four requirements: the rural establishment (or undertaking area of activity) does not exceed four fiscal modules (defined in each municipality); the labour used in the related activities is predominantly family-based; the family's income predominantly originates from activities related to farming and the smallholding; and the establishment is directly managed by the family.

a diverse range of quality and locally relevant foods. Furthermore, as an option of guaranteed markets at fixed profitable prices, the programme ensures direct monetary benefits to farmers and builds their productive and organisational capacities (Chmielewska and Souza, 2010).

As far as the African context is concerned, the programme intends to leverage existing similar experiences. Home-grown school feeding (HGSF) is one of them, characterised by the use of nationally or locally produced and purchased food items in school meals. Experimented with in different African countries, it is seen as a tool for increasing both children's wellbeing and promoting agricultural production. The impacts of these initiatives, however, are yet to be examined further.

Another related experience is WFP's Purchase for Progress (P4P), a pilot initiative launched in 2008 targeting 15 countries in Africa, two in Asia and four in Latin America. By linking the demand from WFP—a significant buyer in sub-Saharan Africa—with the supply-side expertise of partners, P4P gives farmers an incentive to invest in their production. In addition to the diverse network of partnerships it has generated, one of the most crucial lessons the five-year pilot has demonstrated is that smallholder farmers and their organisations can supply high-quality commodities provided there is an investment in their capacity (WFP and KIT, 2012).

These various experiences combined can be further consolidated in Africa, where they are largely pertinent due to the high prevalence of food insecurity and large share of smallholder farmers involved in food production. In this regard, a number of issues can be raised concerning the opportunities and challenges for PAA Africa to deliver multiple benefits in diverse national food security policy contexts.

Access to commercialisation channels is recognised as an essential pillar of support to smallholder farmers and requires particular interventions to tackle the barriers they face to enter markets (Barrett, 2008). PAA Africa has the potential to promote, within public

policy agendas, trade channels that can offer large and stable demand along with more profitable prices for this public.

With respect to the food offered, the programme is flexible enough for analysis and consequent use of any food item produced by smallholder farmers. This can strengthen the provision of diversified and nutritionally balanced meals and rations in food assistance programmes. Furthermore, locally grown and distributed items are potentially in accordance with local food habits. From the perspective of farmers, this is an opportunity to consolidate market alternatives to both commodity items and to local food varieties that are less affected by international food price volatility.

Another important opportunity presented by PAA Africa is its potential to deliver environmental benefits, mainly through its targeting of local food purchase and distribution. Short supply chains have the benefit of reducing transportation needs as well as costs, with the potential positive impact of lowering carbon emissions. Possible additional benefits, which could be derived from the use of locally defined environmentally friendly production techniques, could be explored further.

A number of challenges emerge which could limit the full realisation of the programme's potential. Among these are structural as well as practical considerations. Differences in national contexts such as institutional capacity, smallholder profile and production, design and implementation mechanisms of food assistance programmes, for example, represent important difficulties to generate profits from the Brazilian model. Accordingly, proper consideration of and adaptation to the local context will be key to success. In this context, the actual collaboration processes and mechanisms developed with the relevant national and local stakeholders during implementation of the programme will be paramount.

Notwithstanding the above, it is important to bear in mind that PAA Africa is currently a small-scale cooperation activity for each of the countries involved.

The challenge is to guarantee that an expected increasing universe of participating producers are actually able to respond to the commercial opportunities offered by public purchase initiatives.

To achieve the potential highlighted above, issues of sustainability and up-scaling will need to be tackled. Government ownership and capacity to lead related programmes is an important condition for both of these to be met. Yet if PAA Africa considers actions towards these goals, success will be affected by a broader context, including political stability and continuous commitment, proper development of decentralised administrative, financial and procurement models, long-term public or partnership-based logistic capacity, and fiscal space accompanied by continuous resource allocation.

Likewise, for sustainability and expansion of the food supply from smallholder farmers to be secured, the challenge will be to guarantee that an expected increasing universe of participating producers are actually able to respond to the commercial opportunities offered by public purchase initiatives. This means having the capacity to provide food products to potentially large, stable markets according to a specified quantity, agreed timeframe, required variety and quality demand. The development of this capacity will entail a wide range of longer-term complementary support activities to this group, beyond the scope of PAA Africa alone.

Finally, it is necessary that food assistance programmes which both receive and deliver publicly purchased items are continuously strengthened. Appropriate infrastructure for storage and/or cooking (when pertinent) as well as capacity development of personnel involved in areas such as food quality control, stock management and cooking

are essential activities that require continuous attention and upgrading.

Overall, PAA Africa represents a strategic opportunity to link successful models in Brazil which are appropriate to the challenges also faced in Africa and to build on similar experiences on the continent. It offers an occasion to increase joint support for the multiple dimensions of food security and to increase both knowledge and practice in this area.

In other words, it promotes access to food to vulnerable populations through support to local smallholder food production, income generation and

food distribution; proper food utilisation through possible diversification of food items and coherence with local eating habits; and environmental benefits by avoiding additional transport-related carbon emissions.

The possibility for this programme to achieve its full potential will to a great extent depend on how solidly it will be implemented and further developed in each country context. Close monitoring of this experience will improve knowledge and understanding of the potential for Brazil-Africa cooperation to promote sustainable and inclusive policy practices. ■

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Agricultural Cooperation between China and Africa – Opportunities and Challenges

by Gubo Qi,¹

In addition to bilateral aid and economic cooperation, China is actively applying the United Nations system's Framework on South-South Cooperation mechanism and other multilateral mechanisms to extend agricultural assistance to Africa.

The dynamics of agricultural cooperation between China and Africa reflect the changes in perceptions and implementation approaches embedded in the international development environment, China's domestic policies and the development strategies of African countries.

As China's role in international development increases, China-Africa cooperation is more and more concerned with the focus on its mixture of aid, investment and trade, the lack of transparency and of conditionality of aid, social responsibility of private-sector actors, and issues of neo-colonialism. Reviewing the historical changes in China-Africa agricultural cooperation could help to respond to those concerns to some extent.

China-Africa agricultural cooperation has gone through three stages during the 50 years since 1959. The first stage, from 1959 to the 1970s, was dominated by development assistance, with the Chinese government offering grant aid to African countries to help build farms, agricultural experiment stations and water conservation projects and provide extension services and technical expertise.

In the second stage, from the late 1970s to the end of the 1990s, a system of awarding investment contracts to state enterprises was adopted for some assistance projects. In addition to non-reimbursable assistance, concessionary

loans gradually became a major part of agricultural assistance to Africa. Furthermore, China began to participate in multilateral aid activities on the African continent. The third stage, from 2000 onwards, involved a further deepening of Sino-African agricultural cooperation.

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, and the signing of a number of multilateral and bilateral agricultural cooperation documents, indicate that Sino-African agricultural cooperation is progressively turning from a project-based to a more strategic and sustainable form of institutional development.

In addition to bilateral aid and economic cooperation, China is actively applying the United Nations system's Framework on South-South Cooperation mechanism and other multilateral mechanisms to extend agricultural assistance to Africa.

China and Africa's agricultural cooperation involves crop cultivation, fisheries management, technical cooperation, agricultural processing projects, construction of agricultural infrastructure and personnel training, and has spread to 44 countries on the

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African continent. Agricultural cooperation has become an important part of China-Africa relations. From 1960 to 2006, China's agricultural assistance projects in Africa accounted for one-fifth of China's total aid projects in Africa (Bräutigam and Tang, 2009).

The dynamics of agricultural cooperation between China and Africa reflect the changes in perceptions and implementation approaches embedded in the international development environment, China's domestic policies and the development strategies of African countries.

Changes in perceptions mostly relate to political and economic considerations. In the 1950s and 1960s, ideology and politics guided the agricultural assistance from China to Africa; it did not have any additional requirements and was fully supported by China's government and expected to contribute to a new political and economic order, together with other aid areas. With the failure and lack of sustainability of those aid projects, two-way agricultural cooperation took on the major role, with enterprises becoming the main actors of cooperation and a particular emphasis on mutual benefits.

The objectives of improving the capacity of state-owned enterprises to manage international companies and promote the chances of private-sector actors of maximising profits were integrated into aid strategies and plans.

The change from one-way aid to cooperation with mutual benefits to multilateral and diverse cooperation mechanism-building was also related to the international development environment and aid practices, and the trajectory of agricultural development strategies in African countries.

In particular, along with the privatisation and globalisation process worldwide, neo-liberalism has generally prevailed and the role of the private sector emphasised in the development arena. Once the decreased proportion of agricultural overseas direct investment (ODI) was reviewed in the context of the impacts of price fluctuation on agriculture and poverty issues, a broader concept of

agricultural cooperation began to emerge to substitute traditional agricultural aid.

Moreover, the adjustment of development strategies in African countries induced corresponding requirements for agricultural development, which have contributed to the paradigm shift of China-Africa agricultural cooperation. At the early stage after independence, the full use of agricultural resources and the gap between food supply and food demand were significant issues, and agricultural aid and, particularly, agricultural technology aid were designed accordingly.

Overall, agricultural cooperation between China and African countries remains a dynamic learning process. Many investors from China lack in-depth knowledge of the local context.

However, the failings of structural adjustment reinforced the cancelling of national economic development planning efforts and the elimination of agricultural subsidies, with both smallholders and large farms facing the problems of attracting financial resources and improving their marketing and management capacities to adapt to a rapidly changing marketing environment. Joint-venture and other economic cooperation patterns were required and produced.

Significant achievements in agricultural development in China contrasted with the food security problems in Africa in the mid-1980s, and Sino-Africa enterprises with shared stakeholders were established in many countries due to their management ideas and approaches and impact on the efficiency of agricultural production.

The change in domestic policies and systems in China which influenced the cooperation between China and African

countries by expanding its internal development patterns also cannot be ignored or underplayed. Planning systems in the 1960s and 1970s were a kind of fixed and substantial pattern, and marketing systems, after the 1980s, made development schemes more diverse, with more focus on the agency of enterprises and self-reliant technological innovation. These were introduced into African countries accordingly. Such multiple patterns of agricultural cooperation are essential, particularly in the current context of globalisation.

The nature of agriculture is now related to a number of externalities when compared with other industries—for example, lower internal rate of return, the higher relevance of land conservation and demands for greater environmental protection.

Accordingly, there are significant limits to a purely commercial approach to agricultural cooperation in terms of both investment willingness and social impacts. With multiple agencies participating and a diversity of approaches, those limitations are only going to increase.

However, there are still many challenges for more effective cooperation between China and Africa. These include:

- **Creating a balance between public and private benefits when joint ventures are playing more and more important roles:** Although joint ventures or enterprise-type farms could be viable alternatives for sustaining current aid projects, critical debates are already emerging around the shift from non-profit public welfare research institutions to a business-oriented model. Additionally, the willingness of investors from China and adequate spaces for actors from African countries to develop their own agriculture are both essential.
- **Maximising the nexus of technology, institutions and basic resources for integrated application:** The approaches applied by the Chinese government and/or private sector were mostly based on its macro economic, social and administrative environment.

While there is significant potential to adapt them to a totally different region and/or context, these need to be more fully analysed in a broader context and adjusted accordingly. Moreover, the management approach will require a more novel approach beyond the marketing of agricultural products.

- **Making businesses responsible for technology extension and knowledge distribution:** A mature management mechanism for private investment in Africa has yet to be established. Many investors from China currently lack in-depth knowledge of African laws, regulations, policies, religious practices and traditions.
- **Sending experts and technicians to work in the field:** Meeting the needs of partner countries based on their own natural resources, production patterns and policy and

market environment is also important for a successful transfer process.

- **Attracting investors directly for the agricultural sector,** considering the lower internal rate of return than other industrial sectors.
- **Defining and integrating novel cooperation approaches into current international development cooperation mechanisms:** A mixture of China's aid and commercial activities exists vaguely on the boundaries of the work of cooperation agencies, the implicit linkage between public and private and the dynamics of implementers. The combination of aid programmes with investment projects and loan-for-export activities and the advantages of Chinese state-owned enterprises all emerged from the implementation of the Angola model (Kaplinsky and Farooki, 2009).

Overall, agricultural cooperation between China and African countries remains a dynamic learning process which requires new theoretical concepts and frameworks to improve understanding and analysis, going even beyond the current knowledge paradigm. Equal exchange among policymakers, academic institutions and non-governmental and international development organisations is key to this learning process.

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South-South Cooperation between Africa and South American Emerging Countries: The Case of Agriculture and Rural Development

by Frédéric Goulet and Eric Sabourin¹

Horizontality, without any kind of domination or hidden interest, is the key principle in the discourses on South-South Cooperation.

Biotechnology, no-till methods and adapted planting equipment are at the heart of the demand for cooperation by African countries.

The recent dialogues organised between Brazil, Argentina and international organisations are representative of the rapidly expanding scale of cooperation with African countries around agriculture, food security and rural development.² Are the intentions, initiatives and institutions the same in Brazil and Argentina? This article will qualitatively assess the main areas of convergence and divergence between the approaches employed by these two countries, and underline the debates that these models of cooperation open up in terms of public-private relations and multiple models of agricultural development.

Rhetoric and related institutional frameworks

Both Brazil and Argentina have developed South-South Cooperation

initiatives based on similar values, rhetoric and justifications, largely differentiating themselves from 'traditional' actors. Among the issues noted are their lack of a colonial past with possible target countries, a demand-driven context for cooperation and a directed response to clearly articulated partner interests.

Horizontality, without any kind of domination or hidden interest, is the key principle in the discourses on South-South Cooperation. The institutional structure is also quite similar, with initiatives being managed principally in both countries by an agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Agencia Brasileira de Cooperação (ABC) in Brazil and the Fondo Argentino de Cooperación Horizontal (FO-AR) in Argentina are the

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lead actors in this new form of development cooperation. Unlike its Southern counterpart, the ABC coordinates foreign aid to Brazil as well as Brazilian cooperation support to foreign countries. For its part, the FO-AR is only dedicated to the second part of the mission (FO-AR, 2010)— i.e. technical/development cooperation with other countries of the South.

In both countries, requests for cooperation from third countries are received through embassies and then transmitted to the ABC or FO-AR. The two agencies then centralise requests and transmit them to national 'execution' agencies, in charge of actual implementation. In the agricultural sector, the two main actors are, in both cases, national agricultural research centres: the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa) and the Argentinean National Agricultural Research Institute (INTA).

Emerging practice and themes in cooperation on agriculture

The dominant characteristic of both cooperation systems is that they provide mainly technical cooperation. Brazil and Argentina do not offer financial cooperation, as China does—for example, through gifts or preferential loans. The main mechanism deployed has been to send experts for well-targeted short missions. More recently, Embrapa has started posting staff in recipient countries such as Senegal and Mozambique. Embrapa also works through official representation offices abroad (it opened its African office in Ghana in 2005).

While Embrapa enjoys many advantages through such arrangements, including a great deal of flexibility, its research mandate means it has a marginal interest and autonomy in technical cooperation on extension. Yet the ABC requests Embrapa to mostly work on extension, and pays it to do so. For its part, INTA does not face such limitations, as the institution integrates both research and extension in its approach. In that sense, it has more autonomy from the FO-AR in defining a global technical cooperation strategy than Embrapa has from the ABC.

Dual Agricultural Models in Brazil and Argentina – Hope for Africa?

- The first is an agribusiness model, based on the production of commodities and diffusion of (bio) technology.
- The second is a smallholder or family farming model, based on public support and adapted technologies.

African countries are equally interested in both models, to simultaneously develop industrial supply chains that are able to attract foreign investors, and local food systems adapted to smallholder conditions. In the case of the latter, successful experiences such as the Brazilian *Mais Alimentos* (see Cabral and Shankland, 2012; Patriota and Pierri, 2012 in this series) or *Bolsa Familia* (see Campolina, 2012 also in this series) are being adapted to Africa at the request of local stakeholders. Similarly, the Argentinean *Pro-Huerta* programme is also being adapted; developed initially through triangular cooperation in Haiti, it is attracting the interest of countries such as Mozambique and Angola.

In terms of concrete activities, the Brazilian model of agricultural South-South Cooperation is more active than the Argentinean one, especially in Africa.

According to internal reports, the ABC implemented agricultural 'activities' in 30 African countries in 2010, with a special focus on Portuguese-speaking countries (ABC, 2010). Although its work covers many areas, cooperation focused mainly on 'technology transfer' in areas such as biofuels, vegetable and animal genetics, irrigation, cropping systems and vegetable and fruit production or transformation.

While the short missions of Brazilian experts to Africa or African professionals to Brazil are the most common tool, the permanent presence of Embrapa staff in countries such as Senegal and Mozambique allows the agency to partner with local institutions on long-term experiments—for example to adapt Brazilian rice varieties to local conditions.

The biggest projects—for example, *ProSavannah* or *ProAlimentar* in Mozambique—are conceptualised and executed through triangular cooperation with industrialised countries such as Japan or the USA.

The African activities of INTA are more modest, as Africa is still an emerging field of activity compared to the South-South Cooperation conducted by Argentina in Latin America. Over the last five years INTA has established a cooperation memorandum with South Africa, Kenya,

Zambia, Algeria and Morocco and signed a letter of intent with Egypt, giving coherence to older cooperation agreements—just as Brazil has done over the past decade. The scope of action is wide, covering topics such as biotechnology, cropping systems, biofuel, post-harvest technologies, cattle technology, soil sciences, precision agriculture, vegetable seeds etc.

New dynamics: dual agricultural and public-private arrangements

Brazil and Argentina are keen to expand their international influence, and African countries are eager to benefit from these South American success stories in agriculture and food security policies. But these successes—and the foreign interests they generate—are linked to two different models of agricultural development which operate in both countries.

With respect to the agribusiness model focused on commodity production, countries in Southern Africa are

2. In May 2010, Brazilian authorities held a three-day meeting in Brasilia entitled '*Dialogo Brasil-Africa sobre segurança alimentar, Combate a Fome e Desenvolvimento rural*' ['Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security. Fighting Hunger and Rural Development'] with representatives from several African countries and international organisations such as the African Union, NEPAD, African Development Bank, FAO, WFP and The World Bank. In April 2011, Argentina held a four-day meeting in Buenos Aires and Tucuman entitled '*Africa Sub-Saharan Countries – Argentina: Innovación y desarrollo en la producción de agroalimentos*' ['African sub-Saharan Countries and Argentina: Innovation and Development in the Production of Food Crops'] with representatives from 13 African countries and international organisations.

particularly interested in the South American experience in soybean production (see Marin, 2012). Southern African countries have emerged in the last few years as a leading destination for foreign investment in soybean production, second only to South America.

Biotechnology, no-till methods based on soil management and adapted planting equipment are then at the heart of the demand for cooperation by African countries. Brazilian and Argentinean cooperation has been able to respond more cost-effectively than traditional donors such as the USA and Europe, and at a higher quality than Chinese manufacturing. South American firms in these areas are gaining market share in Africa, both in the large arable crops sectors such as soybean and in the

smallholder farming sector. Some programmes such as the Brazilian *Mais Alimentos Africa* (see more detail on this programme in Patriota and Pierri, 2012, also in this series) in Zimbabwe or cooperation agreements between INTA and South African companies have the explicit function of transferring national technology and exporting products of the national industry. South-South Cooperation and commercial interests can then be tightly linked, since South-South Cooperation is similar to but still distinct from 'traditional' cooperation.

Above all, the duality in the agricultural development models promoted through South-South Cooperation by Brazil and Argentina are themselves a source for strong debate and even controversy, particularly regarding their direct and

indirect impacts on food security, social inclusion or environmental quality. Are then Brazil and Argentina transferring not only their technology and know-how but also inherent socio-technical challenges and possible polarising effects? This question serves as a stimulating point of departure for broader discussions and research around the development impact of South-South Cooperation itself, particularly for social scientists working on cooperation and technological innovation.

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Transferring Brazilian Agricultural Successes to African Soil: a Reality Check

by Lidia Cabral, Overseas Development Institute and Alex Shankland, Institute of Development Studies¹

Research and development, which has played a major part in Brazil's stories of success and transformation, is a key component of the country's South-South Cooperation with Africa.

Agriculture is a central theme in Brazil's expanding South-South Cooperation, particularly in Africa where the sector accounts for more than 20 per cent of the country's technical cooperation projects (ABC, 2011) and is present in the portfolio of Brazilian cooperation with at least 26 countries (Cabral and Shankland, 2012). Brazil's successful agribusiness sector has attracted global attention, and the transformation of Brazil's central savannah belt—the *cerrado*—into the world's most important soybean production region is of special relevance to Africa. The 'cerrado miracle' (The Economist, 2010) has, in fact, been proposed as a model for the 'Guinea savannah zone and beyond' (World Bank, 2009) and is already being piloted along the Nacala corridor, in northern Mozambique, through a trilateral partnership between the governments of Brazil, Japan and Mozambique.²

Research and development, which has played a major part in Brazil's stories of success and transformation, is a key component of the country's South-South Cooperation with Africa, as evidenced by the strong involvement of Embrapa—a governmental research agency with a worldwide reputation for excellence in tropical crop science and technology (Cabral and Shankland, 2012).

However, as Brazilian development cooperation grows, many other actors from Brazil's complex agricultural policy matrix are also being called into the game, bringing with them a diversity of experiences and visions of agriculture, development and Africa. This brief article initiates a discussion of how Brazil, as a relatively new international development actor with a cooperation model still very much in the making, is filtering its own agricultural development practices across the Atlantic. It draws attention to the Brazilian agricultural policy framework

1. Lidia Cabral is Research Associate at the Overseas Development Institute, and Alex Shankland is Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies. Both are members of the Future Agricultures Consortium <<http://www.future-agricultures.org/>>.

2. See, for example, <<http://www.embrapa.br/imprensa/noticias/2010/janeiro/2a-semana/prosavanas-contara-com-tecnologias-da-embrapa-hortalicas/>>.

3. See, for example, <<http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/nacional,embrapa-vai-produzir-alimento-na-africa-diz-lula,61765,0.htm>>.

4. 'Diálogo Brasil-África em Segurança Alimentar, Combate à Fome e Desenvolvimento Rural' ['Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security, Fighting Hunger and Rural Development'] was held in May 2010 in Brasília (ABC, 2010).

and highlights some of the challenges facing the Brazil-Africa encounter in both terms of transfer and adaptation as well as exchange.

Brazil is a country of contrasts, and agricultural policy is no exception. The sector has long been a battlefield of competing models of socio-economic development and at the centre of political mobilisation in the fields of land reform, agroecology and smallholder agriculture (see articles by Ina et al, 2012; Dusi, 2012 and Borges, 2012 in this series). These mobilisations have often arisen in response to the perceived social and environmental costs of the 'agribusiness model' and in the search for a more inclusive approach to agricultural growth.

They have been driven by farmers' unions and social movements such as the National Agricultural Workers' Confederation (CONTAG) and Movement of the Landless (MST) and by civil society coalitions such as the National Articulation for Agroecology (ANA). Pro-smallholder policies have been promoted within the Brazilian government by the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), whereas the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply (MAPA) has focused on supporting the more capital-intensive agribusiness sector. This dual institutional setting for governing the sector separates public policies to support two different agro-production systems: **small-scale 'family farming'** and **large-scale agribusiness**. Often portrayed as a technocratic division of labour, this dual setting certainly reflects the reality of Brazil's intricate political dynamics in agriculture.

Brazil-Africa cooperation in agriculture has been undergoing rapid expansion and transformation. Former president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva was a strong enthusiast for transferring Embrapa's relevant experience and cutting-edge tropical agriculture technology to African soil.³ Agricultural cooperation gained renewed impetus at the end of Lula's mandate with the hosting of a seminal Brazil-Africa event on food security, hunger and rural development.⁴

This gathering marked the start of a new stage in Brazil-Africa agricultural

cooperation for development. It brought to the table additional actors such as MDA, thereby diversifying the institutional landscape and opening new thematic fronts for technical cooperation in agriculture. It also introduced new forms of technical cooperation through larger-scale and longer-term projects focused on the adaptation of successful Brazilian policies to the African context, particularly with regards to smallholder agriculture.

Brazil's agricultural cooperation portfolio in Africa today includes a rich array of models and visions of agriculture and development, which reflects the diversity, as well as the complexity, of the domestic landscape. Additionally, new modalities of cooperation that combine technical and financial support have been introduced.

Are Brazil's ongoing practices contradictory and irreconcilable or do they amount to a valuable mix of complementary approaches to development?

We are still far from arriving at a definitive answer to this question, as much will depend on how practice on the ground in Africa unfolds and what evidence tells us about such practices. For the moment, however, three remarks are worth making, which refer to *how* South-South Cooperation is being managed, particularly with reference to Brazil-Africa exchanges. Although we look at each of them from the perspective of the agriculture sector, they could be applied to Brazilian cooperation more broadly.

The first concerns institutional segmentation and a perceived policy void. Brazil's cooperation framework is populated by a diversity of players with no clear institutional lead or direction.

The Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) is mandated with coordination of technical cooperation, but, as a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with limited technical expertise in development issues, it lacks political clout and operational instruments to perform such a role effectively (Cabral and Weinstock, 2010).

This leadership gap, coupled with the institutional complexity of the agriculture sector, results in the absence of an explicit policy for Brazilian agricultural cooperation. What is left is a list of general guiding principles for Brazilian cooperation (ABC, 2011) and a menu of Brazilian agricultural policies, research and technology for partner countries to choose from.

This policy vacuum is often characterised as a positive feature of Brazilian cooperation, whose 'demand-driven' and 'non-interference' principles are incompatible with a pre-set policy agenda. The question then is how to assess the effectiveness of cooperation without a baseline policy framework with clear objectives and criteria for selecting countries, themes and beneficiaries.

The second remark is that Brazilian cooperation seems to be largely driven by a technocratic approach

New Forms of Technical Cooperation in Agriculture:

The Programa Mais Alimentos África and the Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos represent examples of new forms of technical cooperation based on adaptation of Brazilian policies to the African context.

Programa Mais Alimentos África aims to increase agricultural productivity and food security in Africa by improving access to technology. The programme led by MDA adapts a similar programme implemented in Brazil, since 2008. It consists of a credit facility to support the acquisition of Brazilian farming machinery and equipment, directed at 'family farming', complemented by specialised technical assistance. Credit lines have already been negotiated with Ghana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Senegal and Kenya.

Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos (PAA) aims to address food insecurity and strengthen local food markets by procuring food stuffs produced by small farmers, donating them to families facing food insecurity, supplying school feeding programmes and building up food stocks (see more information on PAA in preceding articles by Lal et al., Souza and Klug).

The dual institutional setting for governing the sector separates public policies to support two different agro-production systems: small-scale 'family farming' and large-scale agribusinesses. Often portrayed as a technocratic division of labour, this dual setting certainly reflects the reality of Brazil's intricate political dynamics in agriculture.

Brazil's agricultural cooperation portfolio in Africa today includes a rich array of models and visions of agriculture and development, which reflects the diversity, as well as the complexity, of the domestic landscape.

Although socio-economic studies are starting to be incorporated into the design of Brazilian cooperation projects, there are still major gaps concerning the local political economy, and filling these will require sustained and broad-based interactions with local institutions and processes.

to development, which assumes that development will result from the transfer of successful experiences mainly through technical packages delivered via government-to-government channels.

This approach overlooks the complexities of development, particularly in Africa where development policy change is a far from linear process (deGrassi, 2005). While key players in the field (such as Embrapa) have recently begun to stress the importance of learning and adaptation, there is as yet little evidence that Brazilian agricultural cooperation is sufficiently informed by in-depth understandings of partner country contexts— not so much the characteristics of local seeds, soils and climate, but rather the idiosyncrasies of the local political economy and state–society dynamics that shape development processes (Cabral and Shankland, 2012). Although socio-economic studies are starting to be incorporated into the design of Brazilian cooperation projects, there are still major gaps concerning the local political economy, and filling these will require sustained and broad-based interactions with local institutions and processes.

Following on from this, our final remark is that Brazil-Africa affinities are often overstated and framed in political rhetoric. While powerful and longstanding links undoubtedly exist, beyond historical bonds and agro-ecological similarities the differences between Brazil and most countries in Africa are not insignificant— whether in economic, sociological, anthropological or political terms. There is little evidence that such differences are well understood within Brazil, where broader, less stereotyped or romanticised research about Africa is beginning to emerge but still remains significantly underdeveloped (Zamparoni, 2007). Furthermore, Brazilian afro-descendants, who could potentially buttress the 'bridge across the Atlantic' (World Bank and IPEA, 2011), are far from influential in Brazilian formal institutions (Cabral and Shankland, 2012).

Brazil, alongside other rising world powers, offers exciting prospects for international development cooperation, technology transfer and knowledge

exchange. Not only does it add novelty and a welcome contrast to a Northern-dominated development paradigm, but it also comes with a track record of economic and social development, especially in agriculture, which African countries are eager to emulate. However, if past mistakes in the bumpy history of African development are to be avoided, such excitement may need to be tempered by a sense of reality and greater awareness of the challenges facing Brazil as a development actor. Clarity is also needed on the requirements for both adapting and replicating successes from one context to another, if these are to achieve their intended results, let alone contribute significantly to meeting the broader challenges of achieving inclusive and sustainable agricultural development in Africa.

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South-South Technical Cooperation in Agriculture: The Role of Brazil's Embrapa¹

by André Nepomuceno Dusi,
Embrapa²

The Brazilian Agriculture Research Corporation (Embrapa) has been involved in international cooperation since its founding in 1973. It began with a strong capacity-building programme of staff in North American and European universities, mainly for Masters and PhD degrees, and evolved over time into bilateral and multilateral agreements with major international agricultural institutions.

Technical cooperation, however, began with specific projects, mostly through capacity-building actions. The corporation's specialists were sent to cooperation partner countries to deliver direct support, or technicians from those countries were brought to Embrapa for training at their facilities in Brazil.

In 2002, the Government of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva changed this picture, due to the emphasis given to South-South international technical cooperation. Agriculture was one of the key areas where Brazil could shine, especially in tropical agriculture. In this context, Embrapa, a leading research institution in tropical agriculture, was called by the Brazilian government to join the programme.

Due to the increasing demand for cooperation, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC), a part of the Ministry of External Relations (MRE), and Embrapa redesigned their strategy (an outline of the complementary and differentiated roles of both ABC/MRE and Embrapa is presented in Figure 1). It shifted from multiple small projects to four major instruments:

1) Small projects, focused on specific capacity-building actions. These are usually short-term projects (a few weeks to one year) and involve only one of Embrapa's research centres.

2) Capacity-building programmes— together with Embrapa Capacity-Building and Studies (Cecat)—with a portfolio of courses offered to third countries. These courses may be offered on a regular basis, as the Third Country Training Programme (TCPT, together with JICA) or on demand. Also, Cecat designs specific courses to be part of the structuring projects.

3) The Innovation MarketPlace is a partnership between African, Latin American and Caribbean countries. With a focus on smallholders, the initiative intends to enhance agricultural innovation through partnerships between these countries and Brazilian organisations. The Innovation MarketPlace brings together the full range of actors involved in the generation of agricultural knowledge—research, academia, extension, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, producers and policymakers. The Innovation MarketPlace also opens up a new source of expertise to the countries to identify and target pro-poor, smallholder-based projects utilising Brazilian innovation research.

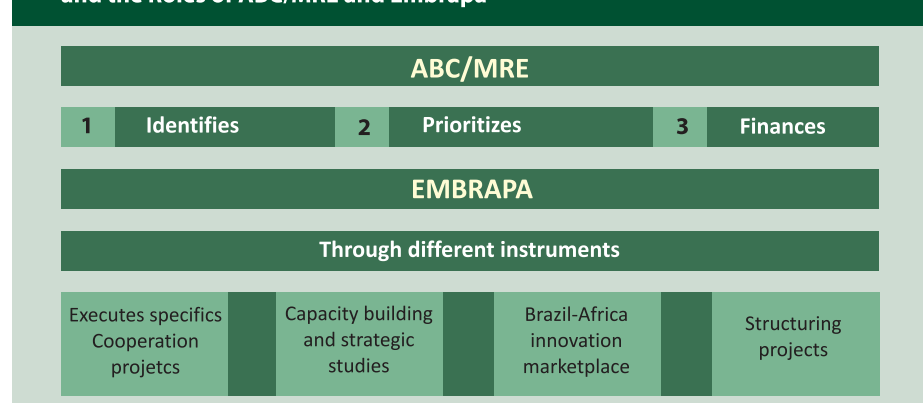
The use of Embrapa's own technical staff and the focus on long-term sustainability of the development objectives of the projects is a mark of the success of Brazilian cooperation.

The breadth and scale of Embrapa's activities is significant (as seen in Figure 2) and covers a range of political, social, environmental, economic and development contexts to be found in Africa.

1. Presented at the 'Seminar on the Role of South-South Cooperation in Agricultural Development in Africa', Panel 1, held at Brasília, DF, Brazil on 17 May 2012.

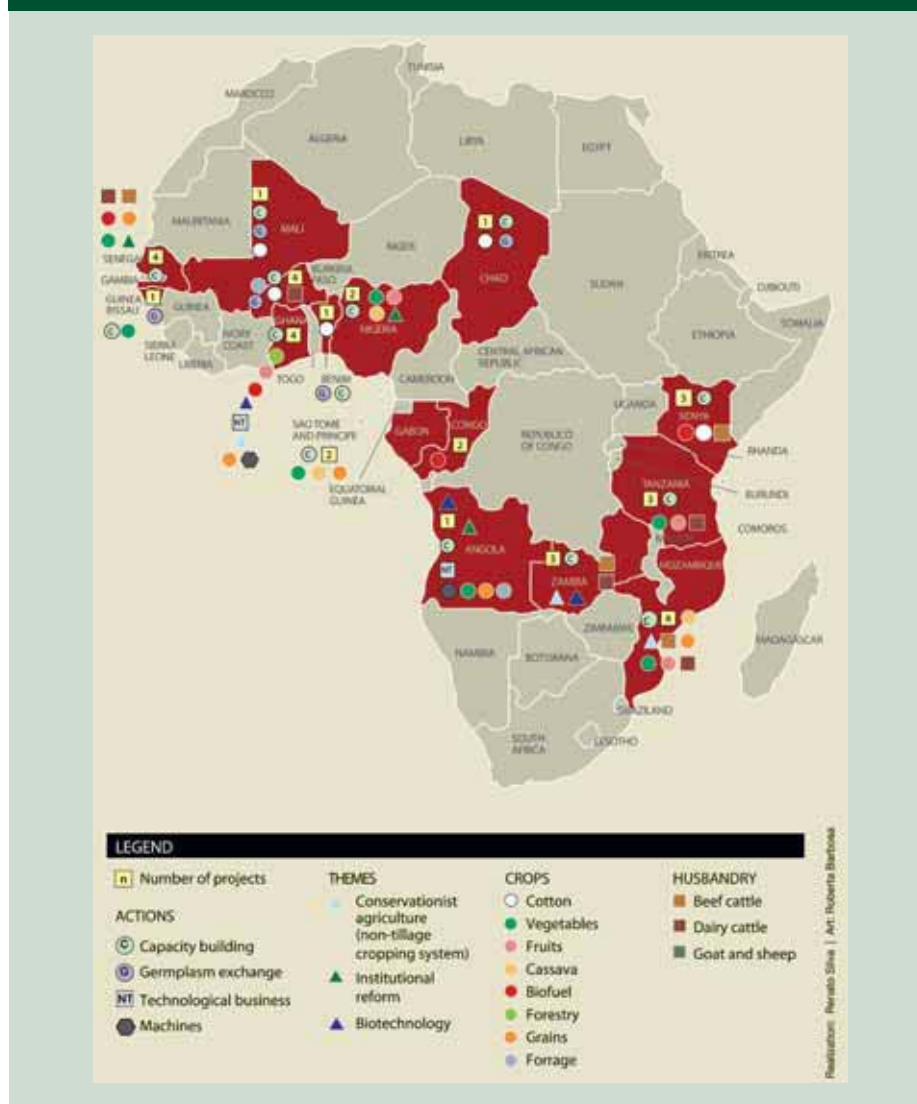
2. Structuring Projects Coordinator, Secretariat for International Affairs, Embrapa.

Figure 1
Outlining the Instruments Available for Agricultural Research Cooperation and the Roles of ABC/MRE and Embrapa



Source: Embrapa (n. d.).

Figure 2
Embrapa Activities in Africa: Scope and Scale



Source: Embrapa (n. d.).

This activity is co-funded by ABC, Embrapa and several international funding agencies.³

4) Structuring projects: long-term development projects, embracing institutional development together with capacity-building programmes and validation of technologies. The Embrapa-ABC programme in Mozambique is an example of this strategy. Three complementary projects are ongoing: Platform (in Portuguese, *Plataforma*), a project designed to improve the sustainability of the agrarian sector in Mozambique, aiming to strengthen the Agrarian Innovation System of the country to promote the planning, coordination, control and evaluation of

research activities and the transfer of technology; ProSavannah, based on a Regional Development Programme with a 20-year horizon, embraces both the growth of agricultural production, through an enhancement of the country's research and extension capabilities, and the improvement of power sources, storing facilities and transport. The aims of ProSavannah are to strengthen the capabilities of the innovation and extension systems in strategic areas, and to improve the competitiveness of the sector both in food security and to generate exportable surpluses; Food Security, a project that aims to strengthen vegetable production by smallholder producers and direct the products to both *in natura* and processed markets.

Diversification and the growth of vegetable production will allow an increase in food supply and improve diets.

Requests for cooperation are usually channelled through ABC, and all technical cooperation efforts are aligned with Brazilian foreign policy—given Embrapa's home within the MRE. Projects can also be developed under a trilateral scope, with other international cooperation agencies such as the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the UK Department for International Development (DFID). Multilateral cooperation is usually carried out largely in the context of the structuring projects and the Innovation MarketPlace.

The use of Embrapa's own technical staff and the focus on long-term sustainability of the development objectives of the projects is a mark of the success of Brazilian cooperation. Once projects are structured, studies on socioeconomic impacts are employed at the outset to gauge demand, the local production chain, land use, agriculture public policies and credit, among other things. Such an assessment allows for better design and execution of a sustainable intervention.

Brazilian South-South Cooperation (SSC) is demand-driven and does not transfer financial funds directly to the receiving country. Close interaction with counterparts is critical for successful cooperation. Each project has a unique design, looking beyond technological packages in order to sustainably address local needs. The biggest challenge, therefore, in designing the projects is a clear understanding of local demands and characteristics.

The breadth and scale of Embrapa's activities is significant (as seen in Figure 2) and covers a range of political, social, environmental, economic and development contexts to be found in Africa.

Embrapa and Brazil have gained an impressive international reputation based on the above-captioned efforts which have defined SSC in the agricultural sector of Africa for a number

of years. This leading role by Embrapa resulted in an increasing demand for cooperation, especially from African countries. Such a leading role is expected to continue, with an ever increasing demand for cooperation from African

countries. As South-South Cooperation continues to be expanded, explored and debated, Embrapa is also likely to establish specific bilateral scientific cooperation protocols to benefit Brazilian agriculture and farmers. ■

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3. In alphabetical order: Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, CIAT, DFID, FAO, FARA, Funarbe, IBD, IFAD, IICA, MCT, The World Bank.

Family Farming for Greater Food Sovereignty in Africa: Relevance of Brazil's More Food Africa

by Thomas Cooper Patriota and Francesco Maria Pierri,
Ministry of Agrarian Development of Brazil¹

In recent years, the legitimisation of the role of family farming as an engine of development in Brazil has been reflected in the gradual increase in public funding to the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA). MDA is mandated to stimulate this system of production and respond to the growing demand for agricultural research and technology tailored to the needs of such a system, resulting in sector-specific policy and technological innovation.

In addition to its essential contribution to food security, family farming also plays a major role in controlling inflationary pressures, stabilising the balance of payments, countervailing rural exodus and generating sustainable solutions for the occupation of rural areas. Brazilian policies towards family farming are now increasingly part of its international engagement, particularly in Africa. This article provides an overview of the domestic experience and discusses how this is reflected in contemporary Brazil-Africa South-South engagements in the agricultural domain.

In 2003, the Brazilian government created a series of policies geared towards family farming, encompassing credit, technical assistance, agricultural insurance, price guarantees and public procurement. These policies have provided efficient support to family farmers across value chains, with outstanding results. Indeed, 70 per cent of the food consumed by Brazilians is

produced by a dynamic, land-intensive and diversified family farming sector, whose productivity per hectare is evaluated to be currently 89 per cent higher than that of large-scale monoculture.

The Brazilian experience suggests that, for a family farming strategy to be effective, several elements must be present. Improved access to credit will only mire family farmers in debt if they are not given proper technical assistance to increase yields. Similarly, potential gains in productivity obtained by these services could lead to overproduction, and subsequent income shocks, if farmers are not given proper access to markets. MDA's cooperation efforts have put such a value-chain perspective into practice.

On the supply side, the following programmes are worth mentioning:

- the comprehensive credit system, which includes specific credit lines for women and young farmers;
- family farmer insurance schemes;
- building a national technical assistance and rural extension system; and
- sharing the technological and equipment platform created under the More Food programme (*Mais Alimentos* in Portuguese).

On the demand side, the Brazilian government has created public procurement programmes, namely the

Family farming also plays a major role in controlling inflationary pressures, stabilising the balance of payments, countervailing rural exodus and generating sustainable solutions for the occupation of rural areas.

Policy dialogue between MDA and African Ministries of Agriculture, with rural extension workers and social movements, aim to strengthen these different actors, including through capacity-building workshops and training courses.

1. Both authors work at the Ministry of Agrarian Development of Brazil. They serve as FAO Consultant at the International Advisory Section of the Ministry and the International Advisor of the Ministry respectively.

This article draws on parts of the forthcoming chapter: "Cooper Patriota, Thomas; Pierri, Francesco Maria (2012), Brazil's Cooperation for Agriculture Development and Food Security in Africa: Assessing the Technology, Finance, and knowledge platforms", to be published in "Cheru, Fantu; Modi, Renu (eds.) (2012), Agricultural Development and Food Security in Africa: The Impact of Chinese, Indian and Brazilian Investments, London, Zed Books."

Food Purchase Programme (PAA *in Portuguese*) and the National School Feeding Programme (PNAE *in Portuguese*), which have provided a guaranteed market to family farmers, reducing the volatility of income caused by unpredictable sales to the private sector.

Drawing on the priorities voiced by African ministers of agriculture who participated in the 2010 'Brazil-Africa Dialogue on Food Security, Fight against Hunger and Rural Development', the Brazilian government created an export credit line to convert its More Food programme into an international cooperation initiative with Africa. The programme provides a platform for MDA's international cooperation of support to small- and medium-scale agriculture (a sector that comprises the majority of Africa's labour force) based on the premise that the Brazilian experience can be of great relevance in supporting African countries in attaining greater food security, while generating socially and environmentally sustainable growth in rural areas.

More Food Africa is inspired by its domestic equivalent, a credit line created in 2008 by MDA with the goal of attaining strategic food sovereignty needs at the onset of the international food price crisis. The programme provides family farmers with credit under preferential terms (a 2 per cent interest rate, 10-year term and three-year grace period) to purchase a wide variety of agricultural equipment and machinery for small and medium-sized farms at subsidised prices.

In addition, the programme includes a technical capacity-building element. In the two years since its inception, the programme has provided about US\$2.2 billion in credit, with up to US\$56,000 per family, bringing about dramatic increases in family farmers' productivity and income, by 89 and 30 per cent, respectively.

It has also provided the Brazilian industrial sector with a steadily increasing demand, enabling it to invest in mass production of new machinery and equipment tailored for family farming. The synergy generated between the access for family farmers to the programme

More Food Africa: Status of Implementation

Country	Country policy framework	Status of more food Africa programme	Credit line for machinery acquisition (US\$ million)
Ghana	Medium Term Agriculture Sector Investment Plan 2011–2015 (METASIP)	TCP signed; credit approved by CAMEX	US\$ 95.495
Mozambique	Plano Estratégico para o Desenvolvimento do Setor Agrário 2011–2020	TCP signed; credit approved by CAMEX	US\$ 97.590
Senegal	Plan Stratégique Décennal de l'Agriculture	TCP signed	CAMEX credit line yet to be approved
Zimbabwe	Agricultural Growth Strategy for the Medium- to Long-Term Plan (2011–2030)	TCP signed; credit approved by CAMEX	US\$ 98.657
Kenya	National Agricultural Mechanisation Strategy	TCP signed	CAMEX credit line yet to be approved

and the consequent demand for small- to medium-scale agricultural machinery has amounted to a true national-scale countercyclical industrial policy. From January to May 2009, 61 per cent of Brazil's tractor sales and 41 per cent of the agricultural machinery workforce were driven by the More Food programme.

The ensuing More Food Africa programme, launched by President Lula in 2010, was built with the purpose of providing not only 'soft' technical assistance and policy dialogue but also 'hard' machinery and equipment, switching the national credit line used in Brazil for an export finance concessional loan. It was structured as a threefold programme, consisting of:

- a *Technical Cooperation Project (TCP)* with the goal of facilitating exchange on technical assistance and rural extension activities including policy dialogues to share the social technologies applied in Brazilian public policies;
- *Credit*, in the form of concessional loans to import relevant agricultural machines and equipment; the More Food Africa credit line was approved on November 2010 by the Council of Ministers of the Brazilian Chamber of Foreign Trade (CAMEX), under the *PROEX Concessional* modality;² and
- an *Agreement with the industrial sector*, whereby African countries

formulate a list of suitable items, while MDA negotiates prices with the manufacturers' unions, based on a principle of ensuring manufacturing companies fair market access.

As of May 2012, five African countries have signed their TCPs with Brazil, based on their national agriculture development strategies (see Table).

As activities take off, different challenges in the implementation of such a large-scale programme on the ground will certainly arise. Weak institutions and civil society organisations, poorly developed domestic markets, the sheer diversity of contexts in beneficiary countries, and the fact that the concept of 'smallholder agriculture' used in Africa differs somewhat from what is known in Brazil (and increasingly in parts of South and Latin America) as 'family farming' are among these.

Policy dialogue between MDA and African Ministries of Agriculture, with rural extension workers and social movements, aim to strengthen these different actors, including through capacity-building workshops and training courses. Moreover, MDA will conduct research in the five countries listed above, in partnership with African institutions, to build an empirical and analytical baseline of each country's agrarian profile and to effectively monitor implementation.

The establishment of a more systematic relationship with the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), as well as with other multilateral and bilateral development agencies, is also envisaged by MDA.

The concept of 'family farming' to some extent encompasses the recent Brazilian experience, viewing production systems through a comprehensive lens that goes beyond plot sizes or production patterns.

Indeed, the generalisation of the use of the concept since the 1990s is a consequence of demands from both social movements and Brazilian academia in an effort to highlight the specific context of this group, as labourers and managers, defined by economies of scope through the diversification of crops and engaging in more sustainable use of natural resources.

Given that Africa's small-scale farming sector still provides the livelihoods of the majority of the population, what emerges from the ongoing exchange is a paradigm shift which debunks perceptions of smallholders as part of a residual problem to be compensated for, through either absorption by urban labour markets or social assistance. The Brazilian experience shows that this is a viable and valuable sector if given proper incentives and support.

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2. CAMEX budgeted US\$640 million for an initial biennial period under the following conditions: 2 per cent interest rate (or Libor, if this rate is below 2 per cent at the time of approval), 15-year term and three-year grace period (the reimbursement conditions are extended to 17 and five years, respectively, for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs).

Brazilian South-South Cooperation in Agriculture: a Civil Society Perspective

by Adriano Campolina, NGO ActionAid Brazil¹

Over the past decade, we have seen Brazilian policies lead to gains in the fight against hunger and growth in agricultural productivity and production. These successes have elevated Brazil to a position of reference in agricultural cooperation. Still, Brazilian South-South Cooperation (SSC) in agriculture is, unfortunately, fragmented between comprehensive hunger eradication strategies, technical exchanges on tropical agriculture and investment.

Brazil's greatest contribution to fighting hunger worldwide should lie in the holistic approach that allowed success domestically, and integrating agricultural technology within this approach. Technical cooperation focused solely on promoting the expansion of agribusinesses is at best an insufficient response to a complex phenomenon

such as hunger and at worst can exacerbate the structural causes of hunger and poverty.

Between 2004 and 2009, 26 million Brazilians exited extreme poverty and vulnerability to hunger (IPEA, 2011). According to the Brazilian Social Development Ministry (MDS), 36 million Brazilians entered the so-called middle class in the past few years (MDS, 2012).

There is a perception among Brazilian civil society actors that the commitment of the Brazilian government and the engagement of Brazilian society made this achievement possible. It resulted in a broad strategy, coordinating action among several ministries. Civil society helped to design actions against hunger and poverty and held the government accountable for its guarantee on the

There is a perception among Brazilian civil society actors that the commitment of the Brazilian government and the engagement of Brazilian society made this achievement possible.

Brazilian South-South Cooperation in agriculture should be about fighting hunger, supporting poor farmers and implementing comprehensive approaches to food security.

1. Adriano Campolina is an agronomist who graduated from Universidade Federal de Viçosa and holds an MSc in Development, Agriculture and Society from CPDA – Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro. Currently, he is Executive Director of the NGO ActionAid Brazil.

Brazilian civil society undertook a massive campaign to eradicate hunger in the early 1990s. Although Brazil was already a net food exporter, civil society delivered a clear message: it was unacceptable that a society that could produce so much food still tolerated that millions of Brazilians were going hungry.

Support to family farming, and the poorest farmers within this sector, has been a crucial policy choice.

2. Family farming is a concept that was socially constructed by a number of peasants' movements in Brazil that called for the recognition of the specificity of this sector and the need for public policies oriented to strengthen it. These movements achieved the legal recognition of family farming through the approval of the 'Family Farming Act' (Law 11.326/2006).

The act defines a family farmer as one who predominantly uses family labour and occupies at most four rural modules, among other criteria. One rural module is a unit of area equivalent to the minimum required to sustain one family. It is regionally defined and can range from around 20 hectares in some southern states to 80 hectares in the northern region.

Family Farmers: A Crucial Policy Choice

The 2006 agriculture census revealed that family farmers contributed significantly to the production of the items of the Brazilian food basket. Family farmers produced 87 per cent of the national production of cassava, 70 per cent of beans, 59 per cent of pork, 58 per cent of milk, 50 per cent of poultry and 46 per cent of maize (IBGE, 2009). Nonetheless, the incidence of extreme poverty and hunger in rural areas is very high, as 47 per cent of extremely poor people live in rural areas (MDS, 2012). Investing in this sector has increased food production for local markets and strengthened the family farming economy, boosting incomes and bolstering poor farmers' ability to produce and purchase food.

right to food. For instance, in 2009 a national campaign started to mobilise Brazilian society to include the right to food among the Brazilian people's constitutional rights. The campaign was successful, and the National Congress approved the constitutional amendment in early 2010 (ActionAid, 2011). There were two key approaches that made the fight against poverty and hunger a success:

- an acknowledgement of the complex and multi-faceted nature of hunger and, therefore, the need to bring together actions related to the availability and utilisation of and access to food; and
- the creation of mechanisms to ensure the mobilisation of civil society to design actions, monitor policy implementation at all levels and ensure accountability.

Brazilian civil society undertook a massive campaign to eradicate hunger in the early 1990s. Although Brazil was already a net food exporter, civil society delivered a clear message: it was unacceptable that a society that could produce so much food still tolerated that millions of Brazilians were going hungry.

The campaign achieved immediate support from the most vulnerable people in society and placed hunger eradication at the centre of public debate. The Workers Party (PT) brought this concern into the political arena. Once in power, it started implementing a strategy developed in close consultation with civil society, the Zero Hunger (*Fome Zero*) programme.

Zero Hunger encompasses action across four crucial axes, tackling several

dimensions of hunger and poverty. One is **access to food**, of which the best known activity is the cash transfer programme, *Bolsa Família*.

The School Feeding Programme, access to water and cistern construction, affordable restaurants, local food aid and community kitchens make up the other elements of this approach.

Another axis concerns **income generation**, including micro-credit, professional training and building poor people's productive associations and cooperatives, among other things. A third axis relates to **supporting poor farmers**. Here the strongest components have been a credit scheme focused on poor farmers through the National Programme for Strengthening Family Farming (PRONAF), and the Food Procurement Programme (PAA), through which central government buys food from poor farmers. The fourth axis concerns **social mobilisation** activities, such as the creation of councils.

The reestablishment of the Food and Nutritional Security Council (CONSEA) has also been part of the government's strategy. The Council has an advisory role to the President and is composed of civil society and government representatives. CONSEA has been crucial in keeping food security on the political agenda and in developing concrete policy proposals, such as the PAA and School Feeding Programme.

CONSEA has also played a crucial role in strengthening the institutional arrangements to promote the right to food through the creation of the Food and Nutritional Security Law and System (LOSAN and SISAN) and include it among the constitutional social rights.

Support to family farming,² and the poorest farmers within this sector, has been a crucial policy choice. Brazilian family farms produce the largest share of staple food for domestic consumption, whereas agribusinesses tend to focus on commodities for export markets and biofuels.

This focus has represented a significant change in Brazilian policy priorities. For centuries the Brazilian agribusiness

sector, employing vast swathes of farm land and wage labourers, was the only priority in agricultural policymaking. Until recently, this sector, based heavily on mono-cropping and oriented towards exports, benefited from almost all credit, research and extension services provided by public programmes.

The Brazilian National Rural Credit System (SNCR) was the only credit tool available and treated both large and family farmers with the same rules until the late 1990s. In the early 1990s few family farmers were able to access rural credit (Nunes, 2007). Despite being subsidised, although not at the levels of developed countries' agricultural subsidies, the programme was unable to distribute income locally in an equitable way and had a poor record in terms of its environmental, labour and social impacts (Soares, 2003).

Through the successful Zero Hunger strategy the government has clearly chosen to focus on a holistic approach, investing heavily in family farming systems and creating food security policies which are accountable and address the needs of vulnerable communities. The government has also continued to support agribusinesses, but, as far as fighting hunger is concerned, the focus has been on family farming and on poor farmers in particular.

Considering the power of agribusiness, the creation of policies focused on family farming has been a major political achievement. The establishment of specific credit, procurement, extension and even research programmes for family farming and poor farmers has been the only way to guarantee the access of these farmers to the public goods generated through better policy.

When it comes to South-South Cooperation in agriculture we should consider the lessons of recent Brazilian rural development and how different sectors have disputed agricultural public policies and to what effect.

There are several ongoing cooperation programmes and projects based on Brazilian domestic experiences in fighting hunger. Technical cooperation

based on PAA and PRONAF, for instance, clearly contributes to strengthening poor farmers' communities and creates opportunities to tackle the accessibility and availability of food together. Cooperation on agricultural research focused on technologies that are designed specifically for poor farmers and their condition is also essential.

However, reflecting the contradictions found within Brazilian agriculture, we can also observe a number of South-South initiatives that seem oriented primarily towards strengthening the agribusiness sector in other developing countries.

Technical cooperation focused on technology, research, credit schemes and extension services oriented towards large-scale mono-cropping seems to be part of the recent growth in Brazilian South-South Cooperation in agriculture.

These patterns can be seen in the so-called 'ethanol diplomacy', through which Brazil has implemented a number of agreements focused on promoting ethanol production in many countries, such as Costa Rica, Guatemala, Jamaica, China and India.

In 2009 the Brazilian government created the *Pro-Renova*, a specific programme focused on expanding ethanol production in Africa, with activities in several countries (Oliveira Filho, 2010). Another example is the technical cooperation within the *Pro-Savana* project in Mozambique.

It seems to provide technological support for the expansion of soybean, maize and cotton production and to create the conditions for new investments by Brazilian agribusinesses in Mozambique (LRAN, 2011).

Brazilian South-South Cooperation in agriculture should be about fighting hunger, supporting poor farmers and implementing comprehensive approaches to food security.

It should avoid an undue focus on technological exchanges, unless these are attuned to the needs of poor farmers—i.e. balance social and economic imperatives. Agricultural cooperation

should take a comprehensive approach towards poverty and hunger. This can be done by focusing on the knowledge and technologies that are appropriate to promoting the empowerment of poor farmers.

These cooperation strategies should also share experiences of creating accountability mechanisms with civil society participation (especially by poor farmers and women).

These mechanisms are very important to ensure that policies benefit poor farmers, in the same way in which CONSEA has been an effective institutional framework and mechanism in the Brazilian context.

If Brazilian South-South Cooperation supports only agribusinesses, through technological and policy exchanges, we might end up supporting large land owners who fail to share the benefits of growth, potentially evicting poor farmers and prospering while hunger silently grows. ■

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Good Social Practice for Whom: the Catalytic Role of Rural Women's Experience and Leadership

by Eunice Borges, UN Women Brazil¹

Social inequality is a central feature of African, Latin American and Afro-Caribbean reality. It remains a key issue that must be confronted to eliminate poverty, generate decent jobs and ensure social justice and democratic governance.

For rural women under the household economy, agricultural work is an extension of housework.

In the award-winning 'Straw Hat' programme, UN Women supports the government of the state of Pernambuco and the state's Secretariat of Policies for Women in the implementation of activities directed at rural women. Since 2008, more than 38,000 have been empowered.

Economic development is necessary but insufficient, alone, to bring about full gender equality. In spite of representing a significant share—40 per cent—of the world's labour force, women are still required to justify their recognition as political actors and for their economic, political, social and cultural roles. According to the World Bank (2012), throughout societies, women still receive on average US\$0.80 to every dollar earned by men in comparable tasks.

Inequality is more acute in those circumstances in which poverty is combined with other exclusionary practices based, for example, on physical disability, sexual orientation, ethnicity or race. In both Paraguay and Brazil, women represent 47 per cent of the rural population. Of the 16.27 million people living in extreme poverty in Brazil, 71 per cent are afro-descendent and 46 per cent live in rural areas (MDS, 2011). Of the total rural female population 60 per cent are afro-descendent and 32 per cent are economically active (Marcha das Margaridas, 2011).

In sub-Saharan Africa, rural women workers make up more than 50 per cent of the workforce. Women do more unpaid work than men in all regions (UN Women, 2012). With difficulties in achieving economic independence and participating in decision-making processes about financial resources or the family's investment priorities—even when they contribute with their work to generate the results—women's direct access to goods and services is limited.

Statistics from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show that of the US\$18.4 billion invested in

support of agriculture between 2002 and 2008, only 5.6 per cent took gender into consideration.

More broadly, poverty and invisibility characterise the broad landscape and experience of rural women in Brazil and Southern Cone countries. Even when women participate in development processes, they become 'invisible', as their work is often seen largely in a supportive role to men's work. Although women constitute, on average, 43 per cent of the agricultural workforce in developing countries and about 20 per cent in Latin America (FAO, 2010), fewer than 20 per cent of landowners are women.

For rural women under the household economy, agricultural work is an extension of housework. In addition to water management and domestic work, women extensively participate in field work, perform minor agricultural activities, commercialise home production and look after animals.

These activities are not considered work as such because they are not accounted for in monetary terms. The omission of these tasks from valuation metrics and cost-benefit analysis limits the recognition of the magnitude of rural women's economic contribution to society as a whole.

Some of the discrepancies between land operation and land ownership are highlighted in the Figure next page.

After decades of seeing the rural man as the farmer and the woman as his assistant, a generation of feminists worked to refute this widespread mistaken view, to show that the gender division of labour is heterogeneous, varying by region, main growing product, ethnicity, market structure etc.

1. Leadership and Political Participation Area Coordinator at the UN Women Brazil and Southern Cone office based in Brasilia.

Figure
Gender-differentiated Land Ownership and Land Operation in Select Countries in the South



Source: World Bank (2012: 226).

and that in many situations women are the principal farmers, with their number increasingly growing (León and Deere, 1982, 1986).

Moving beyond poverty: social practice in tackling inequality

Social inequality is a central feature of African, Latin American and Afro-Caribbean reality. It remains a key issue that must be confronted to eliminate poverty, generate decent jobs and ensure social justice and democratic governance.

However, gender discrimination creates additional barriers for women to effectively exercise their rights, access goods and services and contribute to the growth and development of their countries. The United Nations considers implementation of Social Protection Floors around the world a central condition for sustainable economic development. An extension of social protection responds not only to human rights and the human rights of women, but to an economic necessity.

The persistence of this large number of excluded persons represents an enormous waste of human and economic potential, especially in the context of accelerated demographic ageing in countries with low levels of health and

social security coverage. The concept of the Social Protection Floor (ILO, 2011) adopted by the United Nations and by the G20 refers to an integrated and coordinated set of basic income transfer policies combined with guaranteed access to essential health, education, sanitation, nutrition, employment, housing and other programmes.

Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru already promote income transfer programmes that target poor households, and, although not exclusively aimed at women, some programmes feature the role of women as managers of transferred resources. A few are directly targeted at indigenous and afro-descendent women, focusing on cultural recognition of their rights and support for their role as small producers and artisans.

UN Women Brazil and Southern Cone has supported several programmes and projects run by governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with a central focus on economic empowerment and political participation, particularly of the historically marginalised afro-descendent and indigenous women. In the award-winning 'Straw Hat' programme, UN Women supports the government of the state of Pernambuco

and the state's Secretariat of Policies for Women in the implementation of activities directed at rural women.

Since 2008, more than 38,000 have been empowered. In 2010, policies for rural women were systematised, and the Secretariat created, in close dialogue with civil society organisations, the first Brazilian Plan of Public Policies for Rural Women. With UN Women's support, Articulation of Black Brazilian Women and the National Council of Indigenous Women, along with the feminist and women's movements, through the Special Secretariat of Policies for Women in partnership with the Ministry of Agrarian Development, incorporated a rural women's action plan in the Second National Policies Plan for Women.

Specific initiatives regarding rural women were also included as a priority in several areas by the federal government, especially those supporting the effective citizenship and economic rights of rural women. UN Women also supports programmes that target afro-descendent *quilombola* women, such as Brazil's *Quilombola* Programme or the *Quilombo* of the Americas project. Coordinated by the Special Secretary of Public Policies for Racial Equity, Brazil's *Quilombola*

Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru promote income transfer programmes that target poor households. Some of these feature the role of women as managers of transferred resources.

The Quilombo of the Americas—Articulation of Afro-rural Communities project aims to promote food sovereignty and expand access to economic, social and cultural rights of afro-rural communities in Ecuador, Panamá and Brazil.

Brazilian women participate in the production of 70 per cent of food products. Between 2001 and 2009, the proportion of Brazilian families headed by women rose from about 27 per cent to 35 per cent. In absolute terms, almost 22 million families identified a woman as the main breadwinner.

Although African and Latin American rural women share differing realities, both are striving to be listened to.

Programme aggregates 23 bodies of the federal public administration and seeks to guarantee the rights of *quilombola* communities.

Regarding indigenous women's rights, UN Women has supported a bi-national project at the Brazil-Paraguay border, implemented by the Brazilian Institute of Healthy Social Innovations (IBISS-CO), two Paraguayan NGOs (Social Research/BASE-IS and Survival) and national indigenous organisations.

The project trains indigenous women leaders from both Brazil and Paraguay to

organise broad efforts to recognise and respond to human trafficking in the region. As a result, small groups of indigenous women leaders are working with local NGOs to organise community prevention and response mechanisms to protect women and girls from exploitation by traffickers, reaching indirectly at least 4,000 indigenous women. The Brazilian National Secretariat of Justice has invited national NGOs to replicate the methodology as part of its National Plan to Fight Trafficking in Persons.

From economic empowerment to other forms of socio-political participation

Although they are a significant constituency of a number of highly visible marginalised groups (poor, black or indigenous women), rural women still represent an unrecognised power. Brazilian women participate in the production of 70 per cent of food products. Between 2001 and 2009, the proportion of Brazilian families headed by women rose from about 27 per cent to 35 per cent. In absolute terms, almost 22 million families identified a woman as the main breadwinner. Yet, weak or highly nuanced economic power is often belied by clear social leadership roles and activism on broad social issues.

In Brazil and the Southern Cone, rural women are leaders of grassroots organisations, associations and community groups. They are part of the broad women's and feminist movements, actively participating in the upward processes of restructuring and implementing public policies, becoming proactive actors and no longer passive beneficiaries.

'Working women of the fields and forests' proved their ability to reach consensus and coordinate mass demonstrations and organise advocacy activities at the executive and legislative levels.

In 2011, *Marcha das Margaridas* presented a political platform for "sustainable development with justice, autonomy, equality and freedom". It represented 10 national women's and feminist networks, more than 400 unions and 27 federations and gathered 70,000 women on the streets of the Brazilian capital.

Now, 20 years after *Planet Fêmea*, working women of the fields and forests from Brazil and the rest of the world will meet at the People's Summit at Rio+20.

They will share experiences and good social practices towards stronger and more sustainable democratic and economic participation. Although African and Latin American rural women share differing realities, both are striving to be listened to. Their ever-expanding empowered presence and leadership points to a number of catalytic responses that are transforming advocacy and activism into sustained policy engagement, reform and innovations. ■

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Putting Natural Resource Industries to Work for Sustainable Development: Lessons for South-South Cooperation

by Anabel Marin¹

Developing countries are heavily dependent on their natural resources. Certain forms of exploitation of natural resources can be very problematic for development. Structurally, these activities are often hierarchical and exclusive, with few opportunities to include low-income groups; they operate as enclaves at the point of exploitation, i.e. with very limited backward and forward linkages to the rest of the economy. These are characterised by low technological and demand dynamism, and produce a number of long-term negative social and environmental externalities (Hirschman, 1958; Sachs and Warner, 2001; Auty, 1990; Marin et al., 2012).

A very common approach to this problem in developing countries has been to tax natural resource activities heavily so as to induce a structural shift away from them and into other sectors, hopefully more beneficial for development, such as knowledge-intensive sectors.

Though undeniably necessary, this approach is challenging given the political economy context in which natural resource industries operate: they tend to be economically significant, both in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) and employment.

While this can appear quite alarming, since developing economies risk remaining locked into international commodity markets, it also raises the question as to whether these incumbent sectors can instead be restructured.

Indeed, a key policy question that emerges from the realities of resource-dependent growth is: can natural resource sectors be transformed and restructured in ways that render this sector less problematic for developing

economies? These possibilities, which are highly relevant to broader discussions about green growth and both global and local green economies, are the focus of this article. It explores this question, drawing lessons from experience in Argentina principally, and in the context of its agricultural sector. Lessons that are of relevance to African agricultural futures.

Characterising transformation and change

Industries are transformed and restructured through the emergence and diffusion of **transformative alternatives**, or projects which propose technologies and organisational practices that depart from the conventional ones. Within each industry there are dominant ways of solving problems, and alternative ways of addressing them. These dominant ways privilege mainstream concepts and ideas, and are highly institutionalised, benefiting typically from a historic accumulation of technological, institutional, infrastructural and social support.

Alternative pathways can be defined as practices that depart from the 'norm' or 'business as usual' and typically promise different economic, social and/or environmental results, often leading to significant structural change. If they prosper, this structural change can take the form of full transformation of industries, either by creating **diversity** or by **replacing** the problematic practices of the dominant system.

Two types of transformative alternatives often emerge in this context:

- (a) *path-breaking*, or oriented to take the industry into a completely different direction of change, or
- (b) *path-repairing*, or oriented to improve or repair the dominant pathway.

The interlinked problems of limited inclusion and long-term environmental damage formed the basis for increasing public protests in challenging the sustainability of the soya model.

A key policy question that emerges from the realities of resource-dependent growth is: can natural resource sectors be transformed and restructured in ways that render this sector less problematic for developing economies?

Two types of transformative alternatives often emerge: path-breaking and path-repairing.

The main task of policy, is to identify promising transformative alternatives and, remove the main barriers that place obstacles in the path of the diffusion of these alternatives.

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The main ideas of this article were developed within the context of a project funded by IDRC: Opening up Natural Resource-based Industries for Innovation: exploring new pathways for development in Latin America.

These are useful in defining not just the nature of the change desired but the likely process for realistic change and the dynamics entailed. Still, while promising, these proposed pathways are often limited and challenged to grow organically or to self-replicate and expand.

Often they cannot, by themselves, compete against more entrenched institutional forces which define the nature of the 'environmental' within the dominant socio-technical regime. These arise from a host of processes that promote stability and perpetuate the dominant regime (Walker, 2000; Unruh, 2000).

The main task of policy, thus, is to identify promising transformative alternatives and, remove the main barriers that place obstacles in the path of the diffusion of these alternatives.

An excellent example of such resistance/barriers is the challenge faced in creating a niche for agro-ecological or organic farming practices in agriculture. As an alternative to the dominant soya-based intensive agricultural model in countries such as Argentina² (see Figure), efforts to promote it faced significant challenges.

One of the reasons for this is that the massive diffusion of a technological package during the 1990s, including transgenic (genetically modified – GM) seeds, zero tillage, biocides and fertilisers,

had achieved a number of positive results: substantial productivity and economic gain. Still, the interlinked problems of limited inclusion and long-term environmental damage formed the basis for increasing public protests in challenging the sustainability of the soya model.

Among these:

- increasing levels of **concentration** of three different types:

(i) economic (between 1992 and 2002, 87,688 small and medium-sized farms disappeared);

(ii) of activities (soybean area has increased at the expense of dairy, maize, wheat, fruit and livestock production); and

(iii) of knowledge, since a few multinational corporations (MNCs) control a significant share of the technology in use including key inputs to the production system, such as GM seeds and herbicides;

- significant employment losses and shifts within the rural economy, reducing the labour-intensity of production. The soya production/technological package employs only two workers for every 1000 hectares. In Argentina, agricultural labour as a share of overall labour is about 9.5 per cent, compared to a global average of 34.8 per cent (WRI, 2012);

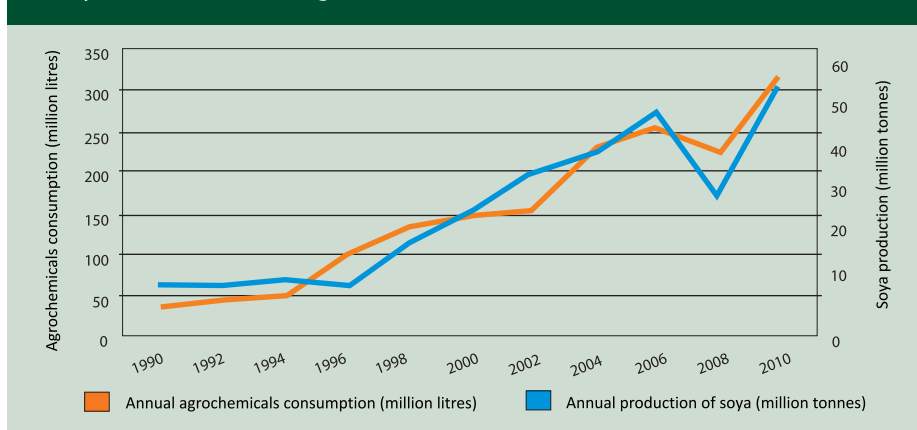
- environmental damage in the form of deforestation, high consumption of water and energy, soil destruction etc.; and
- substantial health risks, resulting from the proliferation of herbicides and GM seeds (see Figure).

Emerging trends of efforts to decouple the agricultural economy from environmental degradation and social exclusion

The diffusion of certain types of agro-ecological or organic practices and the expansion of farming models—particularly cooperative ones which at the same time address environmental and social challenges—can help to redirect agricultural activity in a more sustainable direction,³ as well as creating more diversity of options, practices and capabilities. Still, important barriers for the diffusion of these alternative models remain and require the support of active and catalytic policies if they are to be sustained and mainstreamed. Important considerations include:

- **Economics (micro):** Input-intensive mono-crop solutions are simple and proven and benefit from significant structural support through research, publicity, economies of scale and positive network externalities. Transformative alternatives, at the beginning at least, thus, need the support of the government to offset or balance out these disadvantages.

Figure
Soy and Herbicides in Argentina



Source: Grinberg, E., forthcoming.

2. Something similar is happening in Brazil, but I will focus here in the case of Argentina.

3. Organic farming proposes the elimination of inputs based on chemical synthesis and others with real or potential toxic effect for human health and the rational use of natural resources. Agro-ecology rests on ecological interactions and synergies between biological components within the farm rather than requiring external inputs. These two ways of farming respect and recreate biodiversity and, therefore, are more sustainable from an environmental point of view. At the same time, both systems are also suitable for small farmers, who lack resources to buy expensive inputs, so potentially they can incorporate better social results.

4. The same happens in Brazil, where they are typically addressed by the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA).

- **Existing capabilities** are mostly related to the dominant regime—for example, agronomists mainly provide advice about input-intensive solutions and often are limited in their capacity to offer other solutions to common agronomic problems. The broadening of the existing curricula in agronomy and other related fields could deliver significant progress in expanding a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary approach to transformational change in the agriculture sector.
- **Existing infrastructure**—machinery and other forms of hardware technology—are mostly contaminated with non-organic elements—for example, GM crops—making it difficult or impossible for them to be used by and in organic or agro-ecological production systems and processes. Targeted investments are critical for expanding the availability of newer and alternative technologies including those specifically defined for the organic/agro-ecological production system.
- **Institutions:** Intellectual Property Rights regulations often serve, it seems, to protect the interests of large farmers and MNCs in the business sector while being much less effective in promoting and protecting access to and the diffusion of knowledge to a plurality of actors. The same can be said about certification systems. Lessons from the Argentinean experience suggest an important role for governments in exploring and encouraging a diversity of systems, including participative ones, and moving away from an over-reliance on one or two dominant models.
- **Politics and power:** Incumbents hold important positions in the current system. The current structure of the agricultural system in Argentina ensures that the voices of big business are more likely to be heard by influential stakeholders such as Monsanto, Syngenta, Dow and Bayer in a forum such as Conabia, the main body responsible for approving GM technologies.

To date, Argentina has approached small business ventures and alternatives to the input-intensive solutions via social policies, typically through the Ministry of Social Wealth or marginally within the Ministry of Agriculture.⁴ It is obvious, however, that to address the kind of problems discussed above, and the growing push for transformative change of the economy as a whole on a greener path, particularly for natural resource-intensive sectors like agriculture, will require a more comprehensive and inclusive policy approach.

Such an approach could start from the basis of engaging on issues of technological, economic and educational policies among others, and should take into account the possibility of the co-existence of multiple solutions to agricultural problems. ■

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World Resources Institute (2012). ‘Labor share by country’, <http://www.NationMaster.com/graph/agr_lab_sha-agriculture-labor-share> (accessed 25 May 2012).

Important considerations include:

- *Economics (micro);*
- *Existing capabilities;*
- *Existing infrastructure;*
- *Institutions and*
- *Politics and power*

The growing push for transformative change of the economy as a whole on a greener path, could start from the basis of engaging on issues of technological, economic and educational policies among others, and should take into account the co-existence of multiple solutions.

Lessons from the Argentinean experience suggest an important role for governments in exploring and encouraging a diversity of systems, including participative ones, and moving away from an over-reliance on one or two dominant models.

From Transfers to Equal Exchange: Advancing the Role of Southern Knowledge in International Development Cooperation

by Bianca Suyama and Iara Leite, *Articulação SUL*¹

A key role of KBOs is to work with the media, universities and civil society organisations to expand and qualify the debate, based on evidence.

1. Both authors are researchers at Articulação SUL, South-South Cooperation Research and Policy Centre.

2. For an overview of the phases of South-South Cooperation, see Leite (2012) and Sá e Silva (2009).

3. South-South Cooperation has been broadly defined as any cooperative relation involving governmental or nongovernmental actors based in two or more countries the so-called “Global South” (Bobiash, 1992; UNDP SU/SSC, n.d.). For more information on the concept of SSC, see Leite (2012).

4. According to official data raised by Cabral and Weinstock (2010), 413 projects were initiated in 2009, while only 23 had been initiated in 2003. Since there are no systematised data on the engagement in the provision of development cooperation by previous administrations, it is not possible to unequivocally affirm that such expansion has no historical precedent.

5. Lula’s administration took unprecedented steps to register, systematise and publish data related to the provision of international development cooperation. See, for instance, Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA) and Agência Brasileira de Cooperação (ABC) (2010), ABC (2009) and Ministério das Relações Exteriores (MRE) (2007).

6. Budgetary limitations were introduced by the new administration, headed by President Dilma Rousseff. In 2011, the Brazilian Cooperation Agency’s budget was frozen after having more than tripled between 2008 and 2010 (see data in Secretariat for Social Communication, Presidency of the Federative Republic of Brazil, 2011).

7. Brazilian technical cooperation is mainly delivered by public officers, who are allowed to go abroad only for short-term missions and who combine functions performed abroad with the ones performed domestically.

8. For more information on the institutions that provide Brazilian international cooperation, see Vaz and Inoue (2007).

9. Such trends are helping to mitigate the role of presidential diplomacy in taking demands to ministries and other agencies without considering their capacity to respond to them. President Dilma’s strong managerial profile and approach seems to be forcing agencies engaged in the provision of technical cooperation to show that their initiatives are really generating tangible results.

After decades of demobilisation, due to the debt crisis and macroeconomic problems,² President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva’s administration turned South-South Cooperation³ into a priority of foreign policy. In the case of international development cooperation, the modality of South-South Cooperation focused on in this article, his administration took important steps to expand the country’s provision of technical cooperation in terms of sectors and destination countries,⁴ as well as to gather, systematise and publish information on these activities.⁵

Brazilian cooperation has been internationally praised for its focus on institutional capacity-building and on initiatives aimed at tackling primary development challenges, such as food security and poverty reduction. However, such projections have not always been accompanied by adequate instruments to allow the government to meet exponential demands. Limitations in terms of budget⁶ and personnel,⁷ as well as poor institutional coordination among agencies engaged in initiatives abroad,⁸ have been constraining further expansion in the delivery of Brazilian technical cooperation.

At the same time, national agencies engaged in international development cooperation accumulated a lot of information over recent years, which they are now able to reflect on due to the new president’s lower profile in foreign policy.⁹ Important reflection processes are taking place, for instance, in the ministries of Health, Education, Human Rights and Agrarian Development, as well as in partners such as the National Service on Industrial Learning (Senai) and the Brazilian Agriculture Research Corporation (Embrapa). Demands for improving the effectiveness of Brazilian cooperation have been matched by

growing interest in the theme by national knowledge-based organisations (KBOs), thus creating a positive environment for them to influence all levels of public policy.

The role of knowledge-based organisations

Interdependency and the overwhelming velocity of change characterise our world today, as do increasingly complex social challenges and crises that transcend national borders. In this context, we often cannot properly cope with the vast amount of information available. Therefore, organisations that focus on generating policy research and filtering, sorting and synthesising information to produce analysis for policymaking seem highly desirable. Indeed, KBOs have increased their numbers and role in global policymaking (McGann, 2012).

The role of KBOs is not confined to informing the government. Part of their task is to work with the media, universities and civil society organisations to expand and qualify the debate, based on evidence. They have also become important actors in formulating and expanding the global discourse on development, inequality, climate change etc. Although KBOs are just one of a variety of civil society actors, they often become representatives of civil society in global policymaking, ensuring excluded voices influence international policymaking.

Together with various other groups from civil society—non-governmental organisations (NGOs), faith-based organisations and labour unions, among others—KBOs have made an important contribution on the political side, as they have constituted strong pro-developmental coalitions and pressured their respective governments to maintain

budgets destined for international development cooperation in times of political and/or economic domestic turns (Lancaster, 2007).

Knowledge inequities in international development cooperation

North-South power disparities in knowledge production and dissemination are expressed by power imbalances in the international development architecture.¹⁰

However, the rise of emerging economies and the expansion of South-South Cooperation are helping to break the monopoly of traditional donors in setting the concepts, practice and paradigms of international development cooperation aimed at combating global challenges such as poverty, social justice and climate change. Such trends can support the political empowerment of the South and promote diversity

10. Knowledge is understood as “constructs, assumptions and beliefs by which people understand and interpret the world around them. In systems of domination, knowledge serves the function of justifying hierarchical relations” (Girvan, 2007: 6). The importance of alternatives to dominant epistemologies is also extensively discussed in Santos and Meneses (2010).

Brazilian Knowledge-based Organisations Working on International Development Cooperation

Name of the initiative/organisation	Hosted in	Summary of activities
Articulação SUL, South-South Cooperation Research and Policy Centre	Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (Cebrap)	Works exclusively on international development cooperation in Brazil to improve the linkages between policy research, advocacy and practice. It works with governments and civil society on applied research and capacity-building projects, as well as promoting coordination and policy dialogue spaces. Website: http://www.articulacaosul.org
Brazilian Cooperation for International Development (COBRADI) research programme	Directory of Studies on Economic Relations and International Policy/ Institute for Applied Economic Research (DINTE/IPEA)	Data collection, systematisation and analysis on Brazilian provision of development cooperation. Website: http://www.ipea.gov.br
Brazilian NGO Platform (ABONG)	ABONG	Has published a brief and policy position on Brazilian international development cooperation and has promoted different meetings to foster debate on international development cooperation. Website: http://www.abong.org.br
BRICS Policy Center	Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio)	Specific area of research on technical, scientific and technological cooperation. It has been producing policy briefs and events to discuss the role of Brazil on international development cooperation. Website: http://bricspolicycenter.org/
Emerging Powers and Foreign Policy research programmes	Center for International Relations/ Contemporary Brazilian History Research and Documentation Center/Getúlio Vargas Foundation (CPDOC/FGV-Rio)	Has a research project aiming at understanding emerging powers' foreign policy, including their engagement in international development cooperation. Website: http://cpdoc.fgv.br/relacoesinternacionais
Igarapé Institute	Igarapé Institute	Developing a project focused on the role of Brazilian technical cooperation in post-conflict settings and is building two rosters aimed at identifying, screening and training Brazilian civil experts from the government as well as from civil society. Website: http://www.igarapesocial.com.br/
Humanization of Development Network	Humanization of Development Network	Launched a publication focused on international development cooperation, <i>Redes de Cooperação</i> , besides having organised a seminar and an extension course in partnership with the University of Brasília in 2011. Website: http://rede-humanizacao.tk/

in international debates. The role of Southern-based KBOs in this process is critical.

The aid effectiveness debate has stressed the importance of *home-grown solutions*, through its focus on ownership (Datta and Young, 2011). That entails a shift in how we approach development research. Girvan (2007) proposed that such a shift should be based on three principles: (1) diversity as an intrinsic characteristic of the global community; (2) specificity in national context as the departing point for research and policymaking; and (3) local knowledge, effort and initiative as the key resources in development.

Therefore, the establishment and strengthening of national KBOs backed by financial and technical support from the international community is indispensable. Additionally, networks of think-tanks and civil society organisations can provide an extremely effective mechanism for learning and innovation, and enable collaboration beyond the usual institutional, cultural and functional boundaries of an organisation.

The contributions of Brazilian knowledge-based organisations

Several academic and/or policy programmes directly or indirectly dedicated to South-South Development Cooperation have been launched in Brazil over recent years. They are making important contributions to consolidating and professionalising the international development cooperation field in the country. Some examples are listed in Table, page 39.

Recognising that a well-informed public dialogue is at the heart of sound policy decisions and successful development strategies, the initiatives described above are creating opportunities for improving the quality, effectiveness and accountability of Brazilian South-South Cooperation. Additionally, ensuring that national policies and practices are informed by empirical evidence and monitored and evaluated by independent organisations will also be decisive for technical agencies engaged in the sector to have more influence over the priorities of Brazilian cooperation.

On the other hand, there is a strong need to promote dialogue among civil society actors in Brazil and in partner countries, and to support civil society engagement with their respective governments.

We believe this will be fundamental to guarantee that respecting national sovereignty—i.e. planning international engagement according to national priorities—will result in initiatives that benefit the most needy sectors (and especially the most vulnerable and poor groups).

While Brazilian KBOs still largely focus on understanding the national system and comparing it with others, especially other emerging powers, it is fundamental that they also take on board a broader mission of engaging in South-South Cooperation in practice and in the field.

Both sides are needed. By supporting and highlighting innovative local development practices, through evidence-based research, KBOs represent an important development in bridging the policy-to-research interface, particularly in narrowing the gap between **developed, emerging, developing** and **less developed** countries.

The approach used by Brazilian KBOs to date is an important tool which potentially empowers them vis-à-vis their respective governments and the global architecture of international development cooperation, particularly in providing critical analysis on processes, outputs and impacts, and in so doing helps to create and promote a stronger approach to horizontal cooperation and exchange among countries of the South.

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Towards an Even-handed and Effective Africa-Brazil Exchange for Agricultural Development: African Perspectives

by *Kojo Amanor, Sérgio Chichava, Blessings Chinsinga and Langton Mukwereza*¹

As Brazilian cooperation extends its reach across the African continent, the time is right to reflect on the emerging challenges and suggest action needed for an effective and interactive process of exchange and engagement around common and shared development challenges.

Africa occupies an increasingly important position on Brazil's foreign policy and economic agenda. During President Lula da Silva's administration (2003-2010) the number of embassies in Africa doubled (MRE, 2011), and bilateral commerce with the continent increased at a higher rate than overall trade (CINDES, 2011). Brazil's cooperation for development reflects this focus on Africa: in 2010 budget execution for technical cooperation projects in this region accounted for 57 per cent of the overall portfolio (Cabral, 2011).

Agriculture is the largest sector of technical cooperation in Africa—between 2001 and 2010 it accounted for 26 per cent of resources spent (ABC, 2011). Cooperation in this sector covers a variety of issues, including research, extension, training and, increasingly, adaptation of what are claimed to be 'successful' Brazilian agricultural public policies. If until recently technical cooperation by Embrapa, a giant agricultural research corporation, dominated the portfolio, the range of actors with active participation in South-South Cooperation is now more diverse.

The Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), with its focus on public policies to support family farming, is a major new presence, adding variety to the agricultural cooperation approach and content (Patriota and Pierri, 2012).

Civil society organisations are still largely absent from the cooperation framework,

which is dominated by government-to-government relations, but there are signs of change (Cabral, 2011).

Brazil claims to offer a new paradigm for development, founded on principles of solidarity, non-interference and demand-driven cooperation (ABC, 2011).

The narrative is compelling, but time will tell whether a new paradigm is truly on offer. In the meantime, some challenges Brazil faces in Africa are worth highlighting, in the hope that raising awareness about them will assist in making South-South Cooperation a more effective process. To be effective, such a process should not only tackle issues of productivity, growth and markets, but also the persistent and thorny challenges of poverty, inequality, vulnerability and exclusion (see Marin, 2012 in this series). Brazil is well positioned to do so, not only for Africa's benefit but also to its own advantage, in what could be a truly horizontal partnership for sustainable development.

The politics of social inclusion

The Brazilian narrative on South-South Cooperation builds upon a framework of social inclusion and the integration of civil society, state and private-sector initiatives to achieve both enhanced productivity and social equity (see articles by Goulet and Sabourin, 2012; Campolina, 2012 and Borges, 2012 in this series). However, the mobilisation of civil society is not as clearly articulated within the framework for operationalising South-South Cooperation and potentially poses significant challenges to cooperation between Brazil and Africa.

In the African context, the complex realities of the political economy of development suggest a critical role for prominent participation by civil society.

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In the African context, the complex realities of the political economy of development suggest a critical role for prominent participation by civil society.

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Development cannot be sustainable if it excludes small farmers, which constitute the sheer majority of rural productive systems in Africa.

The story of Brazil's agribusiness and 'family farming' development has also been one of contestation and some clear conflicts, and this should be taken into account in the definition and transfer into African territory of models from Brazil's rich but intricate agricultural development experiences.

Civil society in Africa plays a powerful role in organising development, but this is not always directed to the cause of greater social and productive inclusion, particularly for poor people in rural areas.

Civil society initiatives are often shaped by intricate, and hardly explicit, political and business interests, and it is increasingly important for development initiatives to critically examine such interests. Thus, the success

of Brazilian technical cooperation will also depend upon building the capacities of social development experts to engage with the local institutional and political contexts of development. Important lessons also emerge from Argentina's experience and Sino-African collaboration.

In moving beyond largely technological and technical transfers, Brazil has a wealth of experience in the area of social development and social participation it can build on.

Since civil society has played an important role in the framework of social inclusion within Brazil and in advocating for the rights of marginalised populations, a significant opportunity exists to harness this capacity through more direct involvement in the planning and implementation of development cooperation. Moreover, building a dialogue between African and Brazilian civil societies would critically enrich strategies and frameworks for socially inclusive policies, which can deliver across multiple dimensions of development, as they have already done in Brazil. In so doing, we can also gain a better understanding of such innovations, their adaptability and replicability in different social and political contexts and, therefore, their multiple and diverse applications.

Engaging the entire range of private-sector actors

The influence of agribusiness is pervasive in all farming activities regardless of farm

size or enterprise choice. Technology and best practices are continuously being revamped worldwide, making it important for large commercial farmers in Africa to establish collaborative links with peers and agribusinesses in other countries—even more so in the context of South-South Cooperation. Moreover, given the growing number of small-scale agribusiness enterprises, it is important also to open up dialogue in ways that strengthen the positive externalities of agribusiness more broadly.

Agribusiness and large-scale commercial farmers are in a largely cordial win-win relationship, as they access the same set of information and bargain on an even footing. In most of Africa, however, the relationship between small farmers and agribusiness is largely one of mutual resentment. Small farmers chide agribusinesses for unethical business practices; agribusinesses, on the other hand, provide piecemeal and inconsistent support to small farms, considering such entities unviable businesses. Yet, development cannot be sustainable if it excludes small farmers, which constitute the sheer majority of rural productive systems in Africa (see also Owiyo, 2012 in this series).

Brazil is in a particularly unique position as a collaborative partner for both large and small farmers in Africa, considering its affinity to the continent and the well-documented pathways to development for both farming systems, which have advanced with support from government policies. However, the story of Brazil's agribusiness and 'family farming' development has also been one of contestation and some clear conflicts, and this should be taken into account in the definition and transfer into African territory of models from Brazil's rich but intricate agricultural development experiences. In particular, key lessons on the 'how' will be critical to Africa's needs as much as the 'what'.

The critical role of research in building African ownership

Brazilian experiences, expertise and technology are considered particularly relevant and relatively simpler to adapt to the African context than other models, due to a wide range of similarities

A Summary of the Key Entry Points

Issue	Brazil	Africa
State-society dynamics for inclusive development	Social contestation leading to advances in pro-poor public policies	Can Brazilian state-society dynamics be replicated or be brought to bear?
Private sector engagement	Breadth of experiences for both large scale agribusinesses and family farming sectors	How to engage the full range of private sector actors for effective pro-poor and sustainable development?
Bridging the policy-research gap	Knowledge gaps on the breadth of success and the extent of paradigm shift in development cooperation	How could research be used to strengthen African ownership in SSC and make the most of what Brazil has to offer?

between the two regions. Nevertheless, properly focused research would greatly help harness the prospects of Brazil-Africa cooperation in agriculture to better achieve its objectives, as well as broader development outcomes. Such research would enable both Brazil and Africa to ask difficult questions about various aspects of their cooperation. This would make Brazil-Africa cooperation different from the conventional cooperation arrangements that have failed to deliver a strategic impact on African agriculture for more than half a century.

This research would primarily focus on:

- (i) political economy analyses of Brazilian and African agricultural policies;
- (ii) comparative analyses between Brazil's bilateral and trilateral cooperation arrangements;
- (iii) comparative perspective on Brazil versus other forms of development cooperation, old and new;
- (iv) the role of the state and bureaucracy in agricultural development;
- (v) documentation of Brazil-Africa cooperation arrangements;
- (vi) mechanisms for effective delivery of Brazilian cooperation; and
- (vii) perceptions about Brazil-Africa cooperation from the perspective of Africans.

Filling these important gaps in knowledge would, inter alia, help the Brazilian success story to be fully told so as to bring about a necessary measure of realism among African countries, which tend to see Brazilian cooperation as a quick fix to long-standing problems in the agricultural sector.

In addition, Africa would be better equipped to define a clear vision of what it wants to achieve out of the cooperation with Brazil in the field of agriculture. This would strengthen Africa's engagement with Brazil and render greater credibility to the horizontality of South-South Cooperation.

A local-level approach to research

The increasing presence Brazil and other so-called 'rising powers' in Africa has raised new and important conceptual challenges relative to prevailing development theories (see also Gubo Qi, 2012 in this series). Understanding if these countries are bringing to Africa a new form or philosophy of cooperation distinct from the practices of 'traditional donors' has become a hot development topic. Several new research projects have cropped up to address this issue.

Yet, most of these err by focusing too heavily on macro dimensions. Micro-level studies on local dynamics are still few, yet they can make an important contribution for a better understanding of the 'new' forms, models or modalities of cooperation in Africa.

Case study methodology, in particular, allows for multiple perspectives to be captured, while taking into consideration the specificities of a rather heterogeneous continent in terms of its countries' cultural, historical, economic and political contexts.



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