



**THE RISING CLASS OF EMERGENT FARMERS:
AN EFFECTIVE MODEL FOR ACHIEVING AGRICULTURAL
GROWTH AND POVERTY REDUCTION IN AFRICA?**

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Workshop on Emerging Land Constraints in sub-Saharan Africa and their
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Interest in African Land and Agriculture

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- High and volatile food prices, large yield gaps, entrenched rural poverty and food insecurity, and rapid urbanization...
 - Renewed interest in agricultural growth and African land.
- What is the most effective strategy for transforming African rural landscape?

Smallholder versus Commercial Farm Strategy

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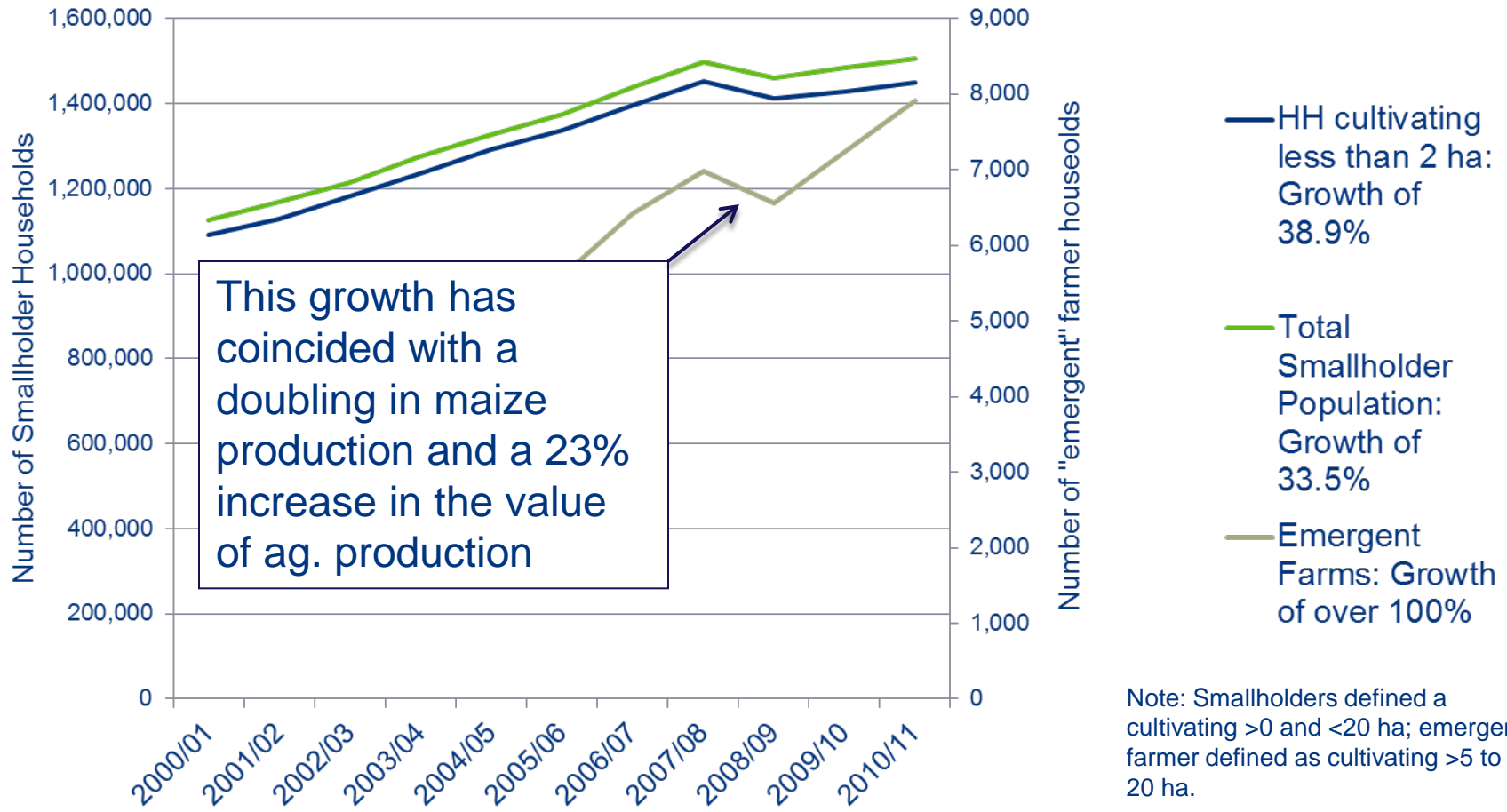
- Small-scale farm commercialization: 40 years of disappointing results
 - Small and declining farm size, stagnant yields, and limited agricultural growth
 - Scale constraints: Commercial farm growth strategy? (Collier, 2008; Collier and Dercon 2009)

However...

- Structural changes in farm size composition and smallholder agricultural production growth in Zambia

The Rapid Increase in Emergent Farmers: Growth trends in smallholder HH populations by land size 2000-2011

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Research Questions

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1. What are the factors driving this growth?
2. What are the implications of this growth in terms of poverty reduction?
3. What can we learn about debates over the future of smallholder agriculture in Africa?

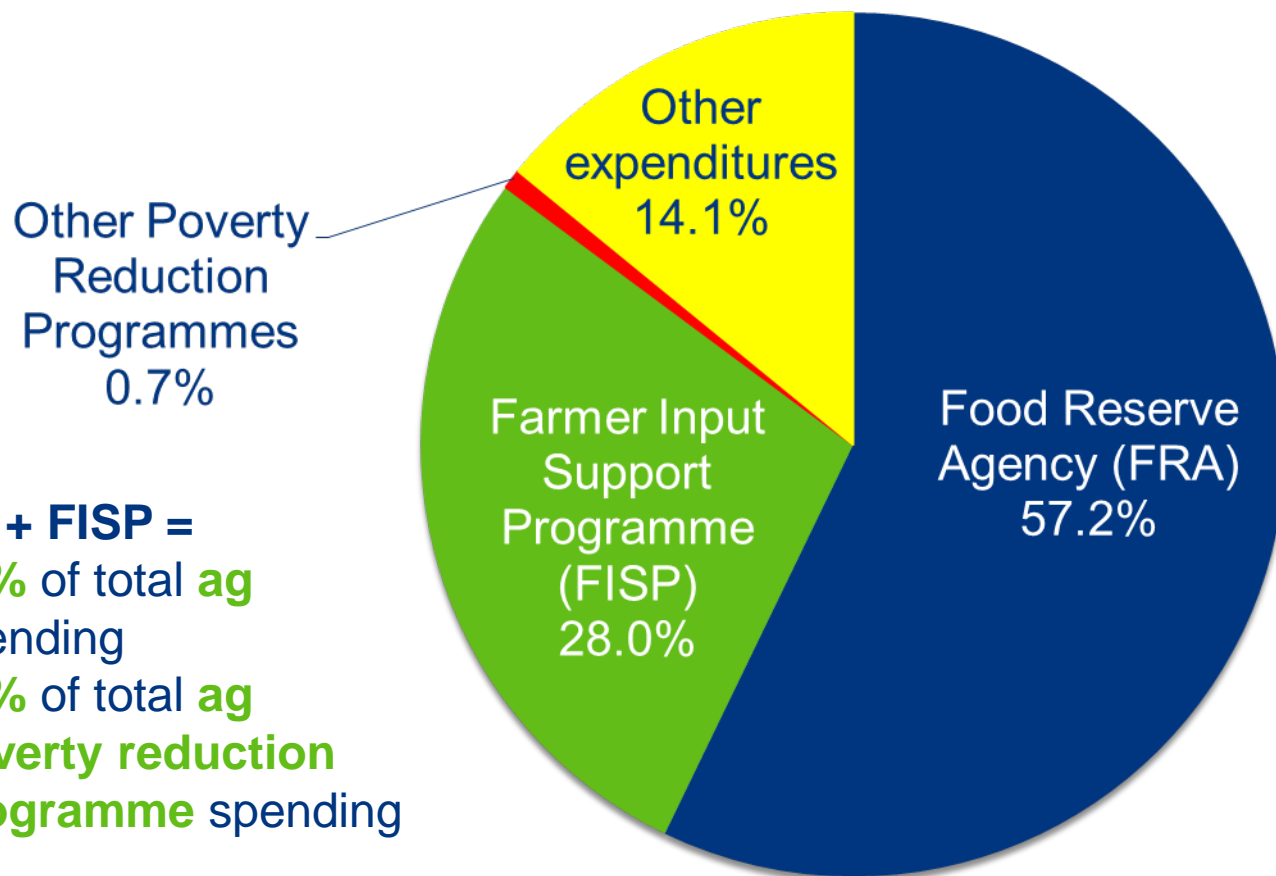
Context of the Growth in Emergent Farms

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- Contradictory forces:
 - Land administration and public spending aimed at encouraging cereal grain extensification and land alienation in customary areas
 - Emerging land constraints in many smallholder farming areas

Public spending on agriculture, 2010

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FRA + FISP =

- **85%** of total **ag** spending
- **99%** of total **ag** poverty reduction programme spending

Distribution of Public Spending: FISP fertiliser received (2010/11 crop season) and expected maize sales, 2011

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Total area cultivated	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	596,334	39.6%	14.3%	24.1	22.2	135
1-1.99 ha	499,026	33.1%	30.6%	69.3	47.7	609
2-4.99 ha	354,116	23.5%	45.1%	139.7	64.0	1,729
5-9.99 ha	49,410	3.3%	58.5%	309.7	82.1	6,613
10-20 ha	6,999	0.5%	52.6%	345.6	86.8	15,144
Total	1,505,885	100%	28.6%	77.1	42.7	950

Source: MACO/CSO Crop Forecast Survey, 2010/11. Reproduced from Jayne *et al* 2011

Outcome of Public Spending

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- Increase in maize production through:
 - Significant expansion of area under maize cultivation in combination with favorable weather (Mason *et al* 2011)
 - Limited effect on productivity



Land Policy/Administration

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- Dual Land Tenure System:
 - Customary Land Administration
 - Administered through Traditional Authorities
 - Usufruct rights granted
 - Transferable through inheritance
 - Sales and rentals illegal
 - State Land Administration
 - Leaseholds granted of various durations
 - Administered through Land Commissioner
 - Transferable
 - Commercial farms and settlement schemes

1995 Land Act

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- 1995 Land Act permits the transfer of customary to leasehold tenure:
 - The rationale: promote investment in land development and to facilitate appropriation of land by the State.
 - Traditional authorities: given power to approve or deny application for conversion
 - High transaction costs of conversion: Limited potential for small-scale farmers to convert land or protect existing rights

Outcome of the 1995 Land Act

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- 280,000 ha converted by individuals for ag purposes since 1995
 - 73% occurred in the Provinces of Lusaka, Copperbelt, and Central
- 1,000,000 ha carved out by the State for Farm Blocks
 - Stated goal of including the “vulnerable” but costs and selection processes may preclude this
 - 9,000 local residents in Nansanga farm block area unable to meet selection criteria.

Land Constraints

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- 56% of smallholder HHs in Zambia claim that there is no more available land in their village (IAPRI Rural Ag. Livelihoods Survey 2012)
 - More acute in areas where most title conversion is underway:
 - Copperbelt: 72%
 - Lusaka: 63%
 - Central: 58%
- Vernacular land market development: contributing to emergent farm growth?

Methods and Analysis

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- Semi-structured survey with 183 current emergent farmers in Zambia
 - Designed to explore the PRIMARY trajectory followed to achieve current scale of operation:
 - Lateral entry
 - Smallholder-led growth trajectory?

	Have title to land	No title to land/usufruct rights
Financed emergent farming entry through non-farm income	Group 1 n=35	Group 2 n=70
Entered emergent farming through growth of small-scale operation	Group 3 n=6	Group 4 n=72

Key Findings 1: Who Gets Land Titles and How Do They Use the Land?

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Growth pathway	Lateral Entry in Emergent Farming		Agricultural-led Growth Strategy	
	Titled land Group 1	Customary land Group 2	Titled land Group 3	Customary land Group 4
1. Count (n=)	35	70	6	72
2. Percent of total sample	19%	38%	3%	39%
3. Have held a job other than as a farmer (% of respondents)	100%	100%	0%	39%
4. Formerly or currently employed in the public sector (% of respondents)	63%	57%	0%	7%
5. Mean Land Size Holding (ha)	157.8	34.4	112.17	36.1
6. Percent of total land that is cultivated	28%	49%	25%	41%

Key Findings: Who is Using Statutory and Vernacular Land Markets?

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Growth pathway	Lateral Entry in Emergent Farming		Agricultural-led Growth Strategy	
	Titled land Group 1	Customary land Group 2	Titled land Group 3	Customary land Group 4
Tenure Status				
Mode of Land Acquisition				
Given by chief	15%	24%	13%	23%
Given by headman	0%	35%	0%	39%
Given by relative	10%	6%	25%	22%
Purchase, with title	42%	0%	0%	0%
Purchase without title	0%	14%	0%	3%
Rental	0%	12%	0%	1%
Inheritance	4%	9%	25%	13%
State land given to the farmer	29%	0%	38%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Key Finding: You need land to begin with

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Growth pathway	Lateral Entry in Medium-Scale Farming		Agricultural-led Growth Strategy	
	Titled land Group 1	Customary land Group 2	Titled land Group 3	Customary land Group 4
Tenure Status				
Size of Initial Land Acquisition	Hectares			
25th percentile	12.6	11.8	6.0	10.8
50th percentile	25.0	25.9	27.0	26.3
75th percentile	252.1	78.9	131.5	63.3
Mean	158.0	27.6	54.1	26.0

In 2010/11 87% of all smallholders controlled less than 5 ha of land

Summary of Results

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Growth of the Emergent farming sector is driven by individuals with:

1). Off-farm income to “buy into” farming

- Enabled by land legislation
- Urban income growth, limited investment options

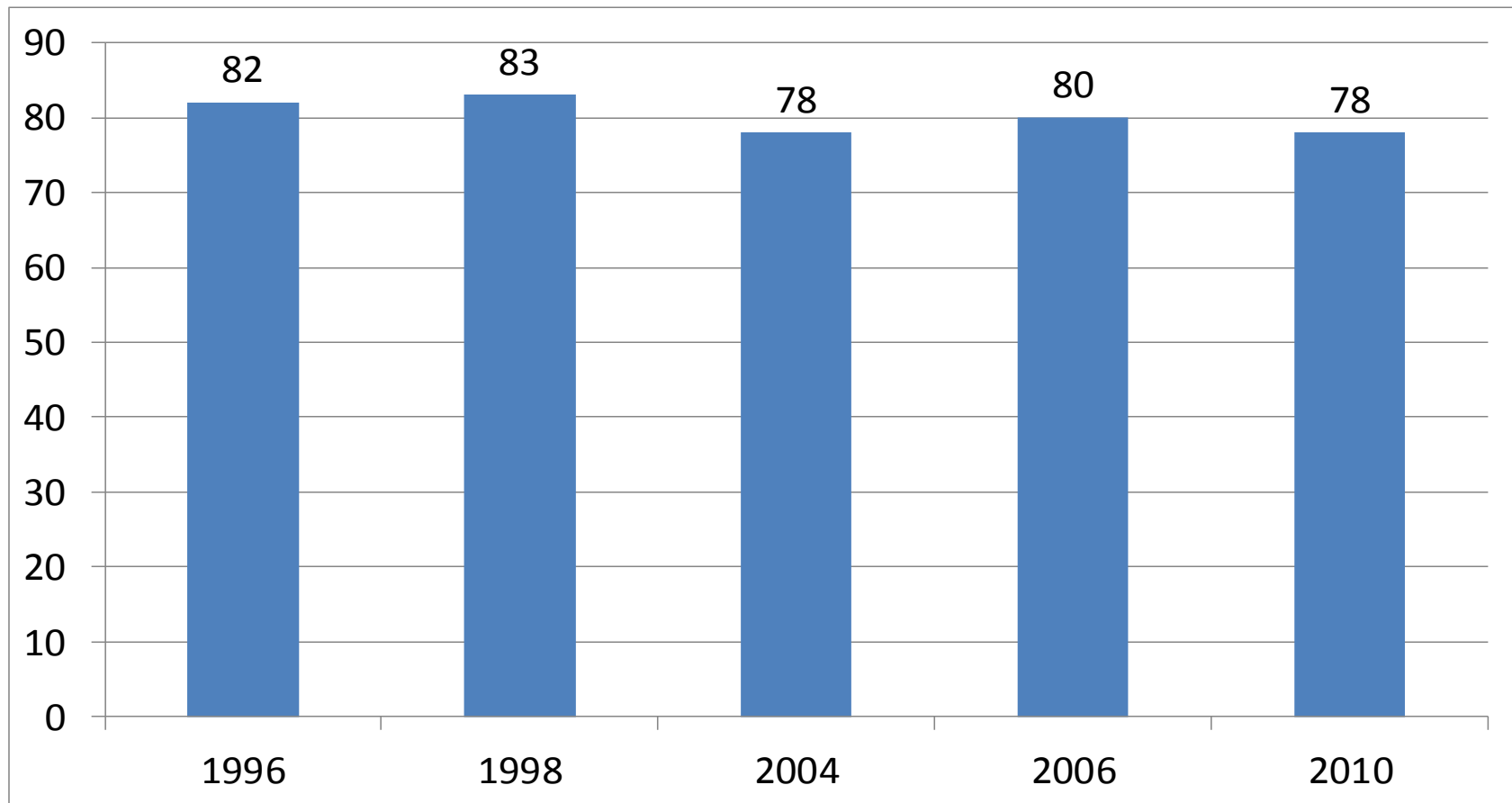
2). Public spending: enabling accumulation for some

- Need for sufficient initial endowment of land

Immediate Implications: Stagnant Rural Poverty

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Rural Poverty Trends 1996-2010



Potential Long-Term Implications

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A growth strategy that:

- Excludes the rural poor
- Alienates large swaths of customary land to an elite minority will....
- Intensify growing land constraints in rural Zambia
- Land constraints will undermine the long-term potential to use agriculture as a pro-poor growth engine

Conclusion: Future of Small-scale Ag.

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- Should we abandon small-scale growth strategy?
 - Lack of small-scale participation in emergent farm growth is not the result structural constraints
 - It is the result of an inability to put in place policies that are supportive to, or at least neutral to, their growth
 - Scale is not the fundamental constraint, policy is.

Thank You

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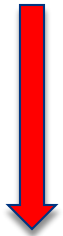
Recommendations

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- Create a level playing field by redirecting public spending on agriculture:



Spending on public goods (Ag R&D, rural infrastructure, rural education, healthcare...)



Spending on subsidies with little potential to reach the poor

Recommendations

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- Increase awareness about land conversion provisions of the 1995 Land Act:
 - Traditional Authorities: The long-term implications of ceding land
 - Existing smallholders: Conversion process
- Increase protection of existing smallholders:
 - Implement system for recognition of community rights

Area cultivated/fallow as percentage of area controlled by landholding size, 2008

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Landholding size category:	p=10th	p=25 th	p=50 th	p=75th	p=90 th	mean
0-0.99 ha	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.0
1-1.99 ha	53.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.8
2-4.99 ha	41.8	63.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	81.9
5-9.99 ha	25.6	46.7	75.0	100.0	100.0	70.3
10-over ha	22.5	45.9	74.2	100.0	100.0	69.0

Source: Supplemental Survey 2008

Growth pathway	Lateral Entry in Emergent Farming		Agricultural-led Growth Strategy	
	Titled land Group 1	Customary land Group 2	Titled land Group 3	Customary land Group 4
1959 or earlier	0%	0%	0%	1%
1960 through 1969	0%	0%	13%	2%
1970 through 1979	11%	4%	0%	6%
1980 through 1989	21%	5%	38%	10%
1990 through 1999	18%	25%	38%	31%
2000 through 2009	45%	59%	13%	48%
2010 or later	5%	8%	0%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Number of Land Acquisitions

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Growth pathway	Lateral Entry in Medium-Scale Farming		Agricultural-led Growth Strategy	
	Titled land Group 1	Customary land Group 2	Titled land Group 3	Customary land Group 4
Tenure Status				
Mean Number of Land Acquisitions	1.57	2.44	1.29	2.49
Median Number of Land Acquisitions	1	2	1	2