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May 31, 2012

Emerging Land Issues in African Agriculture: Implications for Food Security and Poverty Reduction Strategies

Speakers

Thomas Jayne, Michigan State University
Karol Boudreaux, USAID

Facilitator

Julie MacCartee, USAID/KDMD Project



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- June 5 | Agricultural Biotechnology Support Project (ABSPII)
- June 27 | Ag Sector Council



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EMERGING LAND ISSUES IN AFRICAN AGRICULTURE:

Implications for Food Security and Poverty Reduction Strategies

T.S. Jayne, J. Chamberlin, M. Muyanga

Food Security III,
Michigan State University

USAID Bureau for Food Security
May 31, 2012, Washington, D.C.

Background

- Malthusian “perfect storm”?
- biofuels
- rising incomes in BRIC countries
- extreme weather events
- export bans



- Increased global demand for farmland

Ironically, Africa has the greatest and cheapest supply of unutilized arable land in the world

Land grab or development opportunity?
Agricultural investment and international land deals in Africa

guardian.co.uk
1 Qatar looks to grow food in Kenya
The Gulf state has joined a growing list of rich countries that want to grow food in poor countries.

V-A News.com
2 NEWS
Proposed Kenya-Qatar Land Deal Stirs Controversy
March 18, 2009

THE STANDARD
For Fairness and Justice. \$10.00
66 year old killed over land wrangles
Updated 13 hr(s) 47 min(s) ago
By George Olwenya
4 A 66-year-old man was on Monday killed by his wife and son after they discovered his body in Siaya County.

DAILY NATION
3 Why Qatar-Tana River land deal requires further discussion
By CAROL PINFOLD
Posted: Friday, January 2, 2009

SATURDAY NATION
6 ONLINE REAL ESTATE FAIR
East Africa's largest & most popular website presents the...
State seeks to take over land from foreigners

THE STANDARD
5 Land crisis in the Tana River Delta
Updated 20 hr(s) 7 min(s) ago
By LILLIAN ALUANGA
When residents of Mpekotoni village in Ozi location, Tana Delta District, first heard the land they were living on was being auctioned, they laughed it off as a sick joke.
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Visiting South...
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Maid born in...
had reached the die...



Main issues to be covered

1. How severe is the problem of emerging land shortages in African agriculture?
2. What are the impacts of growing land constraints on farmer behavior and welfare?
3. Why there is (generally) no alternative to a smallholder-led agricultural development strategy?
4. What are the priority strategies for reducing hunger and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa in light of growing land pressures?

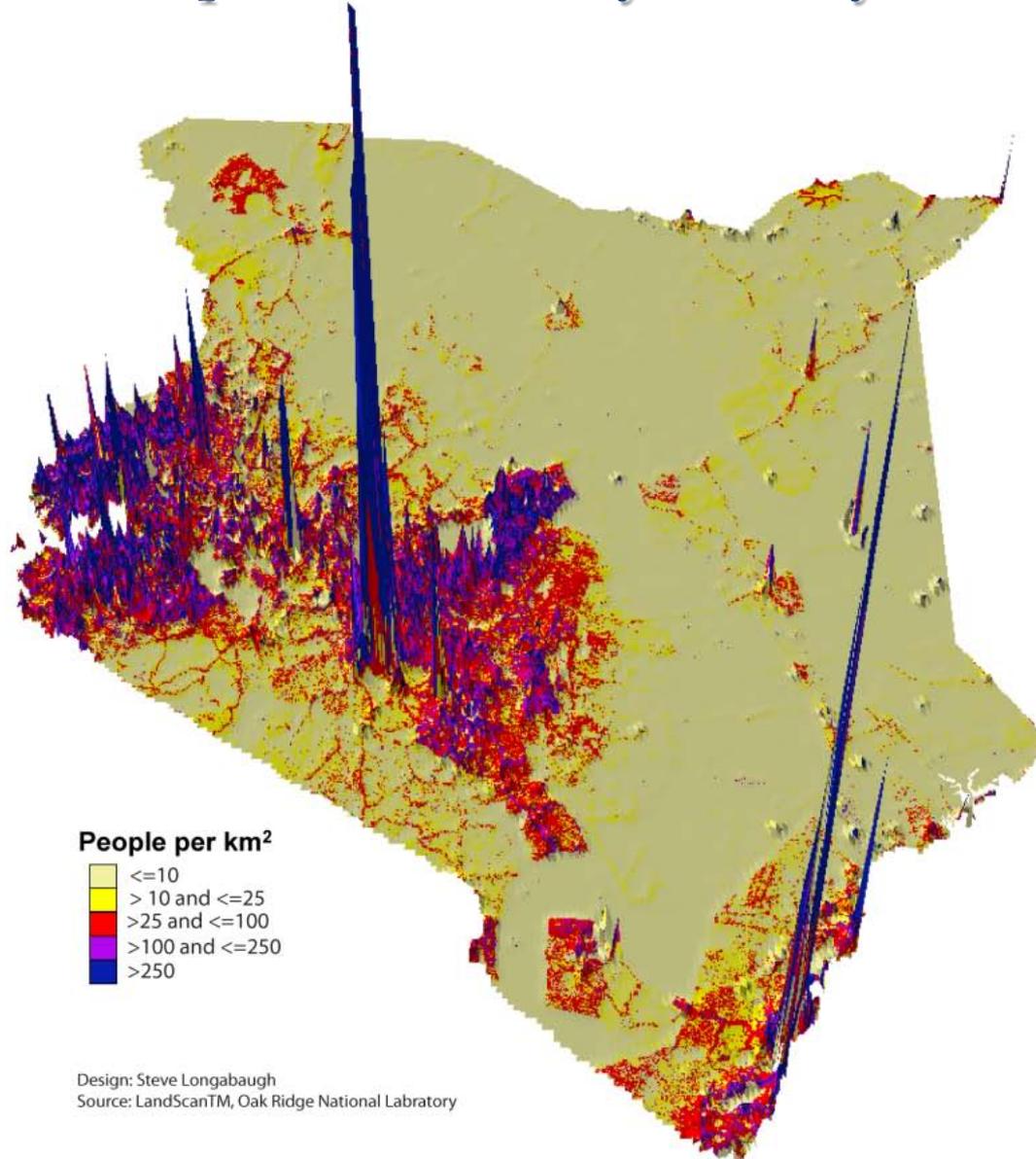
Major conclusions

1. Even in countries experiencing agricultural growth, the impact on rural poverty reduction is mitigated by the concentration of production growth among larger farms
 - Public expenditures on input subsidies and price supports are mainly benefiting the larger farms
2. Promoting foreign investment to farm Africa's unutilized land diverts attention and public resources away from the more central problem: how to reduce hunger and poverty through broad-based, inclusive agricultural growth
3. Agricultural development and poverty reduction strategies need to take explicit account of land pressures in smallholder agriculture

Data sources

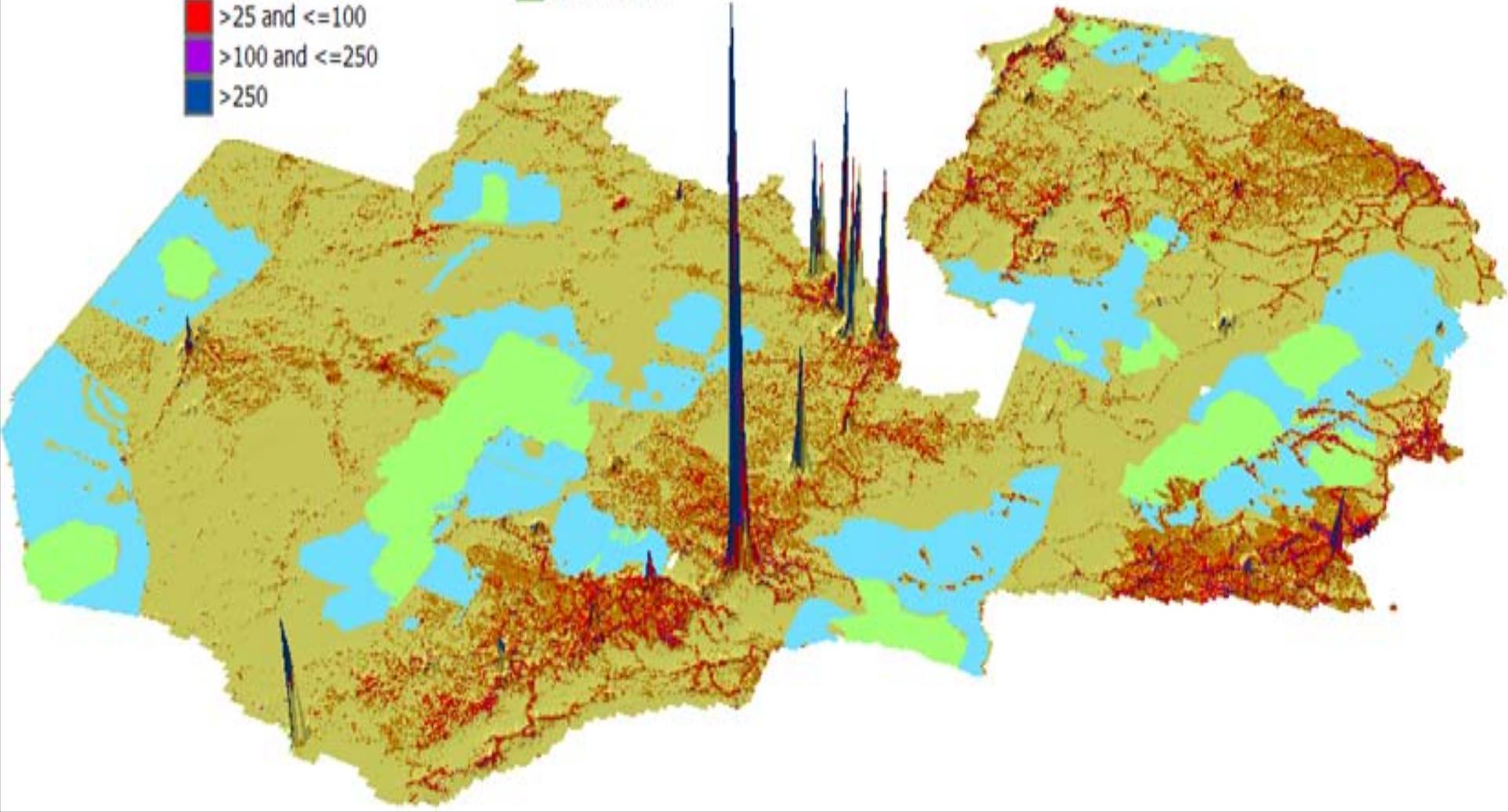
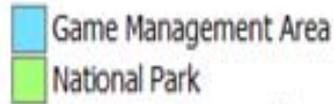
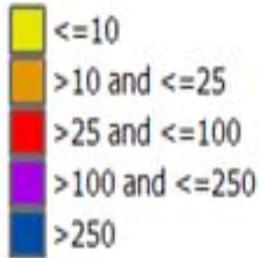
1. Nationally representative farm household surveys with GPS coordinates
2. Spatial data sets based on most recent national population census
 - Global Rural-Urban Mapping Project
 - AfriPop Mapping Project

Population density in Kenya



Population density, Zambia

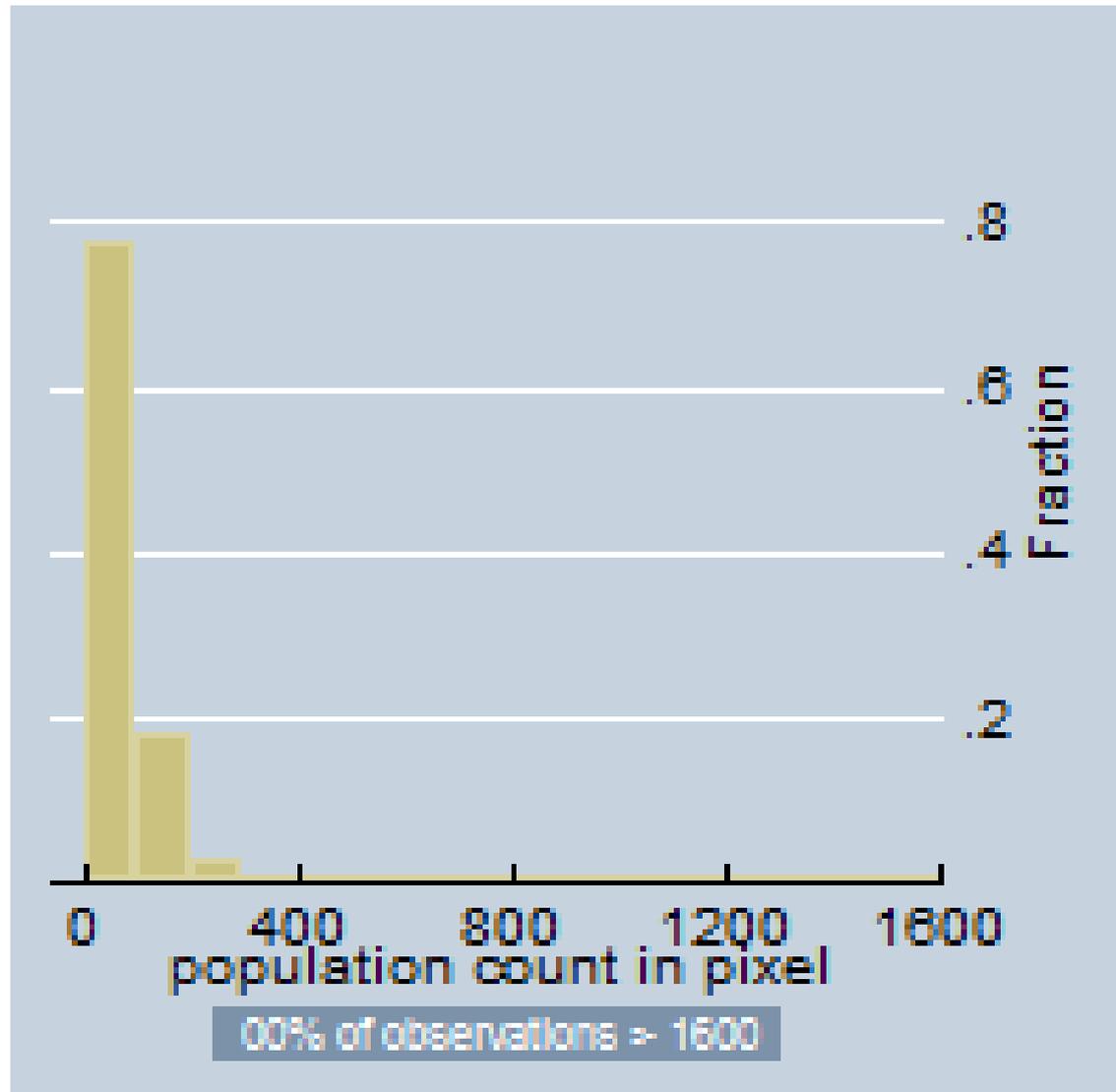
People per km²



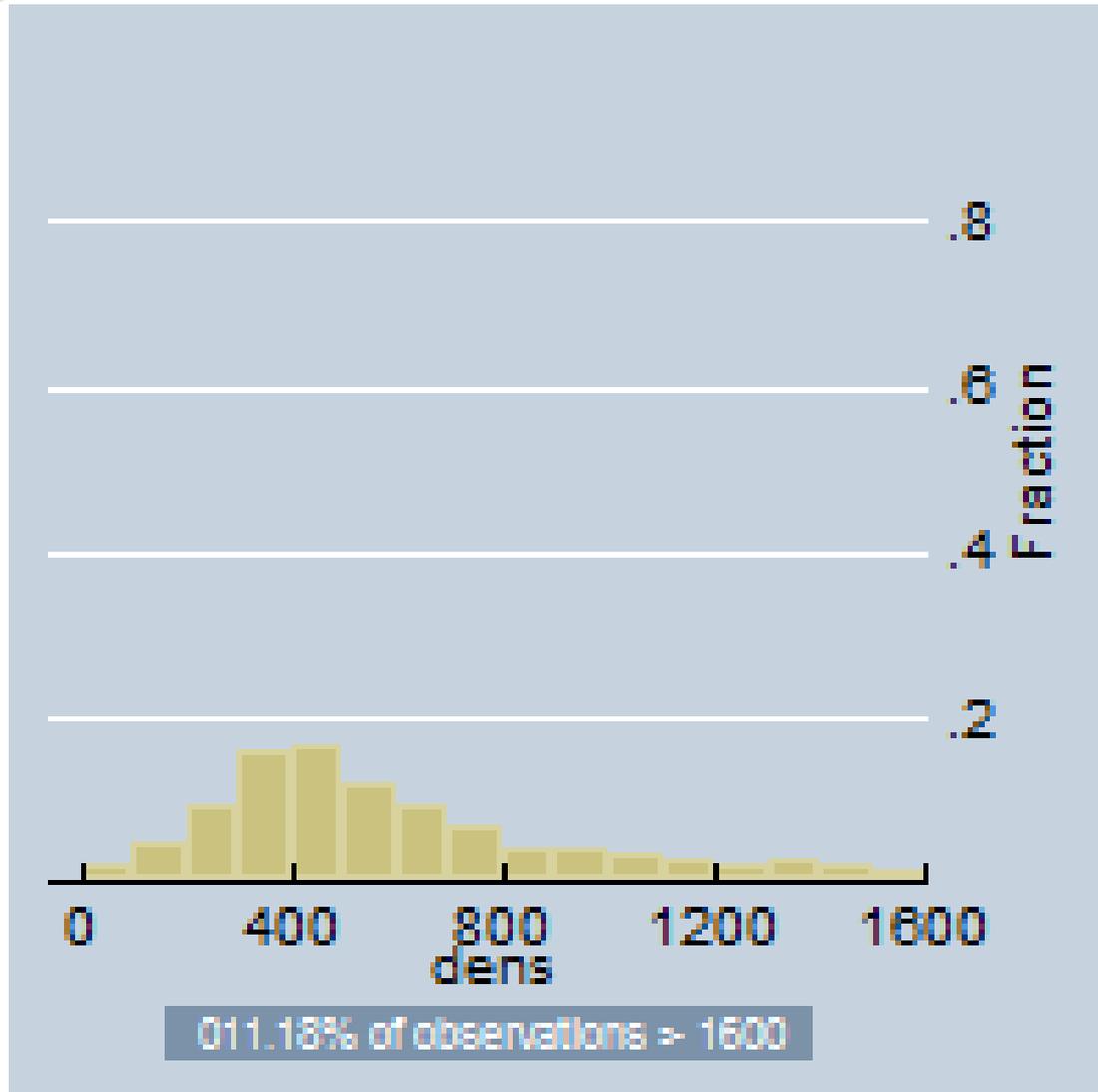
I.
Evidence of land pressures in
African agriculture



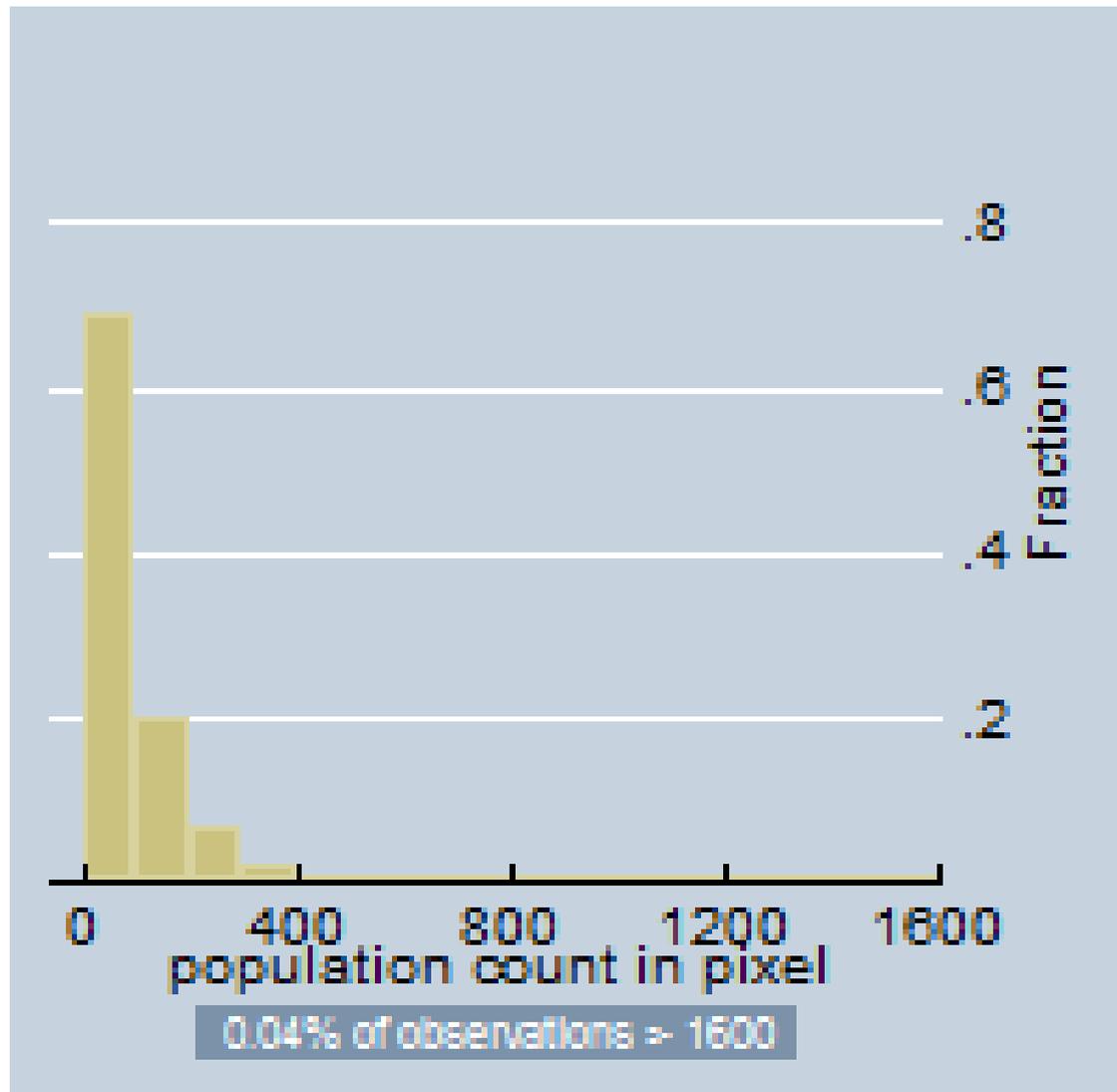
Population density histogram, Ethiopia (counting all rural 1km² grid-cells)



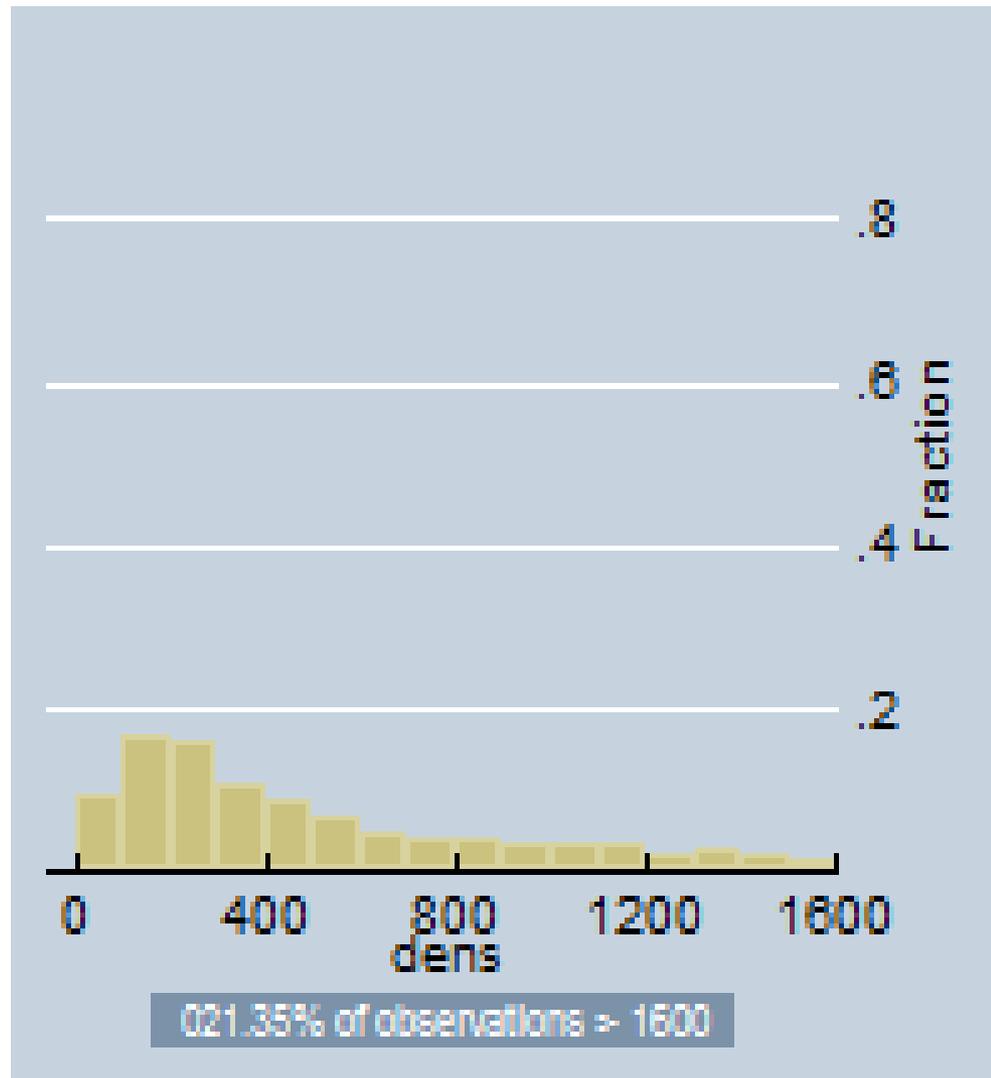
Population density histogram, Ethiopia (counting all 1km² grid-cells designated as arable and changing the unit of observation to be rural people)



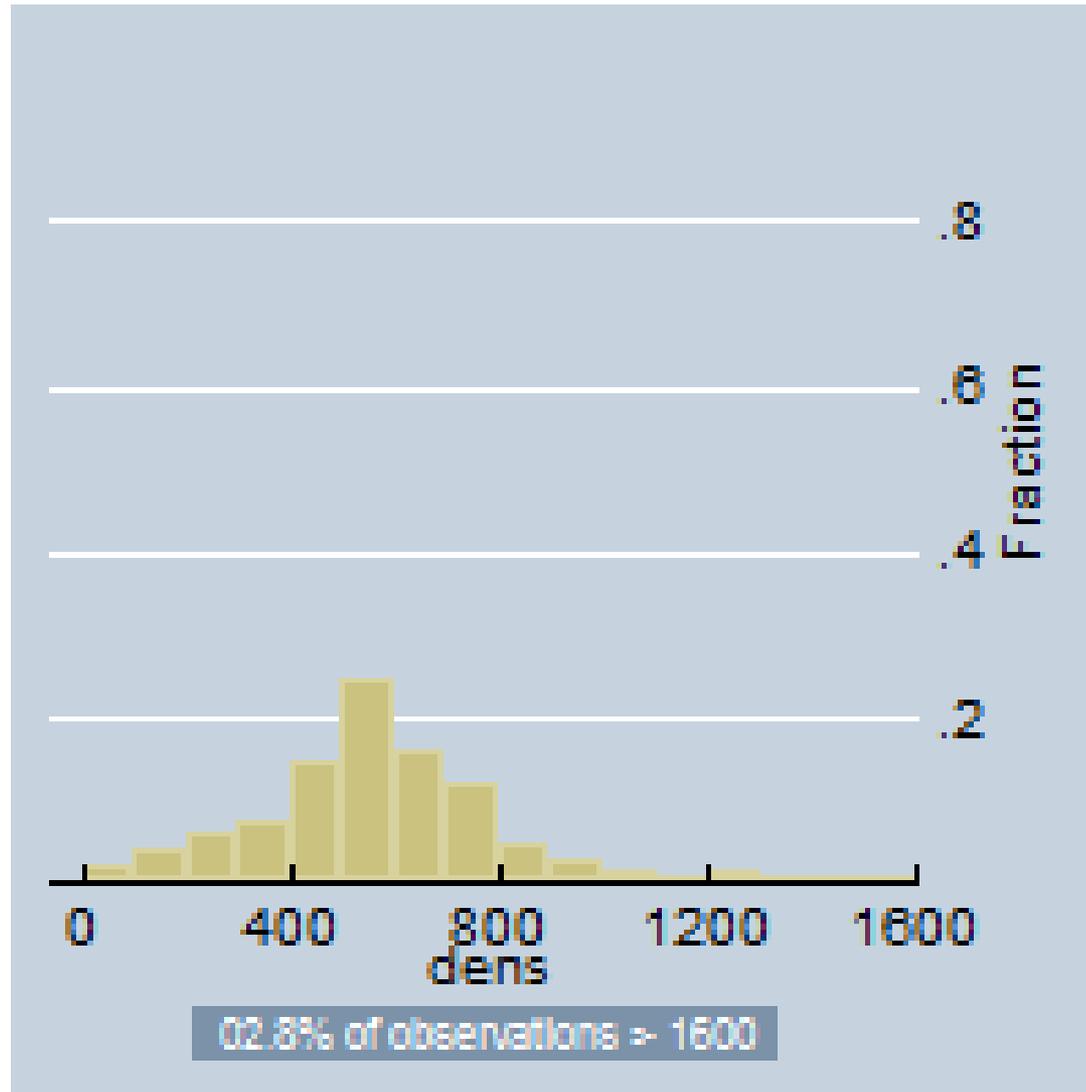
Population density histogram, Nigeria (counting all rural 1km² grid-cells)



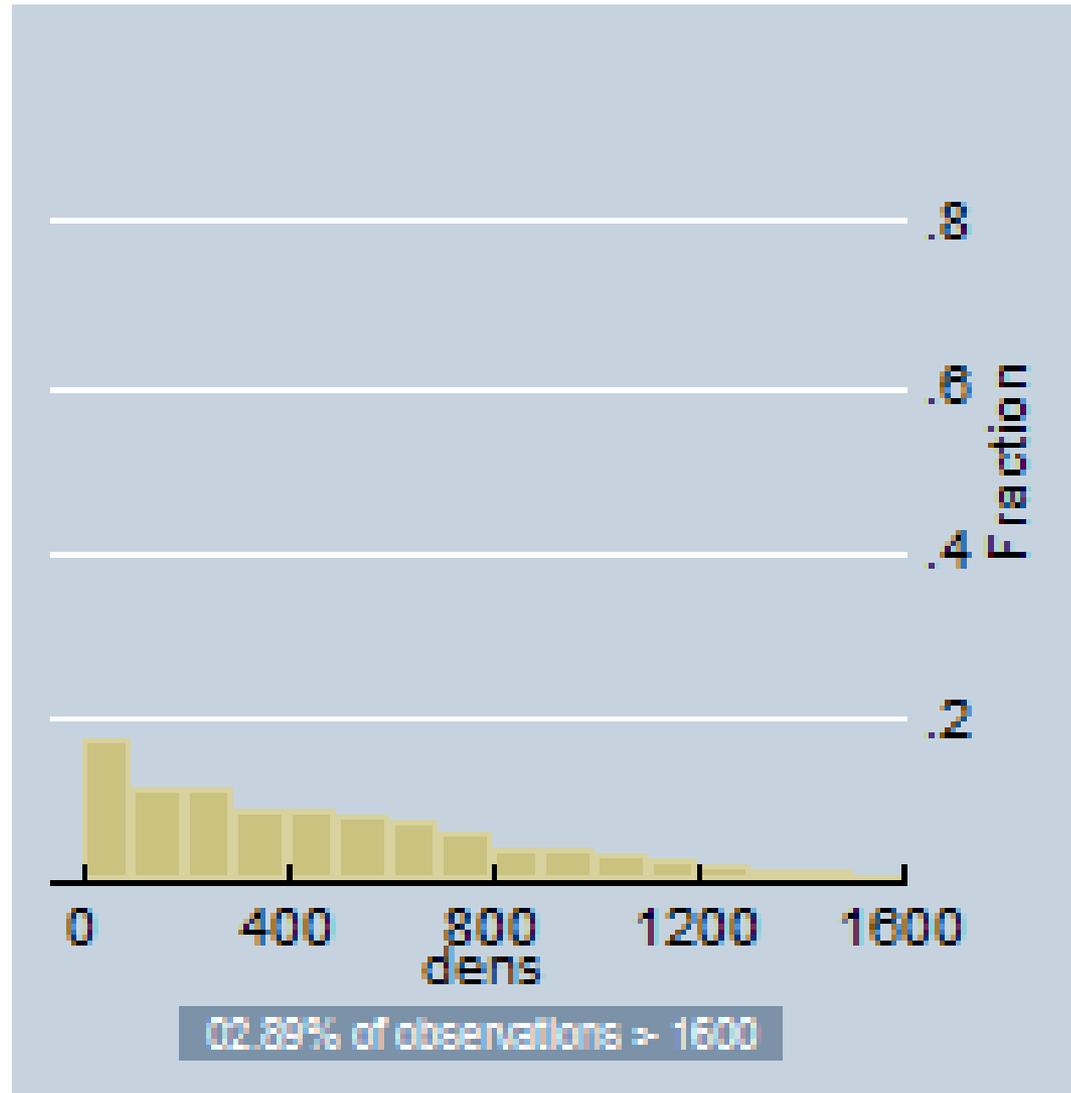
Population density histogram, Nigeria (counting all 1km² grid-cells designated as arable and changing the unit of observation to be rural people)



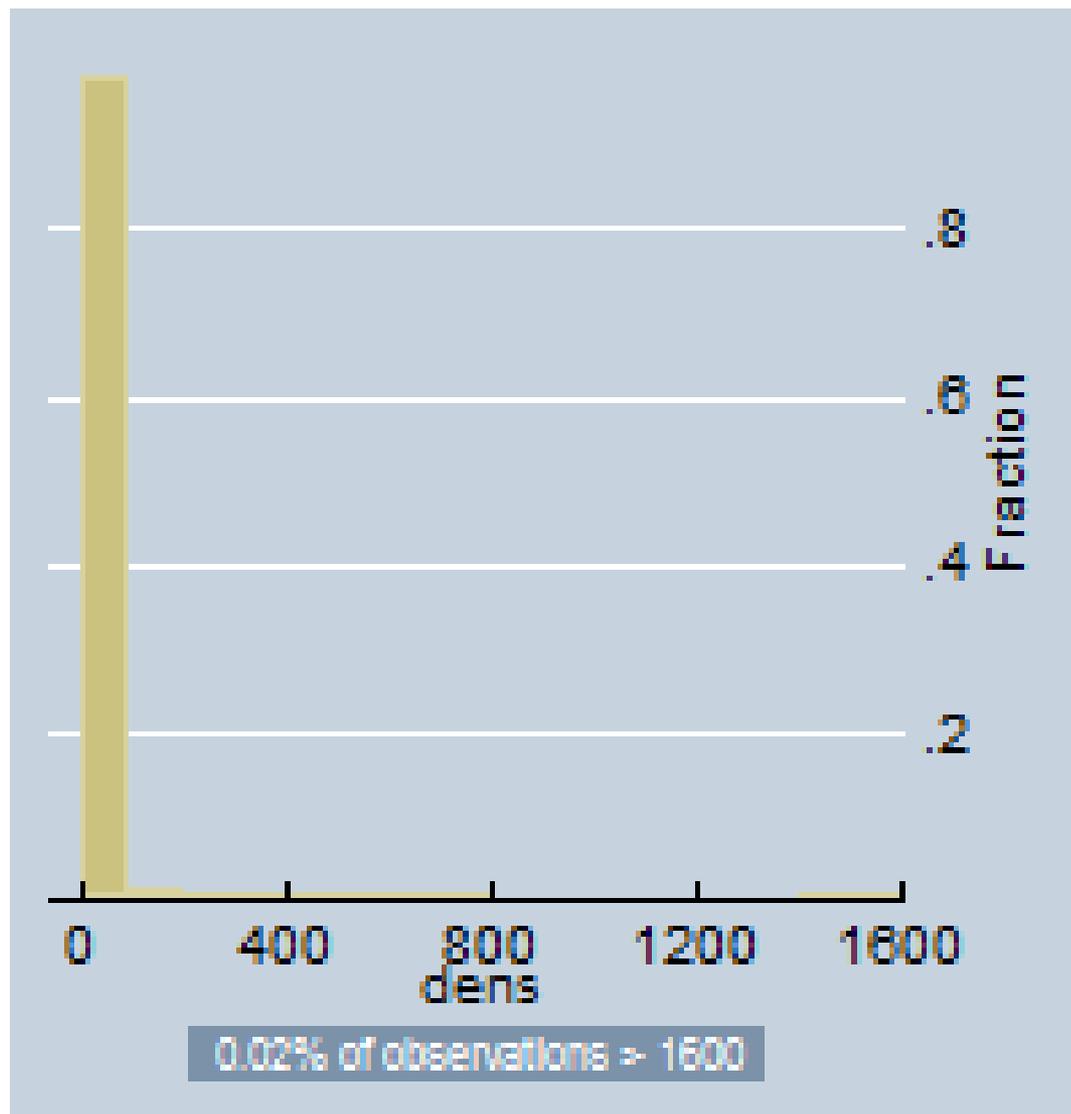
Population density histogram, Rwanda
(counting all 1km² grid-cells designated as
arable+grassland+forest land, unit of observation: rural people)



Population density histogram, Kenya
(counting all 1km² grid-cells designated as
arable+grassland+forest land, unit of observation: rural people)



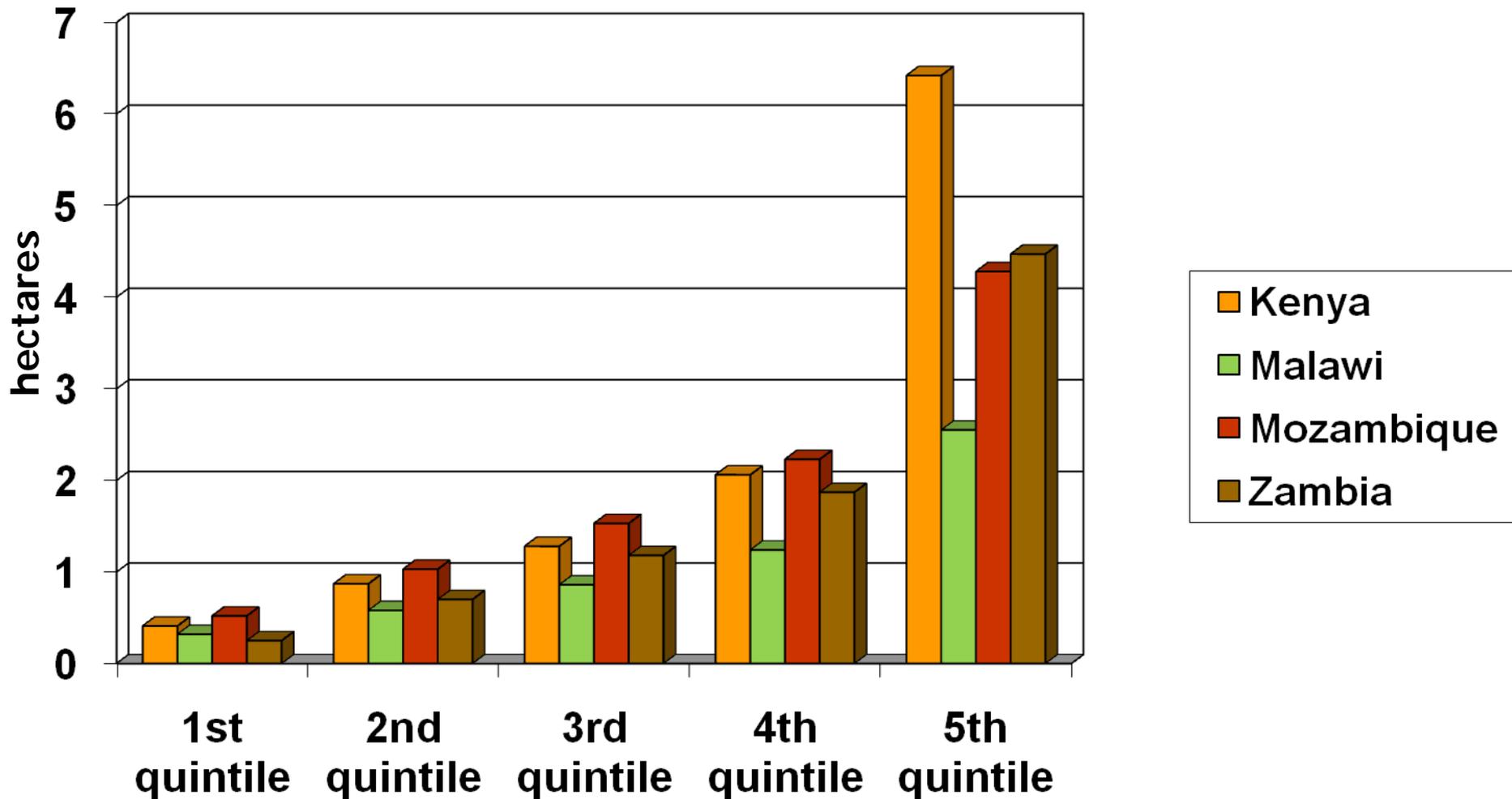
Population density histogram, Zambia
(counting all 1km² grid-cells designated as
arable+grassland+forest land, unit of observation: rural people)



Take-away messages:

- Much of sub-Saharan Africa's rural areas are sparsely populated
- A high proportion of the rural people in sub-Saharan Africa live in densely populated areas

Distribution of farm sizes in smallholder farm sectors

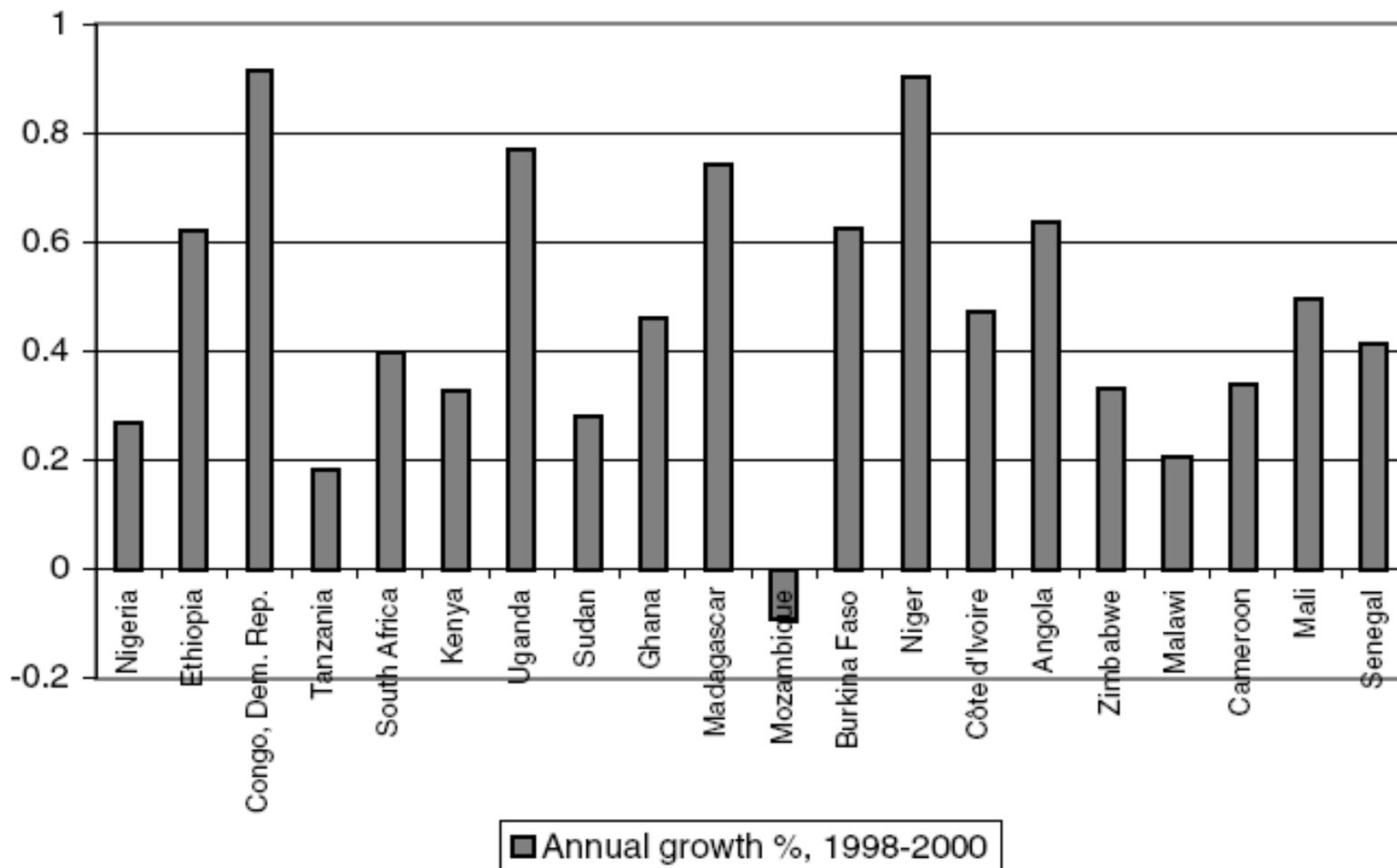


Disparities within smallholder agriculture, Zambia - 2008

	N=	Farm size (ha)	Asset values (US\$)	Gross rev., maize sales (US\$)	Gross rev., crop sales (US\$)	Total hh income (US\$)
Top 50% of maize sales	30,150 (2%)	7.2	3,703	3,199	3,354	7,624
Rest of maize sellers	467,320 (30%)	1.9	257	172	252	1,272
Households not selling maize	1,010,014 (67%)	1.1	129	0	57	756

Source: CSO Supplemental surveys, 2008

Rural population growth rates

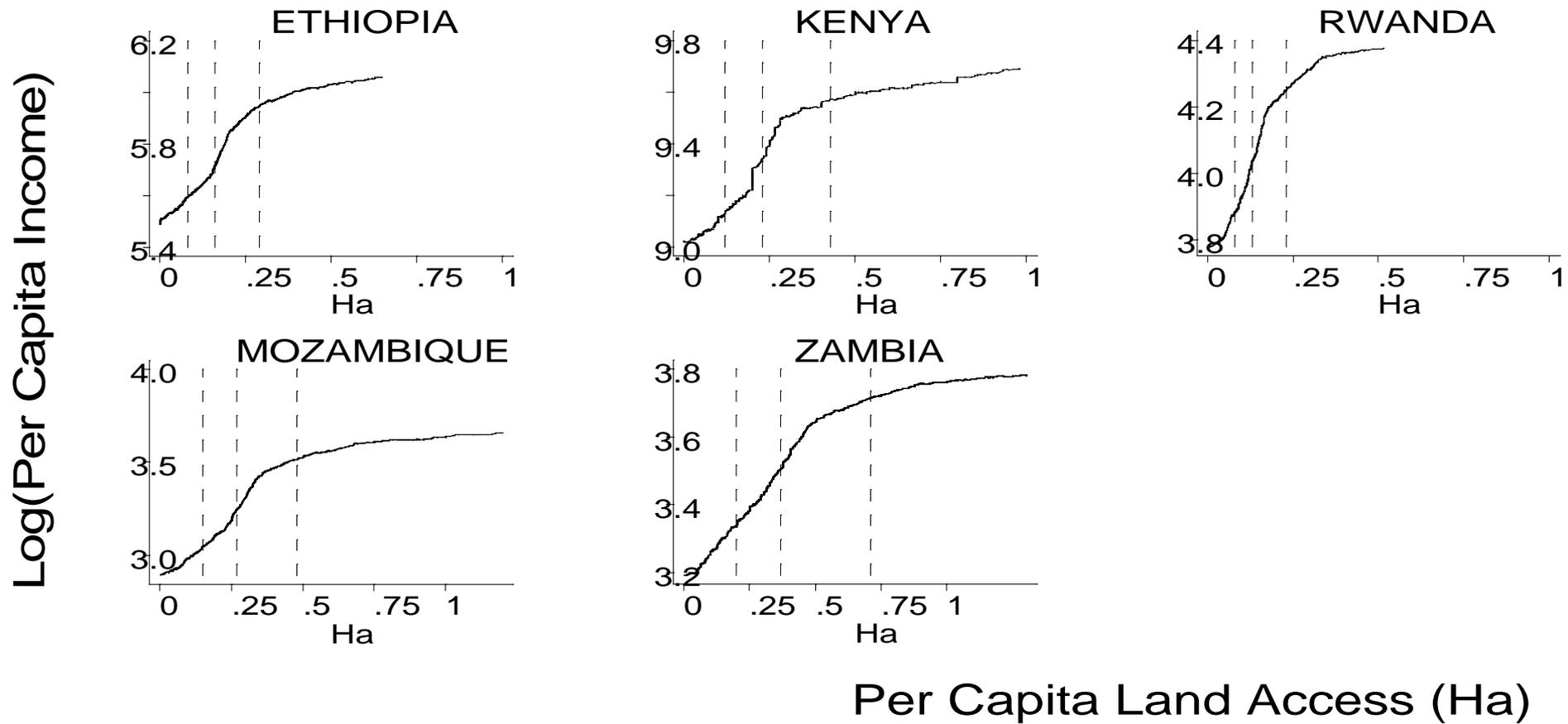


II.

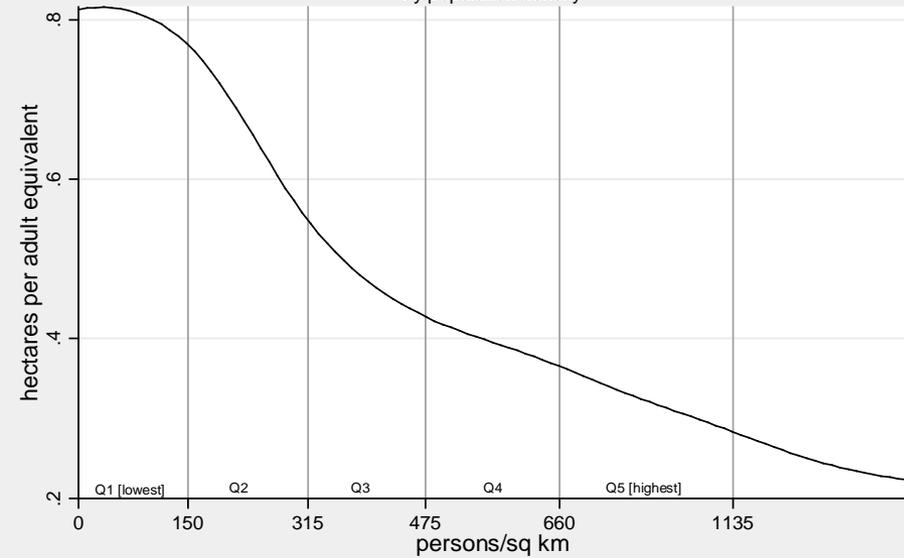
Impacts of rising population density on African agriculture



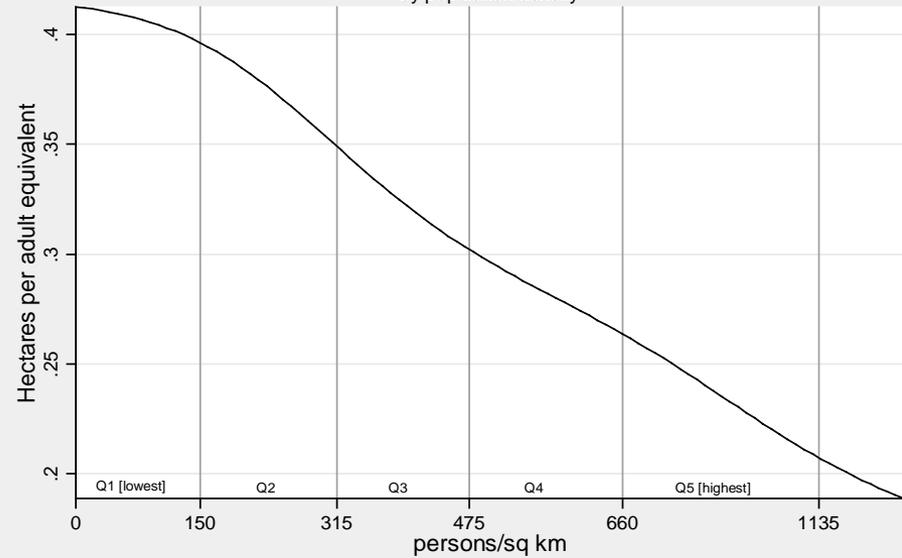
Relationships between farm size and household income



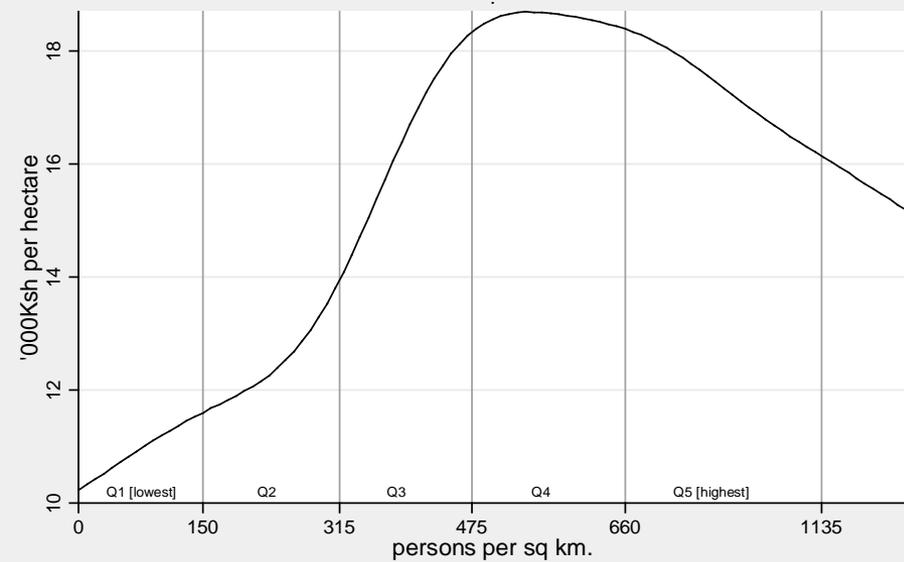
(a) Land holding
by population density



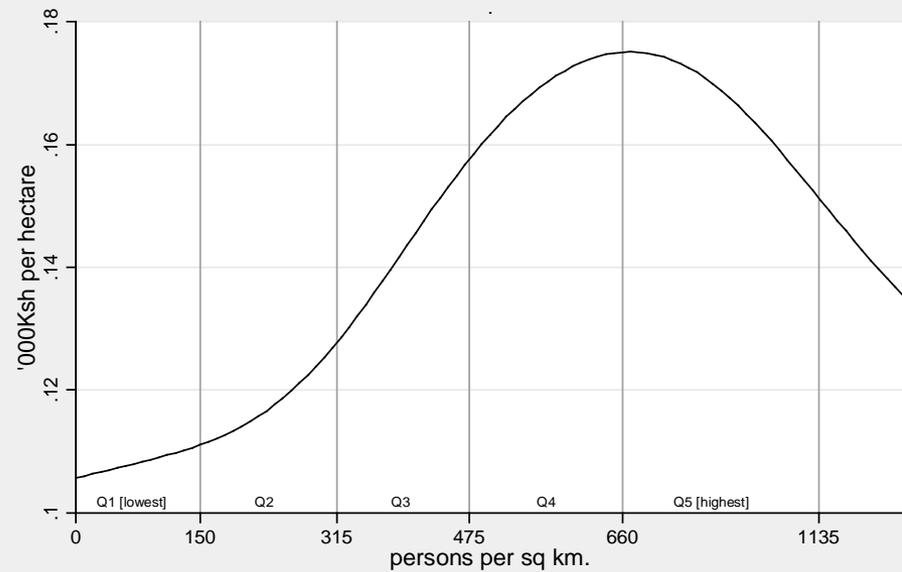
(b) Area under crop
by population density



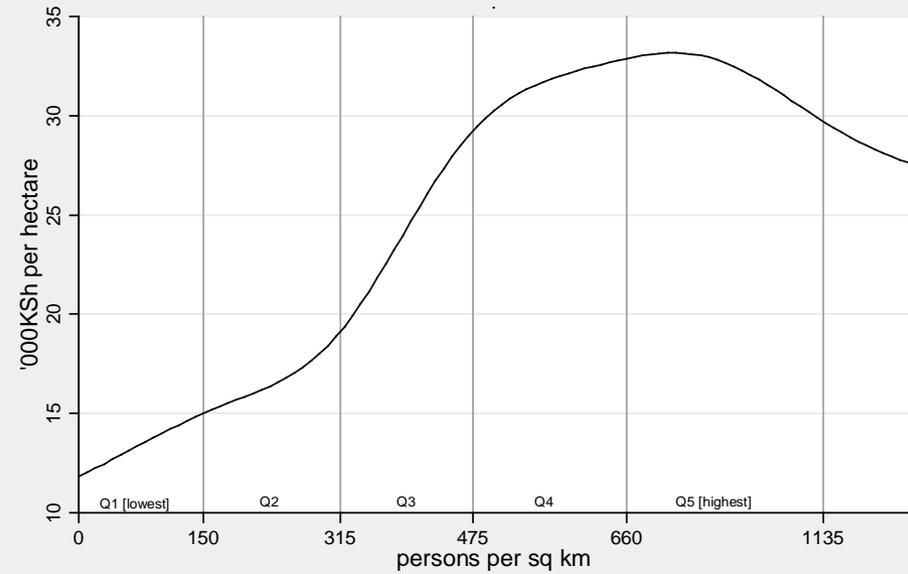
(c) Intensity of cash input use per hectare



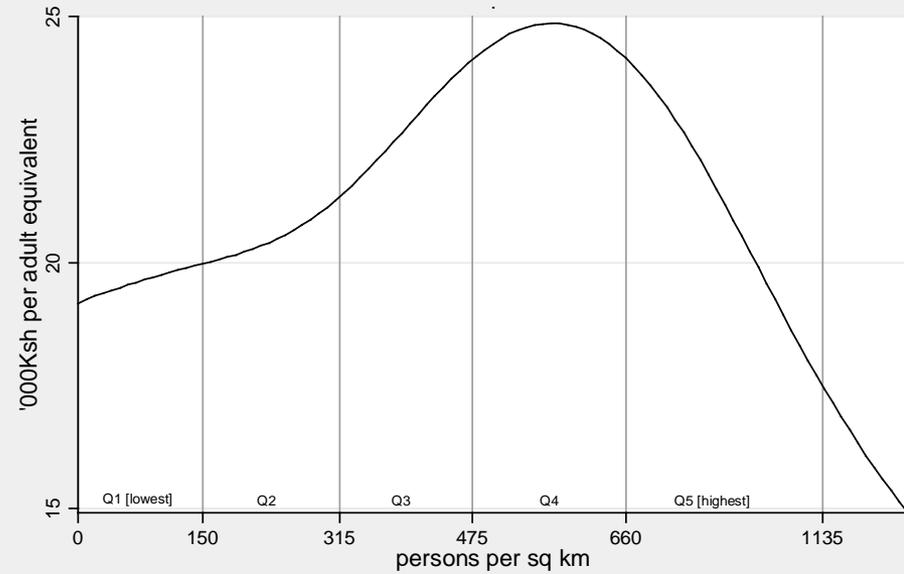
(d) Intensity of fertilizer input use per hectare



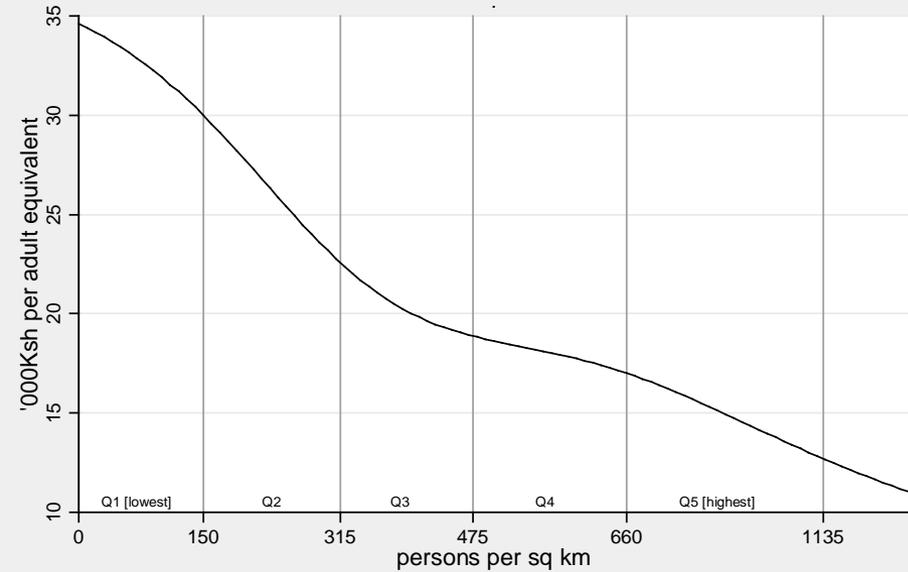
(e) Net farm income per hectare



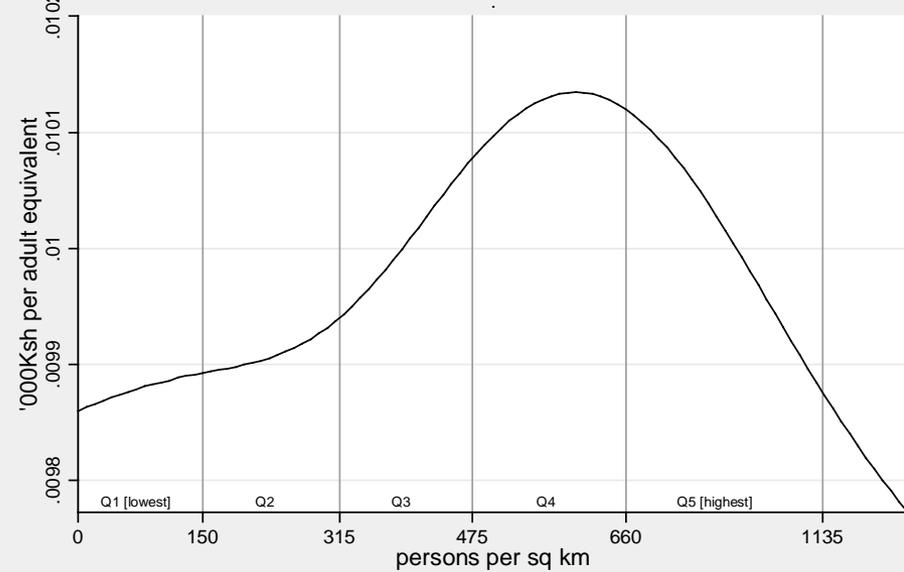
(f) Net farm income per adult equivalent



(g) Household asset value per adult equivalent



(h) Total household income per adult equivalent





Main findings: how are farming systems changing?

1. Net outflow of adult labor highest in the relatively densely populated areas
2. Farm size is shrinking over time
 - e.g., fathers of hh respondents farm size 4.4 ha → 0.9 ha for respondents (in high density areas of Kenya)
 - 25% of young adults who grew up in rural areas did not inherit land in Kenya
3. Fallow area as % of total farm size is declining
4. Farmers in some high density areas are devoting a higher proportion of their land to high value crops
5. Most farm households derive only a minority of their incomes from off-farm employment

Take-away messages:

1. Many areas have reached a level of population density where negative threshold effects are occurring
 - This is giving rise to significantly lower farm incomes and asset wealth per adult
 - About 14% of Kenya's rural population lives in areas exceeding this population density threshold
2. Reasons for potential threshold effects:
 - More difficult to produce a surplus as farm size declines
 - Capital constraints on farm intensification → lower productivity
 - Small farms tend to reduce fallows → soil nutrient depletion

III.

Why there is no alternative to a
smallholder-led agricultural
development strategy



Why there is no alternative to a smallholder-led agricultural development strategy

- 50-70% of the population is engaged primarily in agriculture
- Agricultural growth with poverty reduction requires that smallholders be the engine
 - Large-farm-led model → latifundia
- Multiplier effects of agricultural growth are highest in smallholder agriculture
- Broad-based agricultural growth leads to virtuous symbiotic rural-urban development

Illustration of how agricultural growth can fail to reduce poverty – Zambia (2005-2011)

- Zambia initiated a major input subsidy program and marketing board price support program starting in the mid-2000s
- Production of maize – the main staple -- doubled during this period
- But rural poverty remained stubbornly high at 78%

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11		
	(A)		
0-0.99 ha	616,867		
1-1.99 ha	489,937		
2-4.99 ha	315,459		
5-9.99 ha	42,332		
10-20 ha	6,626		
Total	1,471,221		

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11	% of Farms	
	(A)	(B)	
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	
Total	1,471,221	100%	

Table 1: Sources: MACO/CSO Crop Forecast Surveys, 2005/06-2007/08, 2010/11

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11	% of Farms	Annual mean during 2005/06 to 2007/08 baseline period (MT)
	(A)	(B)	(C)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	212,335
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	381,293
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	490,102
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	196,848
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	103,156
Total	1,471,221	100%	1,383,735

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11	% of Farms	Annual mean during 2005/06 to 2007/08 baseline period (MT)	2010/11 (MT)
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	212,335	309,324
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	381,293	707,438
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	490,102	1,130,527
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	196,848	494,719
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	103,156	144,888
Total	1,471,221	100%	1,383,735	2,786,896

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11	% of Farms	Annual mean during 2005/06 to 2007/08 baseline period (MT)	2010/11 (MT)	Absolute change (MT) (D-C)
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	212,335	309,324	96,989
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	381,293	707,438	326,145
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	490,102	1,130,527	640,425
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	196,848	494,719	297,871
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	103,156	144,888	41,732
Total	1,471,221	100%	1,383,735	2,786,896	1,403,161

Table 1: Sources: MACO/CSO Crop Forecast Surveys, 2005/06-2007/08, 2010/11

Smallholder maize production growth from the baseline period (2005/06–2007/08) to 2010/11, by farm size category

Total smallholder maize production

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Average number of farms, 2005/06 to 2007/08, and 2010/11	% of Farms	Annual mean during 2005/06 to 2007/08 baseline period (MT)	2010/11 (MT)	Absolute change (MT) (D-C)	Change per farm (kg per farm) (E*1000/A)
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	212,335	309,324	96,989	157.2
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	381,293	707,438	326,145	665.7
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	490,102	1,130,527	640,425	2,030.1
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	196,848	494,719	297,871	7,036.6
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	103,156	144,888	41,732	6,298.4
Total	1,471,221	100%	1,383,735	2,786,896	1,403,161	953.7

FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011, by farm size category

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Number of farms					
	(A)					
0-0.99 ha	616,867					
1-1.99 ha	489,937					
2-4.99 ha	315,459					
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5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%				
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%				
Total	1,471,221	100%				

FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011, by farm size category

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Number of farms (A)	% of farms (B)	% of farmers receiving FISP fertilizer (C)			
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	14.3%			
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	30.6%			
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	45.1%			
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	58.5%			
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	52.6%			
Total	1,471,221	100%	28.6%			

FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011, by farm size category

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Number of farms	% of farms	% of farmers receiving FISP fertilizer	kg of FISP fertilizer received per farm household		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)		
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	14.3%	24.1		
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	30.6%	69.3		
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	45.1%	139.7		
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	58.5%	309.7		
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	52.6%	345.6		
Total	1,471,221	100%	28.6%	77.1		

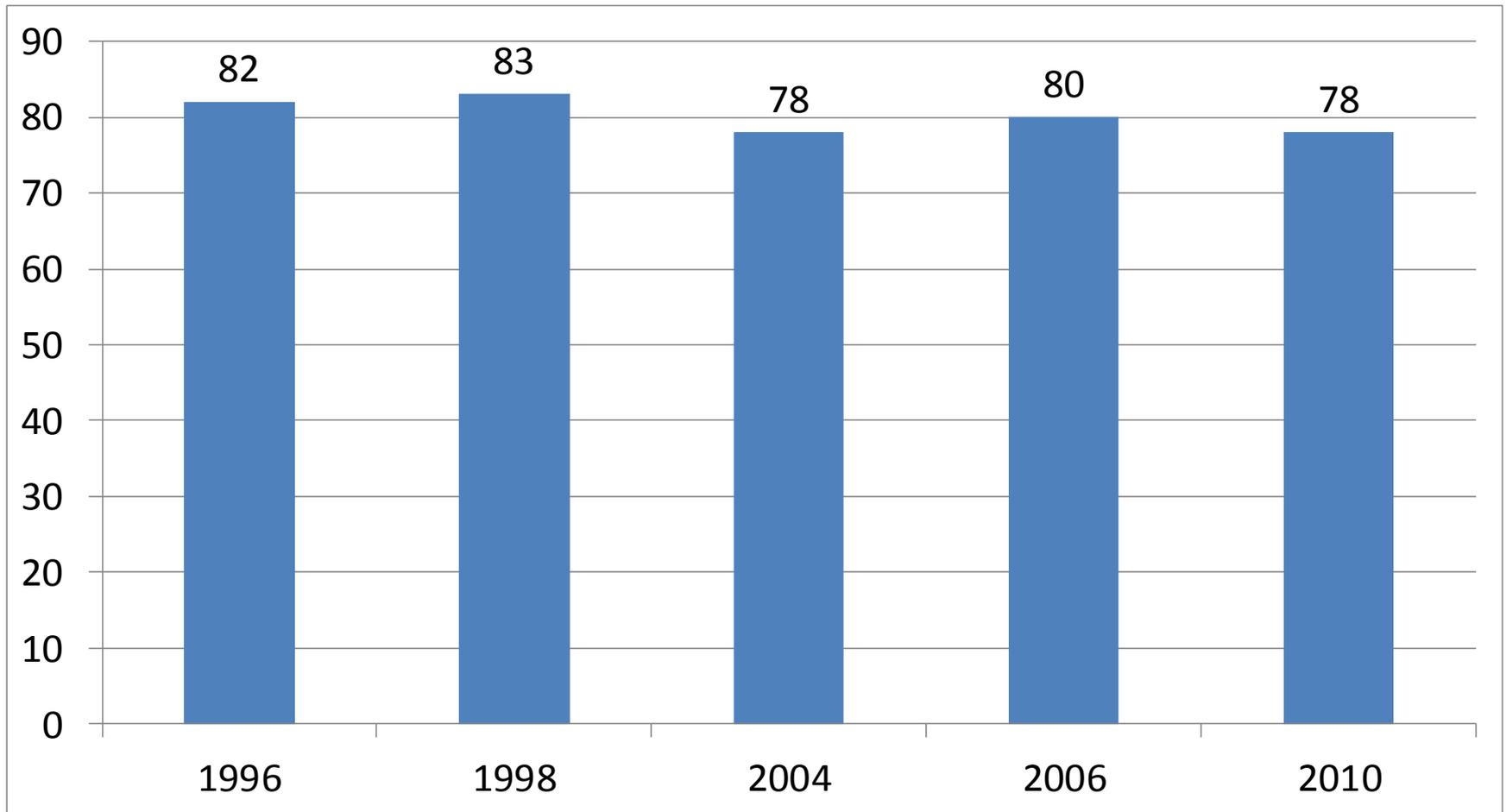
FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011, by farm size category

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Number of farms	% of farms	% of farmers receiving FISP fertilizer	kg of FISP fertilizer received per farm household	% of farmers expecting to sell maize
			(A)	(B)	(C)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	14.3%	24.1	22.2
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	30.6%	69.3	47.7
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	45.1%	139.7	64.0
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	58.5%	309.7	82.1
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	52.6%	345.6	86.8
Total	1,471,221	100%	28.6%	77.1	42.7

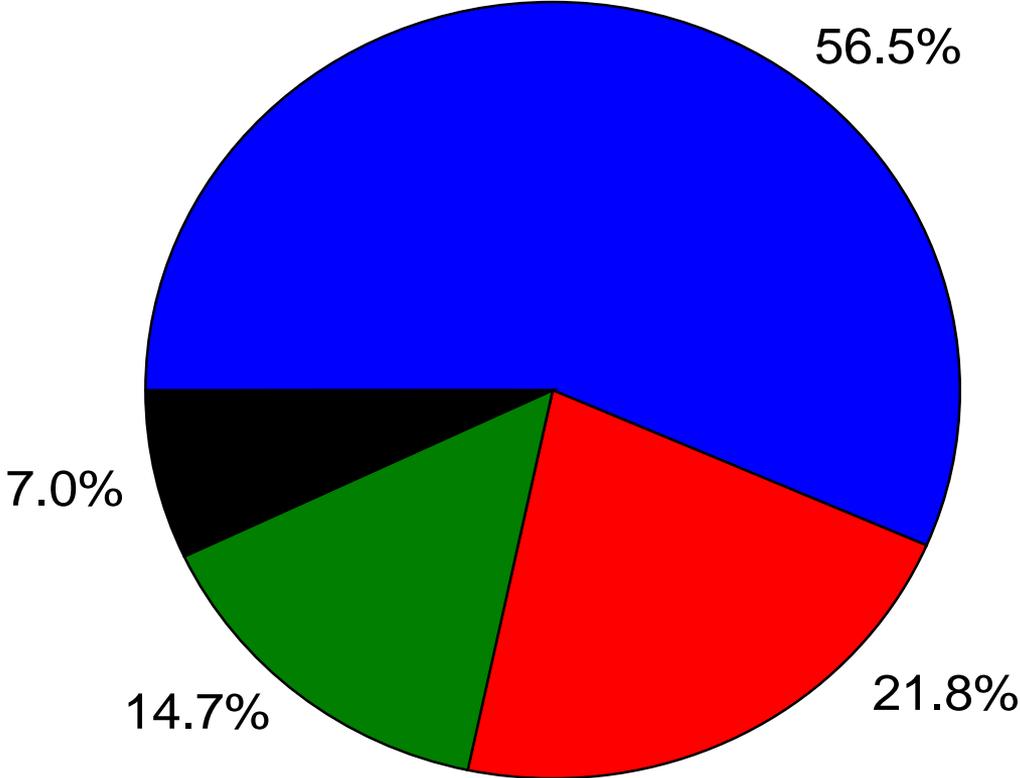
FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011, by farm size category

Total area cultivated (maize + all other crops)	Number of farms	% of farms	% of farmers receiving FISP fertilizer	kg of FISP fertilizer received per farm household	% of farmers expecting to sell maize	Expected maize sales (kg/farm household)
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)
0-0.99 ha	616,867	41.9%	14.3%	24.1	22.2	135
1-1.99 ha	489,937	33.3%	30.6%	69.3	47.7	609
2-4.99 ha	315,459	21.4%	45.1%	139.7	64.0	1,729
5-9.99 ha	42,332	2.9%	58.5%	309.7	82.1	6,613
10-20 ha	6,626	0.5%	52.6%	345.6	86.8	15,144
Total	1,471,221	100%	28.6%	77.1	42.7	950

Rural headcount poverty rates, Zambia

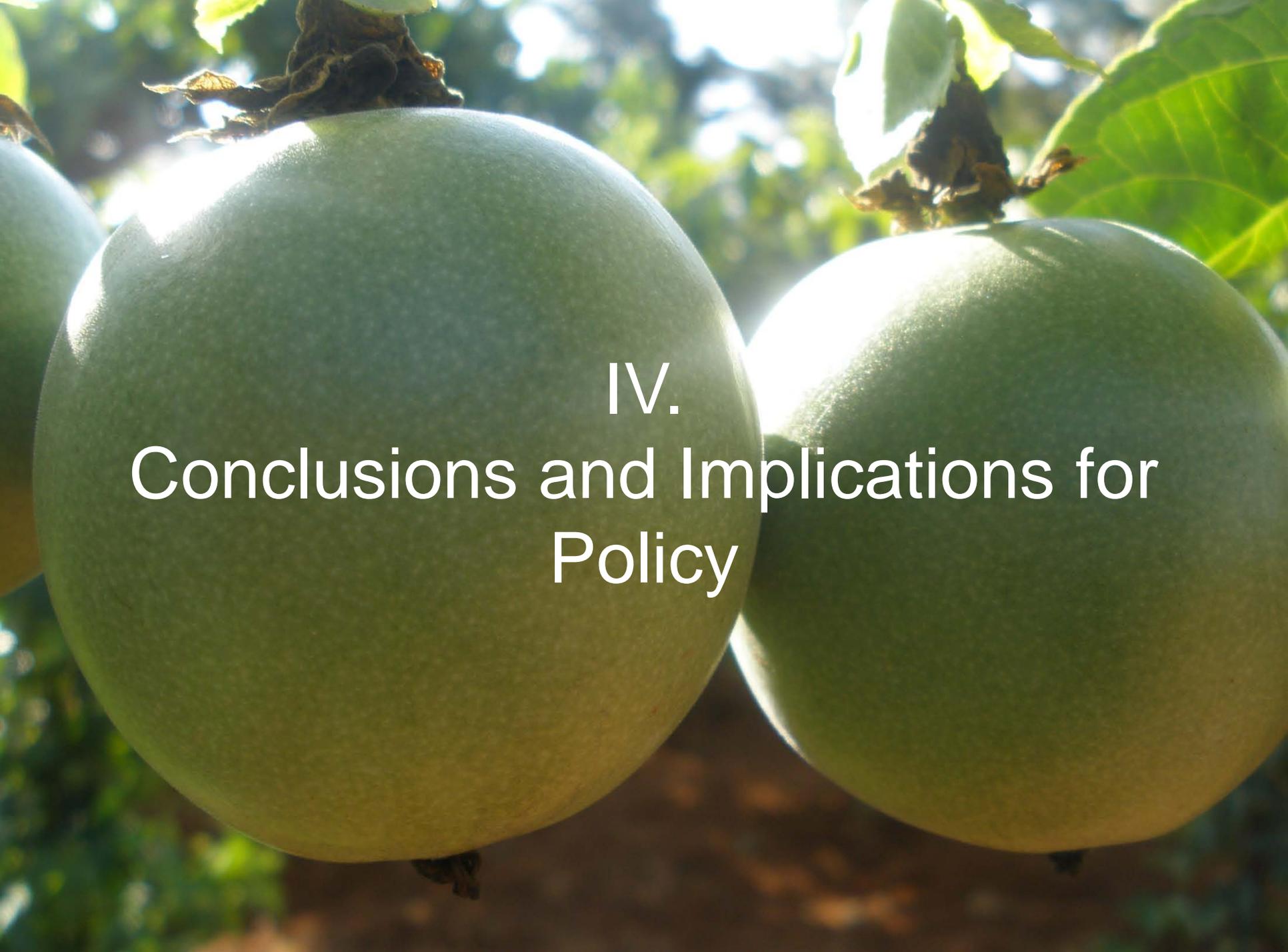


Public expenditures to agriculture, 2010, Zambia



Take-away message:

- A broad-based, inclusive form of agricultural growth has much greater prospects of reducing rural poverty
- Consistent with documented structural transformation processes in Asia:
 - Lipton (2006): "except in the cases of a handful of city-states, there are virtually no examples of mass poverty reduction since 1700 that did not start with sharp rises in the productivity in small family farms"

A close-up photograph of two large, round, green melons hanging from a vine. The melons are in sharp focus, with bright sunlight creating highlights on their smooth, slightly textured skin. The background is a soft-focus view of a vineyard with green leaves and a bright sky. The text is overlaid in the center of the image.

IV.
Conclusions and Implications for
Policy

Conclusions

1. Problems of inadequate access to land almost never features in national development plans or poverty reduction strategies....

... despite the fact that an increasing share of Africa's rural population live in densely populated, land-constrained areas

Conclusions

2. Growing perception that the development challenge for the region is how to productively utilize the continents' underutilized land resources.
3. Especially since mid-2000s, concerted efforts to transfer land out of customary tenure to the state or to private individuals who, it is argued, can more effectively exploit the productive potential of the land to meet national food security objectives.

Conclusions

4. Such efforts have nurtured the growth of a relatively well-capitalized class of “emergent” African farmers
5. The growing focus on how best to exploit unutilized land in Africa has diverted attention from the more central and enduring challenge of developing agricultural development strategies that effectively address the continent’s massive rural poverty and food insecurity problems

What to do?

Ranking of Alternative Investments: Meta-Study Evidence from Asia and Africa

	The Economist	IFPRI study
Policies		
Road investment		
Agricultural R&D		
Agricultural extension services		
Credit subsidies		
Fertilizer subsidies		
Irrigation		

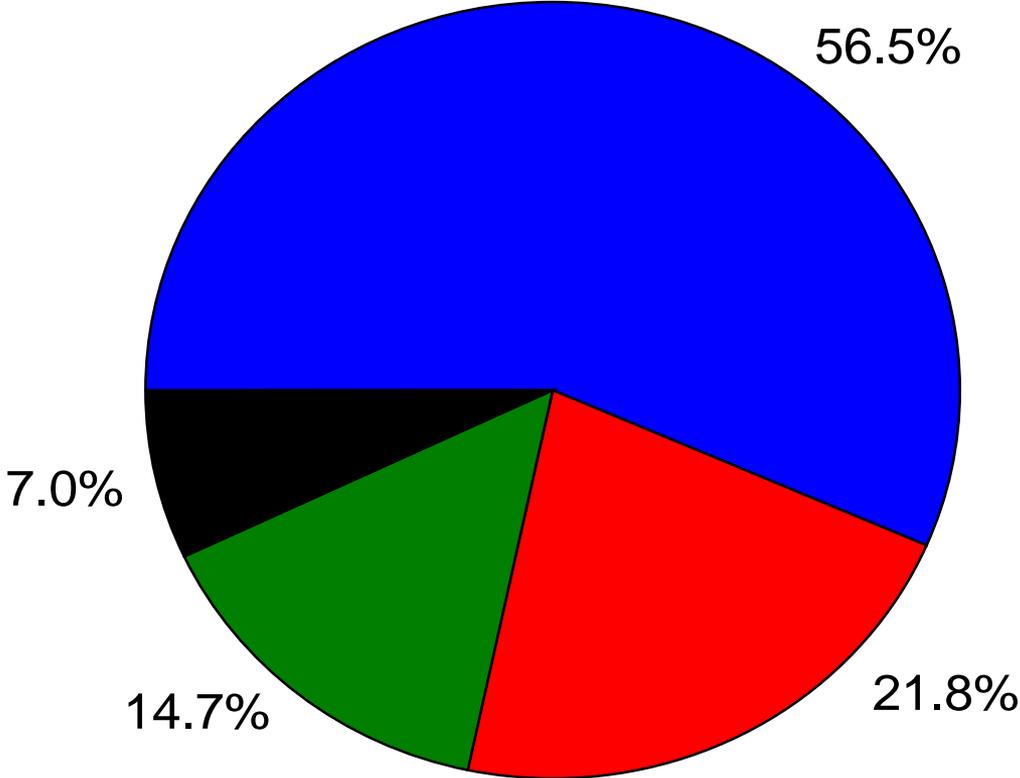
Ranking with respect to *agricultural growth*: Evidence from Asia

	The Economist	IFPRI
Policies	1	
Road investment	2	1
Agricultural R&D	3	2
Agricultural extension services	4	
Credit subsidies	7	3
Fertilizer subsidies	5	4
Irrigation	6	5

Ranking with respect to *poverty reduction*: Evidence from Asia

	The Economist	IFPRI
Policies	1	
Road investment	2	1
Agricultural R&D	3	2
Agricultural extension services	5	
Credit subsidies	7	3
Fertilizer subsidies	4	4
Irrigation	6	5

Public expenditures to agriculture, 2010, Zambia



What to do:

1. Research & Extension:

- redoubled public investment in the international and national agricultural research and extension systems
 - focus on land-saving farm technologies and
 - practices appropriate for one-hectare farms or smaller

2. Physical infrastructure and land markets:

- physical infrastructure investment in the less populated regions– Gokwe example

3. Address land inequalities:

- conduct land audit
- land tax to provide incentives for non-farming landowners to release land

Consequences of “do nothing” option

- Inability of large % of rural population to participate in/ respond to agricultural growth opportunities
- Closing off the most effective policy option for poverty reduction
- Unviable rural livelihoods contributes to rural-urban migration and the myriad problems associated with rapid urbanization:
 - rise of urban slums, poor sanitation, health crises unemployment, etc.
- Possible civil instability?
- Inevitable rise of large commercial agriculture?
 - If so, not because large farms are more efficient but because the public sector didn't respond to the challenge

Thank You



Land-to-person in agriculture ratio, selected countries

	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-09	2000-09 land-person ratio as % of 1960-69
Ethiopia	0.501	0.444	0.333	0.224	0.218	43.5%
Zambia	0.643	0.607	0.398	0.342	0.297	46.2%
Kenya	0.462	0.364	0.305	0.264	0.219	47.4%
Uganda	0.655	0.569	0.509	0.416	0.349	53.3%
Malawi	0.480	0.466	0.357	0.304	0.307	64.0%
Zimbabwe						
Rwanda						
Mozambique						
Ghana						
Nigeria						

Source: FAO STAT (2010)

Land-to-person in agriculture ratio, selected countries

	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000-09	2000-09 land-person ratio as % of 1960-69
Ethiopia	0.501	0.444	0.333	0.224	0.218	43.5%
Zambia	0.643	0.607	0.398	0.342	0.297	46.2%
Kenya	0.462	0.364	0.305	0.264	0.219	47.4%
Uganda	0.655	0.569	0.509	0.416	0.349	53.3%
Malawi	0.480	0.466	0.357	0.304	0.307	64.0%
Zimbabwe	0.613	0.550	0.452	0.420	0.469	76.5%
Rwanda	0.212	0.213	0.195	0.186	0.174	82.1%
Mozambique	0.356	0.337	0.320	0.314	0.294	82.6%
Ghana	0.646	0.559	0.508	0.492	0.565	87.5%
Nigeria	0.982	0.860	0.756	0.769	0.898	91.4%

Source: FAO STAT (2010)



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**EMERGING LAND ISSUES IN AFRICAN AGRICULTURE:
Implications for Food Security and Poverty Reduction
Strategies**

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Africa Land Tenure Specialist
USAID/E3 LTRM



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Sorting out key questions:

- Are we seeing a perfect storm that will swamp smallholders? How severe is the problem?
- Why are populations in some rural areas expanding and how does a growing rural population affect smallholders behaviors?
- Can smallholders lead agricultural sector growth in SSA if most are working on increasingly small parcels of land?
- How do we understand that apparent paradox of land scarcity in the midst of abundance?



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Paradox or something else?

- Abundant underutilized arable land
- Increasing demand from various actors
- Crowding and decreasing plot sizes
- Increasing pressure on smallholders
- Decreasing investment
- Threats to food security
- Is land the new “resource” curse?



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Why is land a key constraint?

- Land policies/governance constrains expected behavior
 - Who controls or owns the resource? Who gets the “rents?”
 - What legal norms apply?
 - Safeguards & due process?
 - What role for customary systems?
 - Gender and other concerns
 - What do we know about the resource?
 - How accessible/transparent/accountable are land administration services?



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Is the problem access?

- Access or Rights?
- Rights are weak and insecure
- Secure means recognized & enforced
- Often means formalized, not necessarily individualized
- Why?
 - To shift behavior
 - To protect against predation
 - To improve governance



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What is needed?

- Explicitly address land rights of smallholders (and others) as a constraint to growth
- Address significant land administration challenges
- Identify strategies to leverage secure rights
- What are needs of customary systems?
- How can these needs best be addressed?
- Recognize that improving infrastructure without clarifying rights may create conflict



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Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests

- In response to rising demand/"land grabs"
- 18-month international negotiation by CFS at FAO
- Chaired by US/USAID
- Participatory process, including CSOs
- Unanimously approved; endorsed May 11, 2012
- Signed by 96 countries & EU
- **Text at:**
http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/nr/land_tenure/pdf/VG_Final_May_2012.pdf



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Connecting the dots

Weak land governance leads to tenure problems including **conflict, environmental degradation, reduced growth & investment**

“Responsible governance of tenure conversely promotes sustainable social and economic development that can help eradicate poverty and food insecurity, and encourages responsible investment.”

Source: Preface, Voluntary Guidelines



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Key features of VGs:

- Guide/reference for member states
- Promotes increased transparency, accessibility, accountability
- Respect for legitimate tenure rights, avoiding arbitrary evictions
- Provide access to justice
- Prevent tenure disputes, violence, corruption
- Recognize non-state actors also have responsibility to respect tenure rights



Key features of VGs (con't):

- Decentralize/ devolve to appropriate level
- Improve service delivery
- Establish safeguards to protect communities
 - “In particular, safeguards should protect women and the vulnerable who hold subsidiary tenure rights, such as gathering rights.” (Sec. 7.1)
- Ensure gender equality
- Improve management and use of public lands
- Protect customary tenure rights



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Key features of VGs (con't):

- Recognize and protecting land rights of Indigenous peoples – in accord with international obligations
- Limit conditions that promote informality, help to legalize informal tenure
- Facilitate “fair and transparent” market transactions
- Promote responsible private-sector investing
- Consolidate, reconstitute, redistribute under particular conditions
- Limit expropriations/evictions



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Key features of VGs (con't):

- Improving administration services
- Improving dispute resolution
- Creating systems for valuation/taxation
- Addressing need for land use planning
- Preparing to meet needs related to:
 - Global Climate Change
 - Natural Disasters
 - Transboundary Issues
 - Displaced Persons



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Next steps for the VGs:

- G8 countries have supported adoption
- Calling for support to implement
- Are the 6 New Alliance countries best target?
 - Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Burkina Faso
- What would this look like on the ground?



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Looking ahead:

- Increasing attention *is* being paid to land issues as a constraint
- CSOs are particularly attentive
- VGs offer a good starting point for addressing land administration and tenure rights concerns
- National governments need to act
- USG supports VGs
- More broadly USAID is working in 20 countries around the world to increase tenure security



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Securing land and tenure rights for all users will help to secure broad, inclusive agricultural growth, improve food security, and expand economic growth

Secure land rights; secure the future.

Thank you.



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Special Event with Cornell University

June 27: Ag Sector Council

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