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The U.S. Government's Global Hunger & Food Security Initiative

What Drives Agricultural Policy Reform in Africa?

Insights from the Kaleidoscope Model of Food Security Change

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Outline

- 1) Motivations for a conceptual framework of drivers of food security and agricultural policy change
- 2) Introduction to the Kaleidoscope Model
- 3) Application to Zambia's Farmer Input Support Program
- 4) Preview of application to Nigeria's land tenure reform efforts
- 5) Conclusions





Motivations & Objectives

- Achieving policy impact requires a deep understanding of the policy process to identify practical entry points
- The process is messy, opaque, with volatility and incoherence and often affected by the local context
- But can we find an operational framework with testable hypotheses across different countries **and** different policy domains?
- Doing so requires reconciling silver bullet approaches from the development community with academic policy process theorizing



Development Community Approaches

Hypotheses	Underlying assumptions	Operational examples
Monte Carlo	Changes in the payoff matrix influence the probability and direction of public investments and policy change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural adjustment programs • CAADP investment plans
Sherlock Holmes	Better empirical evidence leads to better policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ReSAKSS • Fewsnets • Food security portal • DHS data program
Contagion Inoculation	Prominent policy “success stories,” can spur international emulation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abuja Fertilizer Summit • SUN initiative
Masters of the Universe	Top-down negotiations and high-level commitments can enable and enforce policy change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Alliance agreements • Maputo Declaration
Frank Lloyd Wright	Institutional architecture matters; open, transparent, evidence-based policy processes improve policy outcomes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint sector reviews • GAFSP • Feed the Future program
Hercules	Champions of policy change can overcome flawed institutional architecture to effect policy change and confront powerful Dark Knights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa Lead Champions of Change • AGRA policy champions • Transform Nutrition champions



Academic Approaches

Dominant view of the state	What shapes actors' behavior?		
	<i>Interests</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Ideas and Identity</i>
<i>Captured by society</i>	Public choice theory		
	Marxism		
<i>Autonomous from society, unitary preferences</i>	Elitist theory	Street level bureaucrats	
	Corporatism		
	Developmental states		
<i>Interactive with society, diverse preferences</i>	Multiple streams		
		Punctuated equilibrium	
		Policy paradigms	
	Policy networks theory		
			Advocacy coalitions
			Social construction theory

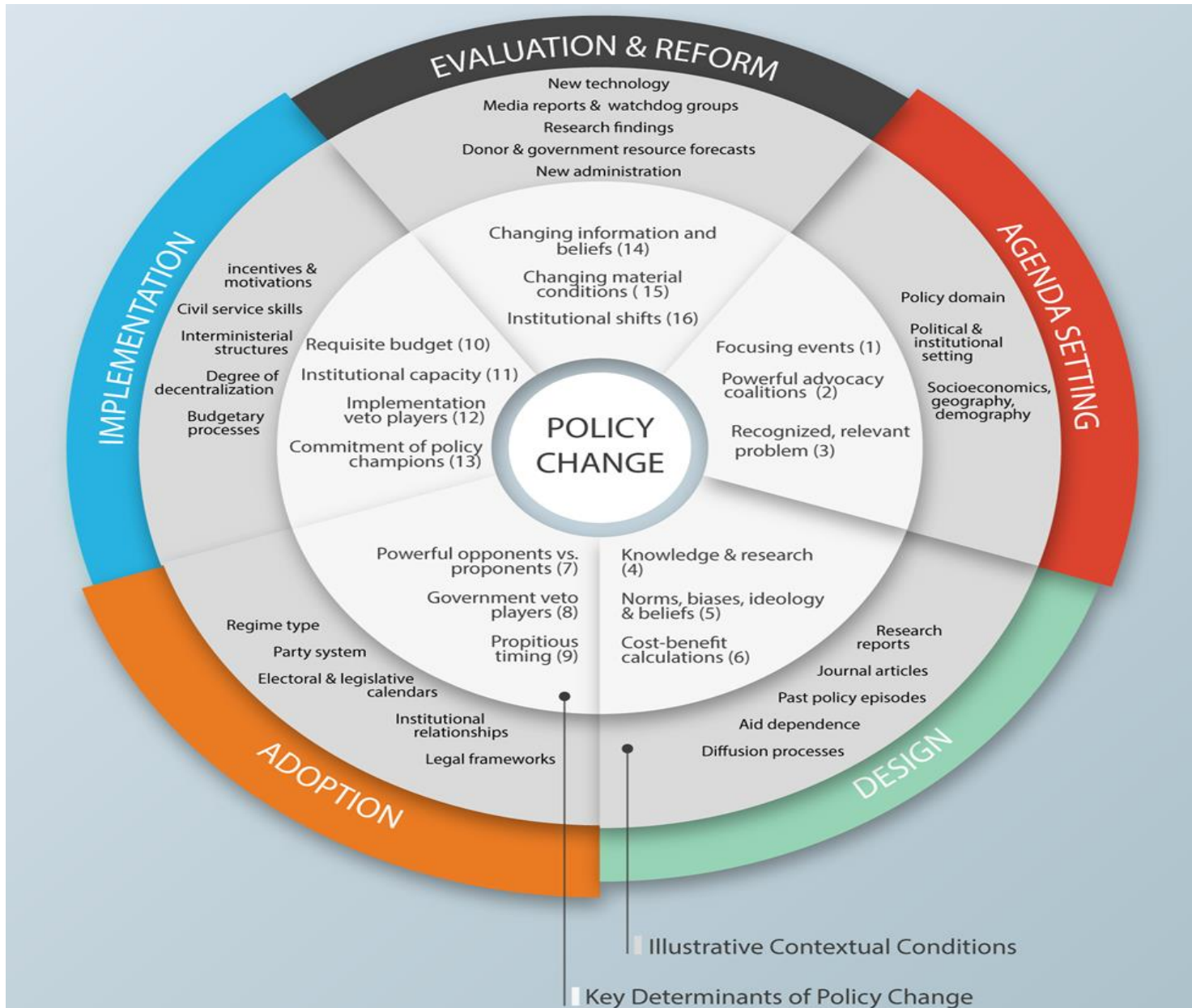


Our Approach

- Builds on existing scholarship and development approaches
- But also is inductively derived by comparing existing case studies of policy change in developing regions in domains related to food security (*e.g. health, education, agriculture, social protection*)
- Macro variables were identified across cases that were consistently important in explaining why a policy reached a particular stage of the policy process
 - *Follows the logic of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)*
- Attention given to highlighting necessary and sufficient conditions for policy change to occur

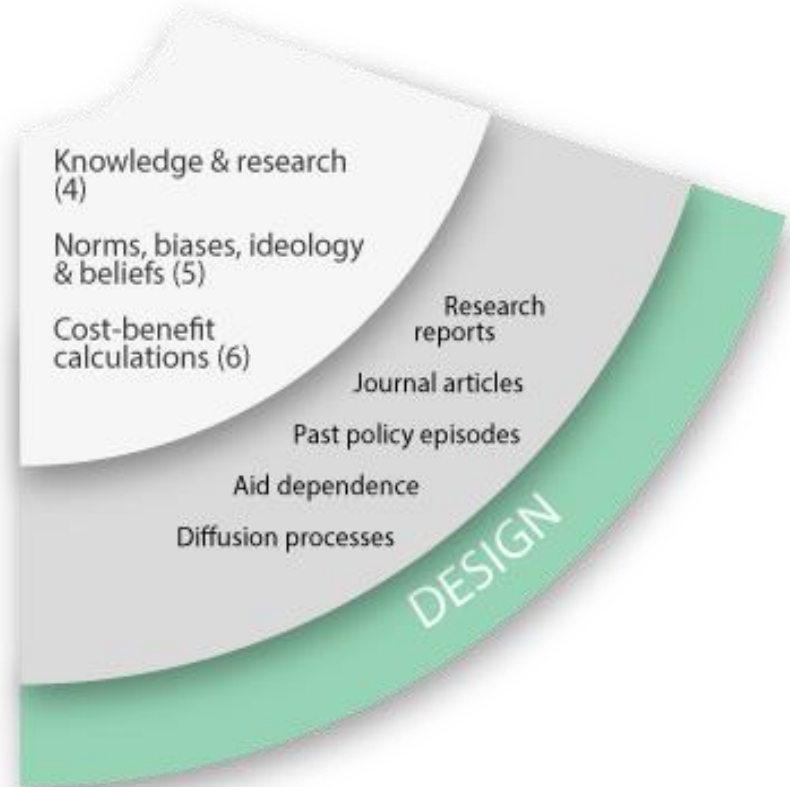
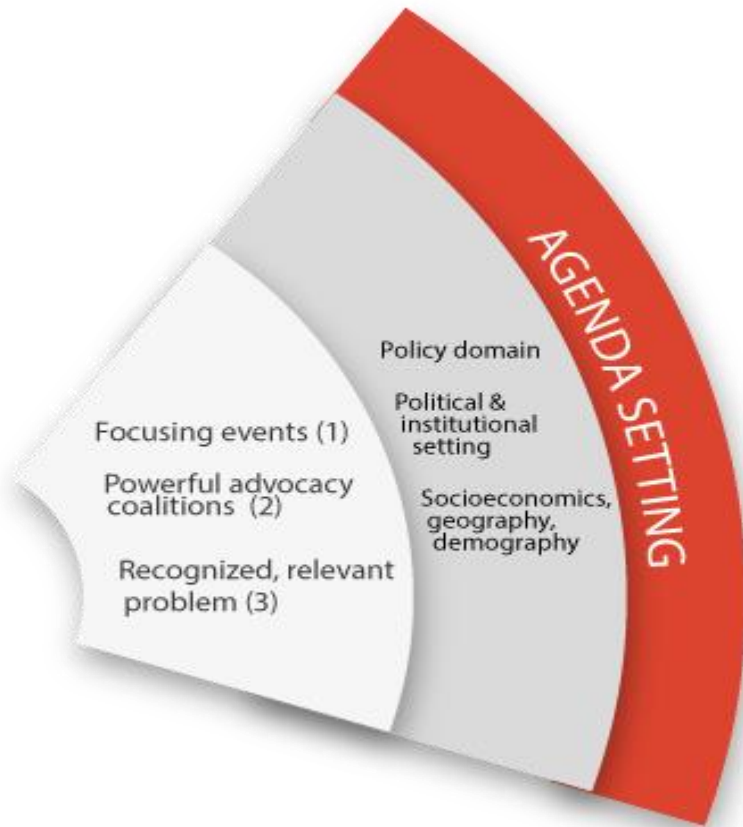


Kaleidoscope Model





In more detail...

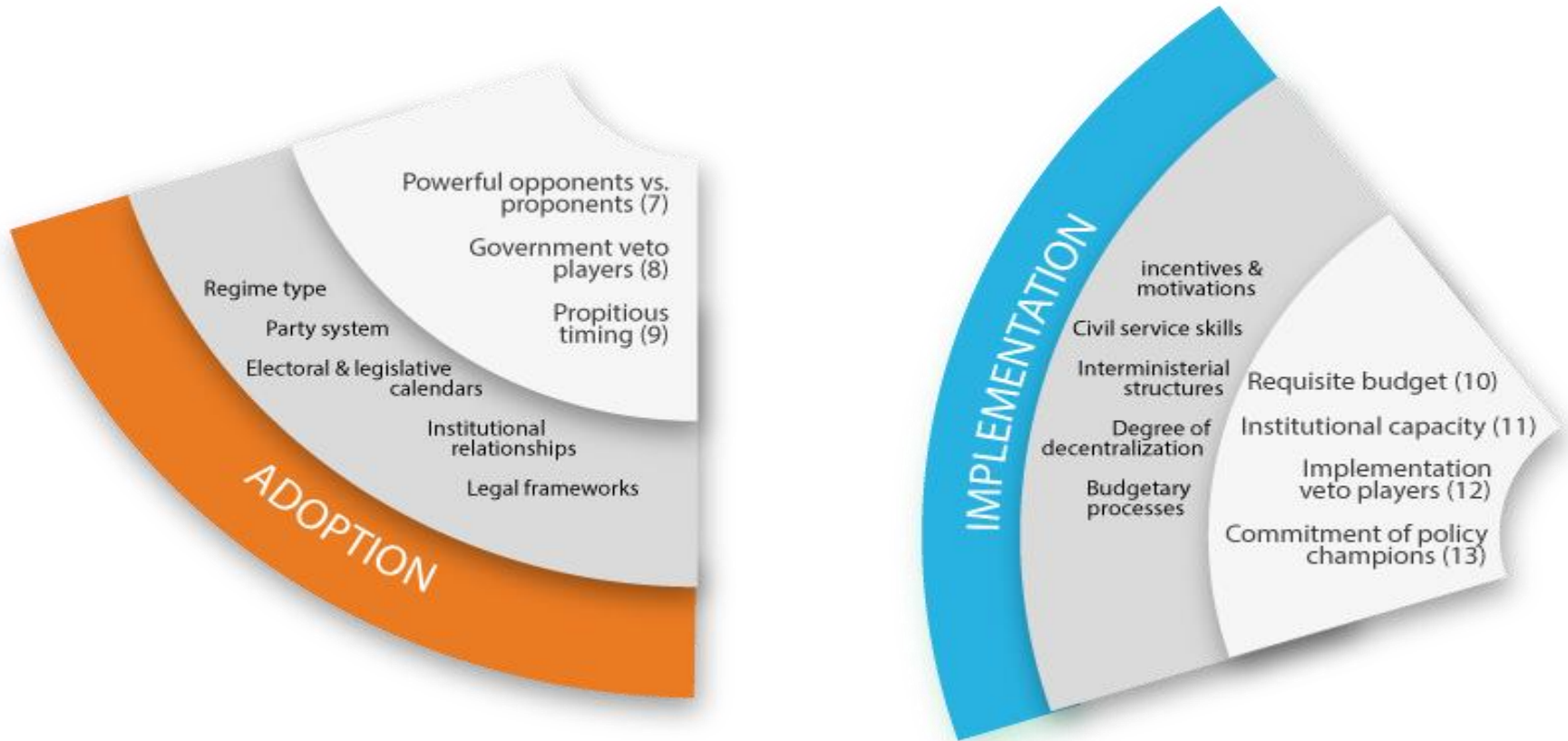




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Applications to Distinct Policy Domains

- Input subsidy programs – Ghana, Tanzania, and **Zambia**
- Micronutrient interventions – Malawi, South Africa, and Zambia
- Seed safety – ECOWAS
- Land tenure reform – **Nigeria**
- Public sector reforms – CAADP, Ethiopia, Ghana, Rwanda, Tanzania





Analytical Tools

Policy chronologies –process tracing by indicating whether certain events precipitated subsequent policy changes

Agricultural policy mapping- identifies key institutions and frameworks, regulations, procedures, etc.

Policy domain mapping - roles of key actors (e.g. formulation, administration, oversight, or knowledge)

Stakeholder inventories - identifies perceived winners and losers and their preferences

Circle of influence graphics - aligns stakeholders in a two dimensional space to map their preferences vis-à-vis a policy with their power





Application to Zambia FISP

Three “spins” of the Kaleidoscope Model:

- 1) How did FISP initially get on the agenda in 2002 and become subsequently adopted and implemented?
- 2) What accounts for major changes to the program in 2009/10?
- 3) Why did the adoption of an e-voucher program fail in 2013 but succeed in 2015?**





Overview of Zambia's FISP

Cropping year	No. of intended beneficiaries	Quantities of subsidized inputs (MT)						Subsidy rate		Total program cost (US\$ million)	Total cost as % of agric. expenditures	Total cost as % of national expenditures
		Fertilizer	Maize seed	Rice seed	Sorghum seed	Cotton seed	Ground-nut seed	Fertilizer	Maize seed			
2002/03	120,000	48,000	2,400	0	0	0	0	50	50	4.04	10.4	0.5
2003/04	150,000	60,000	3,000	0	0	0	0	50	50	10.56	17.2	1.1
2004/05	115,000	46,000	2,500	0	0	0	0	50	50	20.52	26.8	1.6
2005/06	125,000	50,000	2,500	0	0	0	0	50	50	31.36	26.9	1.9
2006/07	210,000	84,000	4,234	0	0	0	0	60	60	51.08	25.5	2.4
2007/08	125,000	50,000	2,550	0	0	0	0	60	60	51.10	18.0	2.2
2008/09	200,000	80,000	4,000	0	0	0	0	75	50	131.37	37.6	3.5
2009/10	500,000	100,000	5,342	0	0	0	0	75	50	111.99	42.5	3.7
2010/11	891,500	178,000	8,790	30	0	0	0	76	50	122.78	29.9	3.4
2011/12	914,670	182,454	8,985	39	0	0	0	79	53	184.21	30.1	4.4
2012/13	877,000	183,634	8,770	143	60	286	150	--	--	165.68	50.3	3.1
2013/14	900,000	188,312	9,000	159	107	156	130	50	100	113.22	30.2	1.9
2014/15	1,000,000	208,236	10,000	127	119	0	1,357	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: Calculated by Nicole Mason. ZMAL (various years), ZMFNP (various years).



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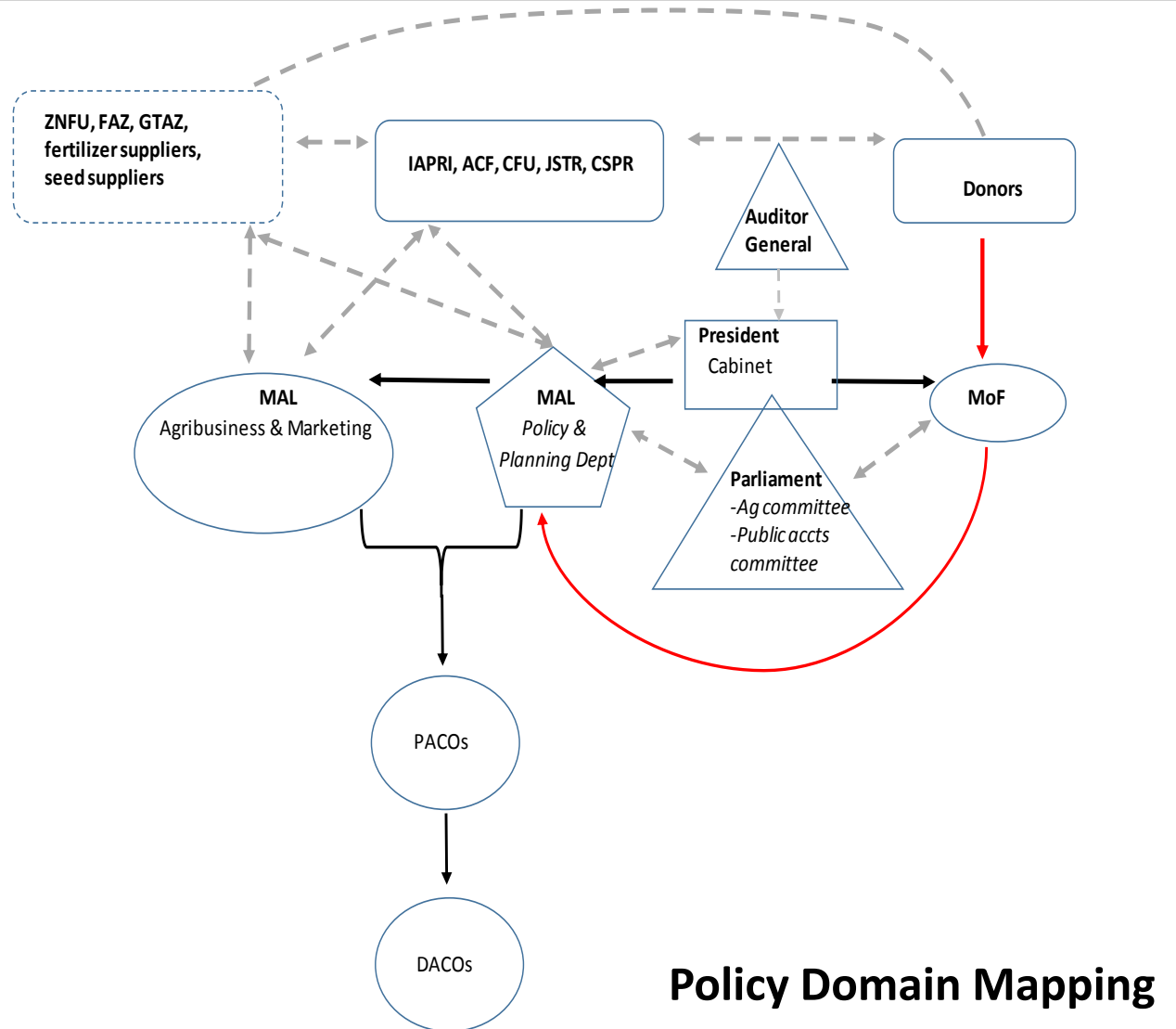
CATEGORIES OF ACTORS

Non-governmental stakeholders

Government actors

Sub-national actors

ROLES, FLOWS, and RELATIONSHIPS



LEGEND

Primary Roles

- Veto player institution
- Policy design
- Policy implementation
- Oversight
- Policy guidance
- Policy lobbying

Primary Functions & Flows

- Financial
- Authority
- Information

Policy Domain Mapping



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E-voucher Adoption (Round 1)



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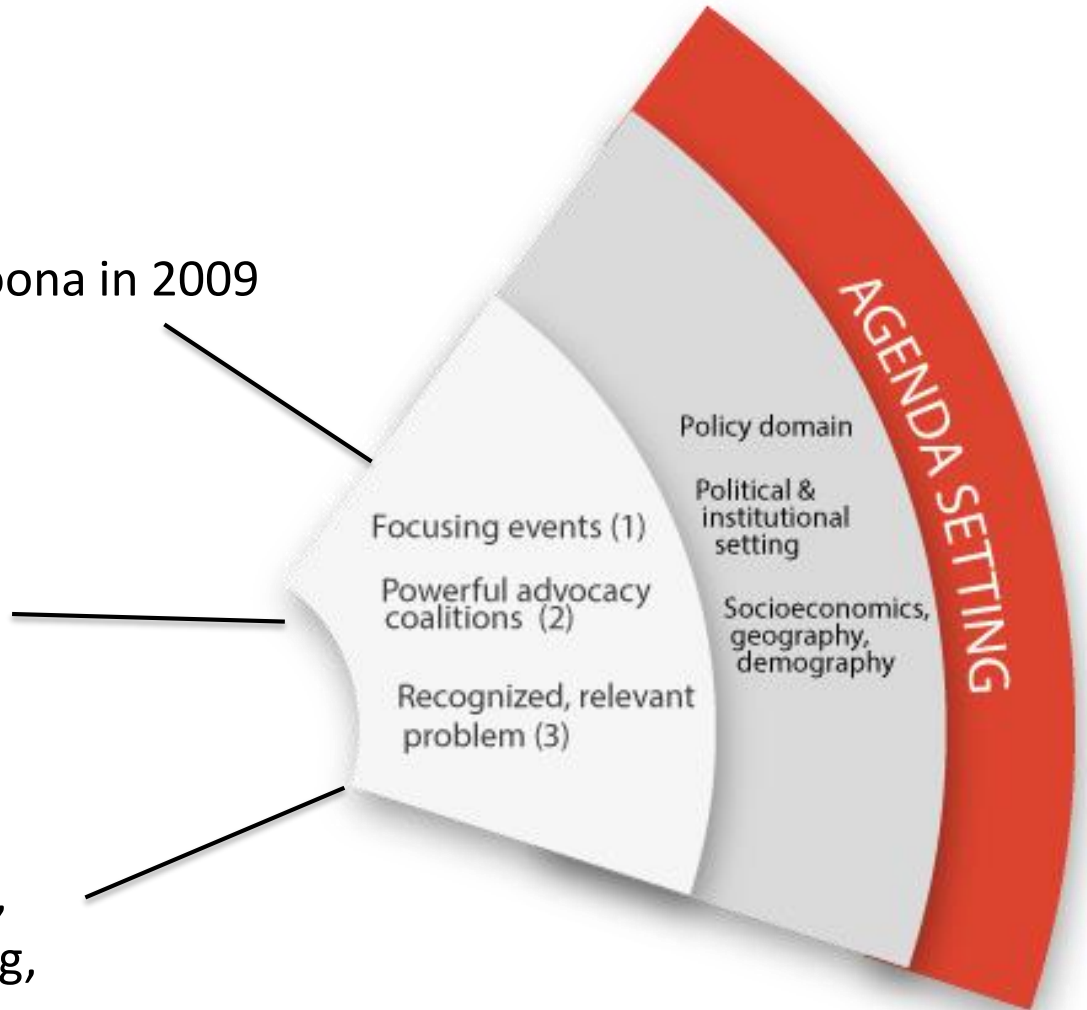




Pioneering of e-vouchers by ZoonA in 2009

IAPRI, ZNFU, CFU, ACF,
JASZ*

Corruption, poor targeting,
leakage, excessive spending,
and loss of 26 billion kwacha
in 2006

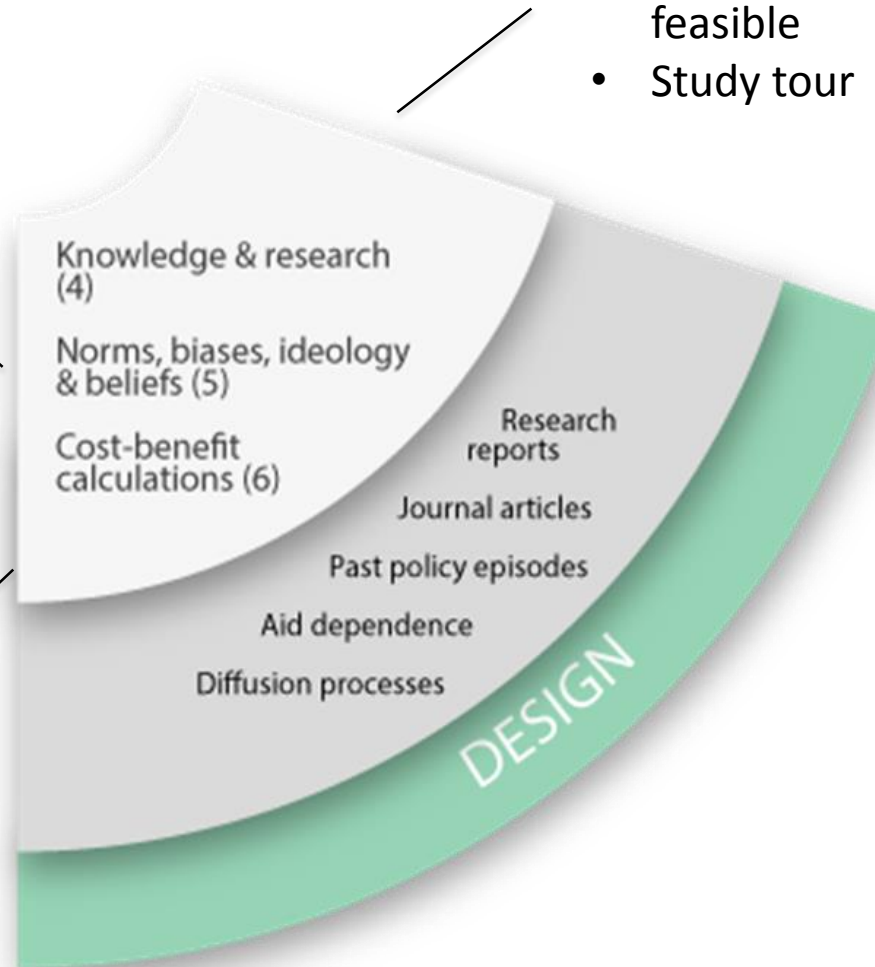


- Few pilot examples
- Sitko et al. (2012) showed e-voucher feasible
- Study tour for MAL

But strong beliefs that:

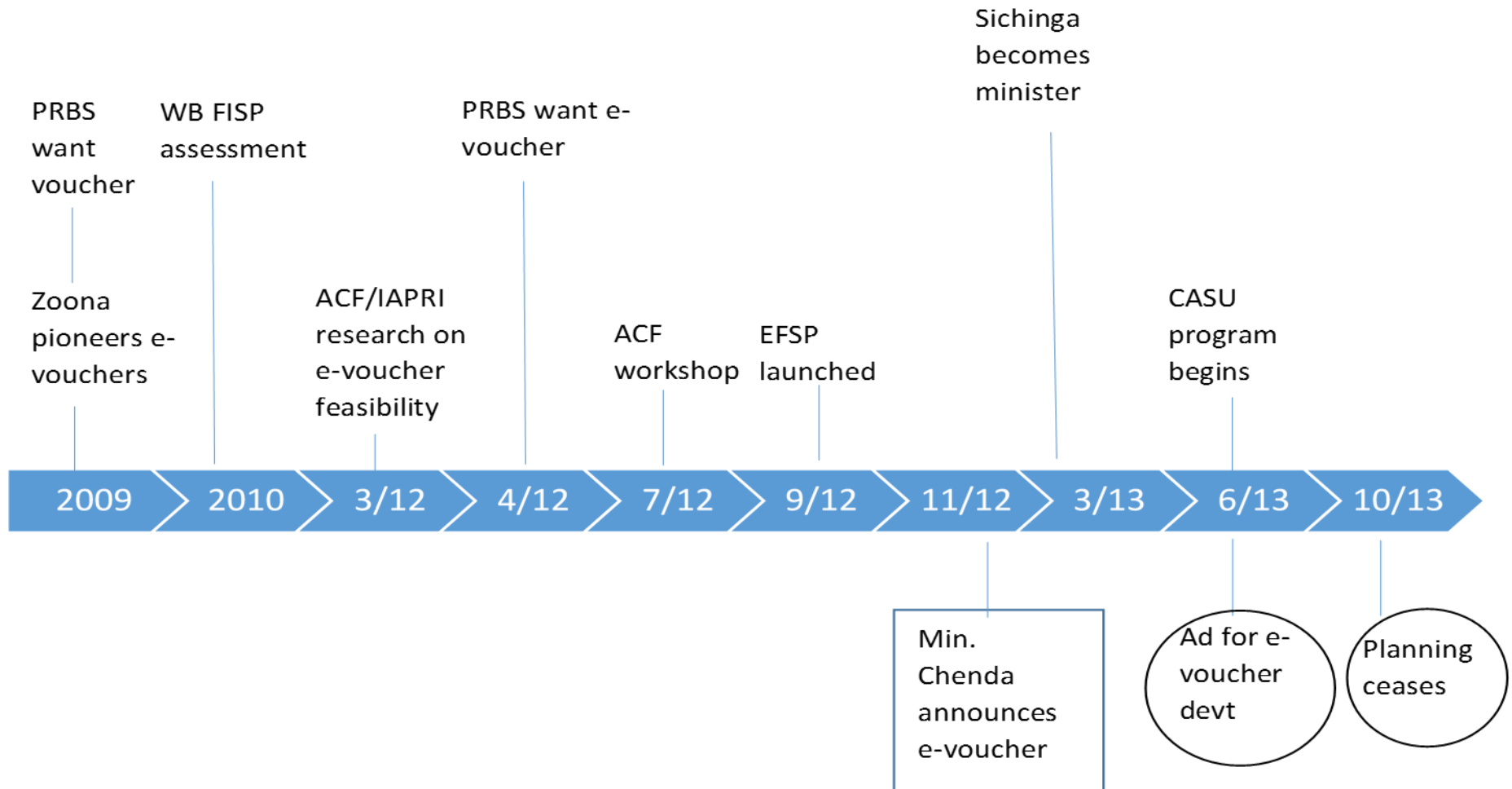
- infrastructure underdeveloped in rural areas,
- agro-dealers lacked sufficient stocks
- GRZ lacked funding

Uncertainties plus loss of patronage to actors in MAL





Policy Chronology (Round 1)

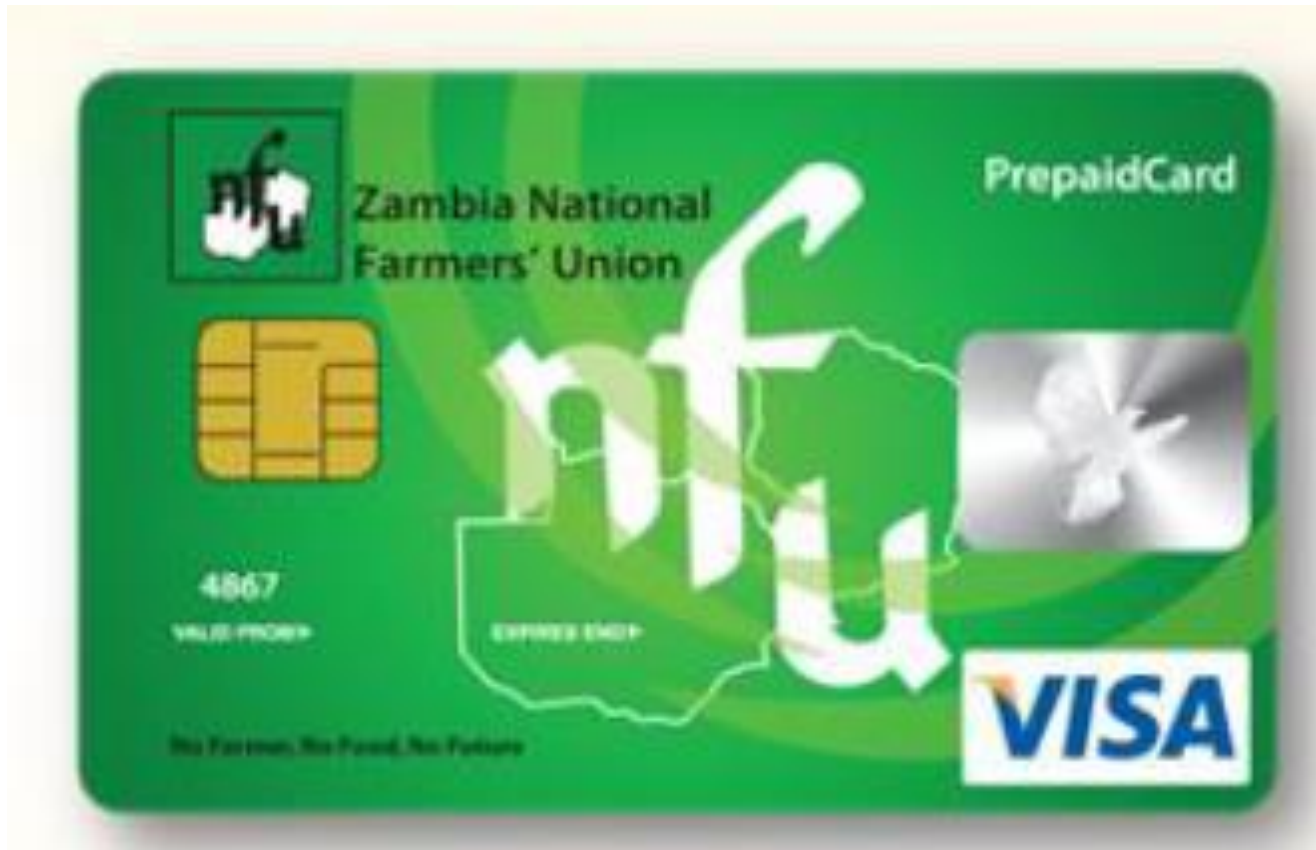




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E-voucher Adoption (Round 2)



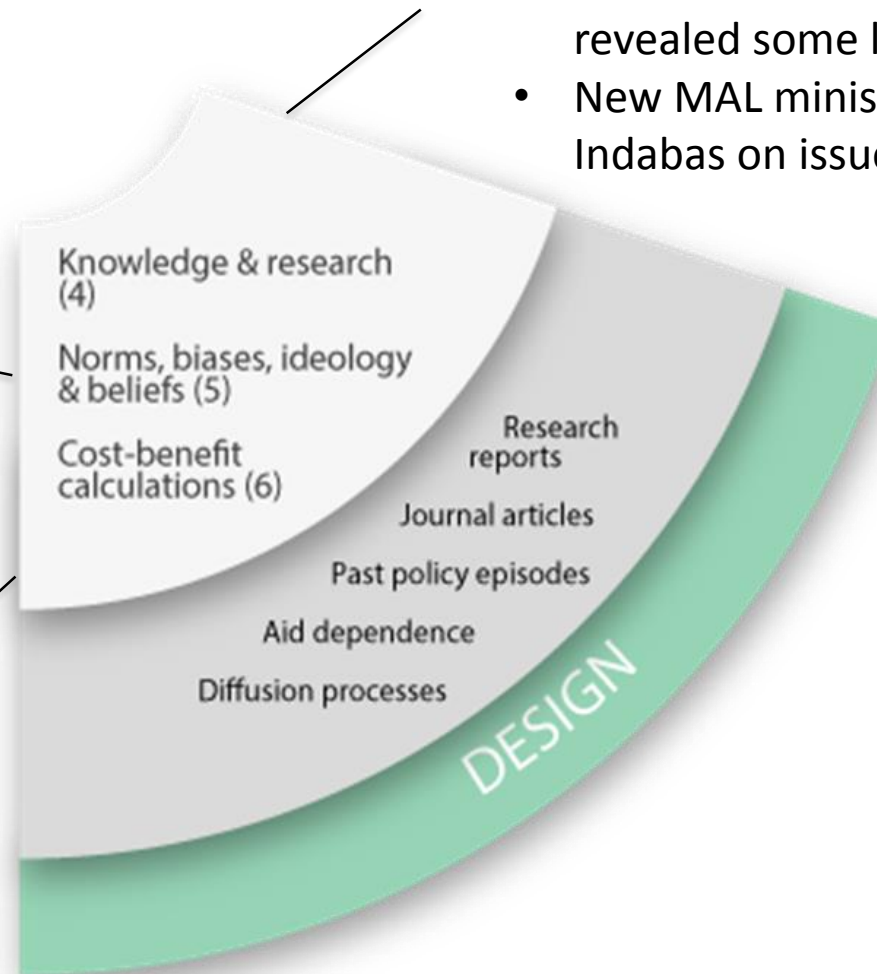
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Belief that:

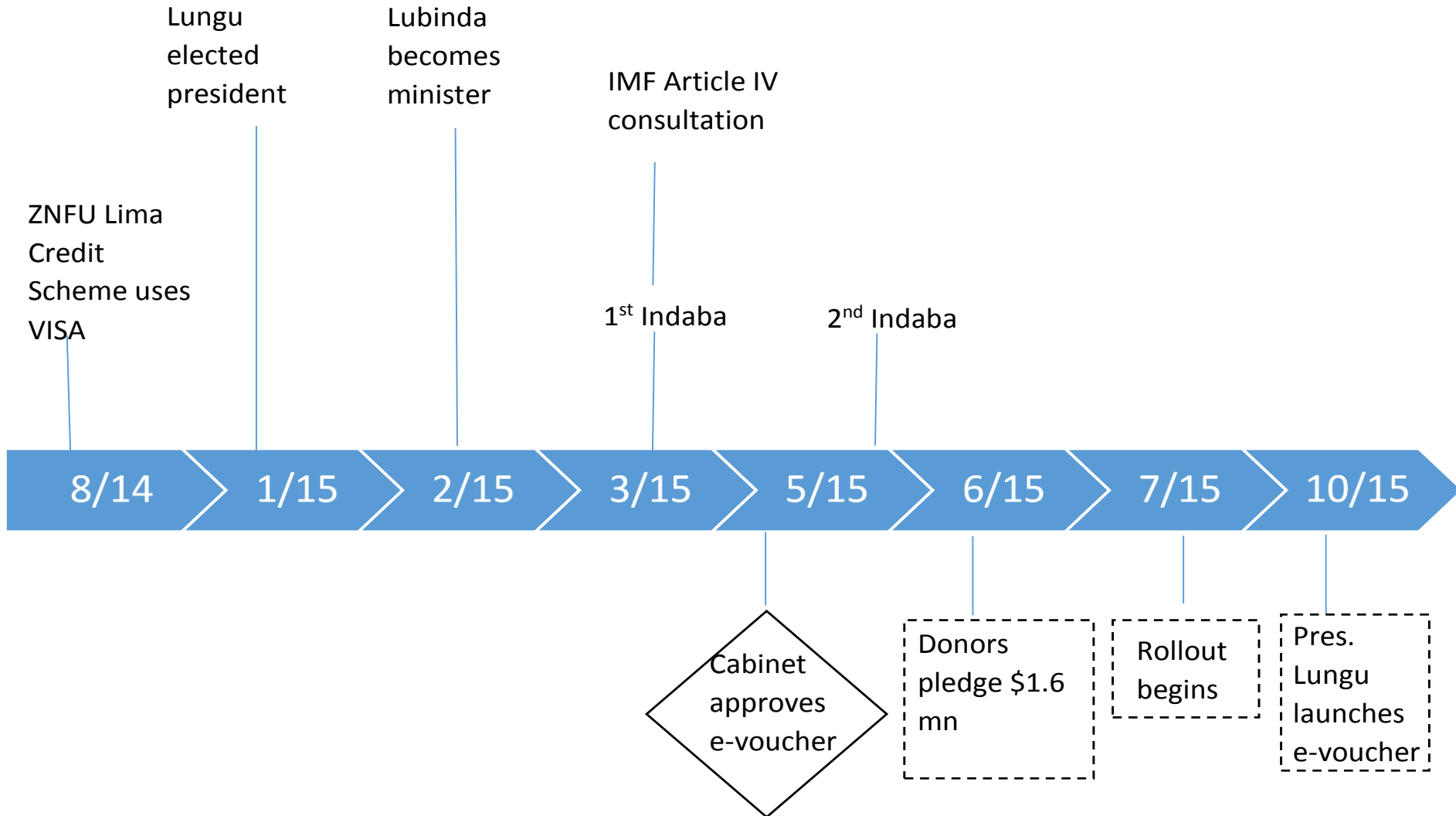
- a Visa card could be used for all social welfare programs
 - Included “wallets” to be used for more than fertilizer/seed
 - Be “catalytic” for the banking sector
-
- Key figures benefitting from patronage in MAL resigned
 - Promise of improved transparency and reduced outlays
 - Donor commitments



- ZNFU launched pre-paid Visa card in 2014
- Pilots with scratch cards revealed some lessons learned
- New MAL minister held 2 Indabas on issue



Policy Chronology (Round 2)





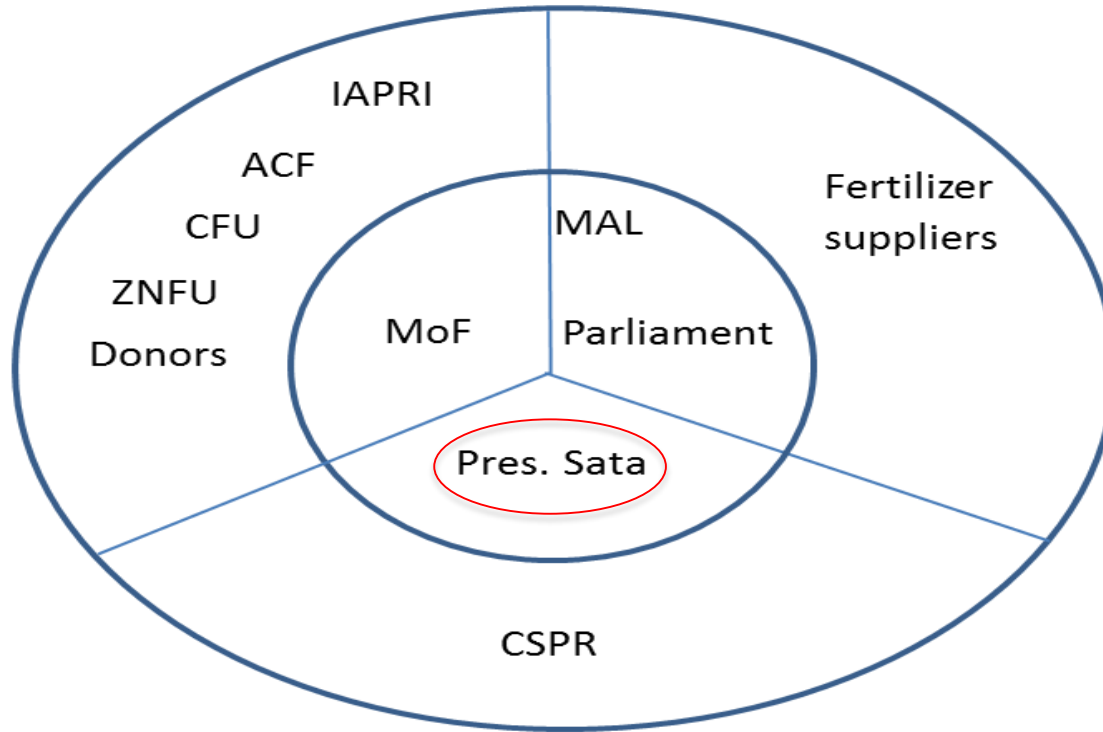
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Positions in 2012-2013

Support

Oppose



Neutral



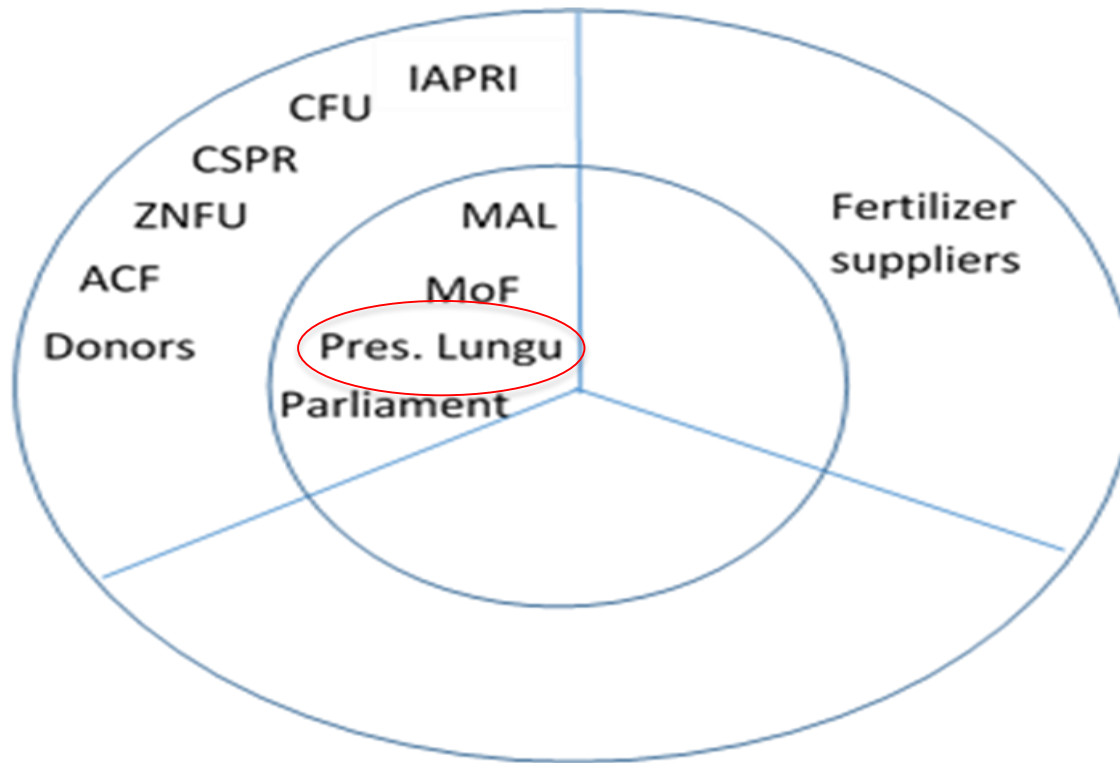
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Positions in 2015

Support

Oppose



Neutral



Illustrative Quotes

- *People like you are pushing on the e-vouchers, but I have a different view: us, we will not put fertilizer in remote areas. (Omnia representative)*
- *The subsidy will never go away. It's a political tool. So all we can do is to push for it to be refined. (Grain Traders' Association of Zambia)*
- *Whenever we pushed e-voucher in the past, MAL went to the president or the vice president and we were stopped. So we said that we would include it in some of our loans as a condition as something that has to be done. (MoF representative)*
- *All the cooperating partners think the e-voucher is the way to go and we've seen them driving that. (MAL deputy minister)*



Nigerian Land Reform: 2 Layers

(1) Federal level

- Land tenure has been a relevant problem for a long time in Nigeria, with many arguing that the Land Use Act needed to be reformed
 - Why did President Yar'Adua include this in his 7 Point Agenda in 2007 and submit a Bill to reform LUA in 2009?
 - Why was the Bill ultimately stymied at the adoption stage?
 - Why has the Draft Land Policy drafted by the PTCLR and others been stalled thus far?
 - How do shifts in the political setting, and increasing acceptance of the SLTR by more and more states, affect political will to reform?





Nigerian Land Reform: 2 Layers

(2) State level

- What accounts for differential levels of progress with, and approaches toward, improving land registration and titling across states?
 - Key states under consideration are:
 - Kano, Ondo – “supply-driven” pilot SLTR states
 - Kaduna, Jigawa – “demand-driven” pilot SLTR states
 - Cross Rivers, Lagos – “trailblazer states”
 - Key variables explored include degree of donor engagement, private sector interests, incentive for IGR, individual leadership of governors, and lobbying by civil society





Emerging Lessons

- Pilot examples can sometimes be more convincing than abstract policy recommendations
- Both donor interests and aid modalities play an important role in the agenda and implementation stages
- Technical solutions that ignore political realities may have limited impact in winning over veto players
- Institutional instability intersects strongly with the policy process
 - *Since 2001, 6 mergers of “lands” ministry, with 9 ministers in Nigeria*





Conclusions

- Potential for predictive explanation for why some policies are adopted but never implemented, and why some never even get on the agenda
- Opportunities for controlled comparative analysis by identifying common drivers of policy change in...
 - *similar policy domains across different countries or states*
 - *different policy domains within the same country*
- Integrates importance of interests, ideas, and institutions, as well as the relative weight of external and domestic actors
- Identifies relative weight of research compared with many other factors and when research may have the most impact





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