

**OPERATIONALISING  
THE RIGHT TO FOOD  
IN AFRICA**

By

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## **1. SUMMARY**

This report focuses on how to implement the right to food in four countries in Africa (Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia). The main purpose is to assess how rights-based development exemplified by *the right to food* can be better integrated in Norwegian development co-operation and how to better link international agreements and bilateral country support. The right to food is about how to foster conditions to enable people to care for themselves and their own food needs. The most appropriate way of fostering such conditions in Africa is by using the Poverty Reduction Strategy Plans (PRSP) as entry points and mechanism. Hunger and food insecurity is a poverty problem. Legislation alone cannot solve the food insecurity problem although legislation might be one important tool in the struggle to eliminate poverty and food insecurity. Whether or not the countries have included *food as a human right* in national legislation does not appear to be of significant importance for the food security situation in the country. The critical issue regarding food as a human right is enforcement, not the legislation by itself.

Integrating *the food as a human right approach* in the ongoing poverty reduction processes is probably the most effective way of contributing towards a food secure Africa. In order for this integration to be successful, social mobilisation and empowerment is needed. Poor and hungry people need to have a voice in the policy formulation and implementation process and through this process claim their rights. What can be done by external actors such as Norway is, for example, support to public investment schemes. Food security responsibilities lie with national states. Resource availability at national level is an important, but not necessarily sufficient measure in implementing the right to food. The political will to end hunger and poverty is needed as well as resources and the ability to allocate resources in a wise way. In other words, the quality of public investments to facilitate pro-poor growth and social development is of crucial importance. The *Sosit* model is applied for the agricultural sector to illustrate through a chain of events how allocated resources lead to services, achievements and impact; and what indicators which could be used to monitor the different steps in the process. However, achieving food security goes far beyond agriculture. A complex, multi-sector approach will be needed paying special attention towards human development, coping with conflicts and access to markets. The sustainable livelihoods framework will be an appropriate tool in this regard e.g., to include food security at household and individual levels. Each of the four countries is assessed and analysed for achievements in implementing the right to food including specific recommendations for possible public investment to achieve food security.

## **2. INTRODUCTION**

Global food production is adequate to permit everyone to meet their minimum calorie requirements if the available food was distributed according to needs and rights of people (Cohen & Pinstруп-Anderson, 2001). Food availability has improved during the last decades, but still 792 million people in developing countries are food insecure (FAO, 2001a). Hunger persists because food insecure people are too poor to afford the food that is available. About 1.2 billion people in the developing countries live on the equivalent of less than \$ 1 a day (World Bank, 2000). About 150 million pre-school children are malnourished and malnutrition is a factor in five million child deaths annually. Child malnutrition is expected to decline in all developing regions except Sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of malnourished children is forecasted to increase by 25% by 2020 (Cohen & Pinstруп-Anderson, 2001).

Globally, there is increasing recognition of the need to reduce poverty and to respect human rights. Human rights legislation cannot by itself solve the serious problems of poverty, but law and the focus on rights-based development can be one important tool in the poverty reduction struggle. Human rights can provide a foundation as well as complement other tools in this struggle. However, it should be noted that law does not necessarily work for the poor neither do political systems. Social mobilisation and empowerment will be needed to facilitate implementation of rights proclaimed both in national and international legislation. This paper presents an integrated approach to poverty reduction combining legal, economic and political aspects (van Genugten & Perez-Bustillo, 2001). Realising that there is not one miracle solution to the poverty problem and that rights-based development is one important approach to be included in an integrated poverty reduction effort. The right to food is one among several tools to be used by different actors seeking to eradicate hunger and poverty and to provide the right to development for everybody.

The right to food was declared a basic human right in the UN declaration of 1948 stating that *everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care*. The first World Food Summit in 1974 promised that all hunger would be eradicated within the next ten years. 22 years later at the World Food Summit in 1996, it was agreed to attempt to reduce the number of undernourished people from 800 million in 1996 to 400 million by the year 2015. What will be the outcome of the WFS: Five Years Later to be organised in November 2001 is still to be seen. However, both the right to food and action plans to reduce food insecurity in the world, unfortunately, have not had the expected impact on hunger and malnutrition. Many people ask the question why it has proved to be so difficult to improve the food security situation of the poor and to operationalise the right to food. The purpose of this report is to assess how rights-based development exemplified by the right to food can be integrated in Norwegian international collaboration and how to link the international agreements signed by Norway with bilateral activities at country level. The focus is on action-oriented measures and practical implications of operationalising the right to food.

The report addresses the following questions with focus on Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia:

- What is rights-based development and how to implement the right to food at country level in Africa?
- How to implement the agreed action plan of WFS regarding the right to food?
- How to best support national policies and activities that aim at securing the food rights of the poor?
- To what degree and how will it be possible to focus on operationalising rights at individual level and to strengthen the capacity of individuals to claim their rights?

The main focus is on rural poverty and food insecurity in rural areas since 75% of the poor live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. The gender dimension is integrated in all questions. Reasons for selecting the countries Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia are because they are included in the list of Low Income Food Deficit Countries (LIFDC) (World Bank, 2001a) and they are also in the list of countries facing exceptional food emergencies as of April 2001. They are also important collaborating countries to NORAD.

### **3. THE RIGHT TO FOOD**

As early as 1978, the Commission on Human Rights recognised the right to development as a human right.<sup>1</sup> The right to development is a holistic vision integrating economic, social and cultural rights to civil and political rights. But it was only in 1986 that a draft declaration on the Right to Development was adopted in final form by the General Assembly in Resolution 41/128 of December 1986. Another ten years passed before the Commission on Human Rights reaffirmed that the implementation of the Right to Development requires perseverance and concrete efforts. It was reaffirmed that all human rights are universal, indivisible, independent and interrelated and steps should be taken to respect these rights. A question was raised in defining the universal minimum core contents of the economic, social and cultural rights, and the necessity of separating issue of rights if these are to be monitored. It was also pointed out that operationalising the right to development, as a programme, needs a change in conceptual thinking with respect to development planning from the basic needs strategies to a right-based approach. Basic needs incorporate a certain element of charity whereas a human rights-based approach defines beneficiaries as active subjects and claim-holders and establishes duties and obligations for those against whom a claim can be brought to ensure that needs are met. This is the foundation that lies behind the discussion of this report, the operationalising of the right to food within a rights-based approach.

The contemporary international human rights system was established in 1948 when the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). UDHR Article 25(1) states that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well being including food, clothing, housing etc. While the right to food is fully recognised legally, its realisation is still highly deficient. The human right to

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<sup>1</sup> Discussion of the right to development is based on Van Weerelt (2001).

freedom from hunger is being persistently and repeatedly violated (Ogle, 1999). The central theme in implementing human rights is the right to development (improvements in overall well-being). The concept development has different meanings for different people; one way of approaching development is by attacking poverty by providing opportunities, encouraging empowerment and facilitating security (World Bank, 2000). Operationalising food as a human right is about poverty reduction and facilitating the poor a voice in society. Poverty is a pronounced deprivation in well-being and indeed hunger is a basic element of that well-being.

Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (FAO, 1998), states that a human rights approach to food and nutrition is different from basic needs-oriented approaches to development because it is normative, because the beneficiaries are active subjects or claim holders and because the approach introduces an accountability dimension. She also underlines that the right to food approach is often misunderstood to be an obligation for states to feed their citizens rather than respect and protect the rights related to food. Poverty reduction strategies in the name of development and human rights strategies both aim at reducing hunger and malnutrition, which are problems of poverty. Different mechanisms and tools are applied to reach the goal, but the two approaches complement each other and mutually benefit from each other's efforts.

The right to food is recognised in legally binding international instruments, including, most fully, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 (Article 11), where it is recognised both as part of an adequate standard of living, which also includes housing and clothing, and separately as the fundamental right to be free from hunger. Human rights experts have identified three levels at which the state's human rights *obligations* operate; states must *respect*, *protect* and *fulfil* the individual's right to food (Eide, 1998; Economic and Social Council, 1999). *Obligations to respect* stipulate limits on the exercise of state power, rather than positive action. The state should not, in general, interfere with the livelihoods of its subjects or their ability to provide for themselves. *Obligations to protect* require regulating the conduct of non-state actors. This entails the establishment of an enabling regulatory environment, that is legislations and sanctions, for example, in the fields of food safety and nutrition, protection of the environment and land tenure. *Obligations to fulfil* require positive action by the state to identify vulnerable groups and to design, implement and monitor policies that will facilitate their access to food-producing resources or an income. As a last resort, direct assistance may have to be provided to ensure, at a minimum, freedom from hunger.

<b>Box 1. The right to food (CFS, 2001)</b>
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The right to food implies the right to means of production or procurement of food of sufficient quantity and quality, free from adverse substances and culturally acceptable. This right can be fulfilled by an individual's own efforts or in community with others, and must be enjoyed by all without any adverse distinction based on race, religion, sex, language, political opinion or other status. Under the Covenant, State parties are obliged to take all appropriate steps, to the maximum of available resources, to progressively achieve the right to food for all. A distinction is made between obligations of conduct and of results, and violations can be of commission or of omission. A distinction is also made between the unwillingness and the inability of States to take action. Under international law, the State is accountable for the enjoyment of human rights within its territory. However, the State may assign responsibilities to different levels of government, and should indeed, through its national strategy or legislation, assign as precise a responsibility for action as possible, especially in addressing multi-sectoral and multidimensional problems such as food insecurity. The levels of State obligations may also be seen as being at different levels, to respect, protect and fulfil the right to food. While the importance of creating an enabling environment where everyone can enjoy the right to food by their own efforts should be stressed, it remains incumbent on the State to ensure that those who are unable to do so for themselves are adequately provided for so that, as a minimum, no one suffers from hunger.

#### 4. WORLD FOOD SUMMIT IN 1996

The World Food Summit decided in November 1996 to entrust the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights with the mandate of better defining the rights related to food as set out in the 1966 International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Article 11 (Robinson, 1998:vi). State parties to the ICESCR are required to adopt, *inter alia*, the legislative measures necessary to realise the right to an adequate standard of living, including the right to adequate food (FAO Legal Office, 1998). World leaders renewed their commitment to the right to food in 1996 in the context of Commitment 7.4 of the World Food Summit (WFS) Plan of Action (for details of commitments of State Parties, see Box 2). The Plan of Action states “*We will implement, monitor and follow-up this Plan of Action at all levels of co-operation with the international community...7.4. Clarify the content of the right to adequate food and to implement full and progressive realisation of this right as a means to achieving food security for all.*” However the primary responsibility lies with the States.

The World Food Summit in 1974 promised that all hunger would be eradicated within the next 10 years, but 22 years later, 185 nations were a bit more careful in their promises. The new aim is to reduce the number of undernourished people from 800 million in 1996 to 400 million by the year 2015. Unfortunately, current data indicates that the number of undernourished is falling at a rate of 8 million each year, far below the average rate of 20 million per year needed to reach the World Food Summit target (FAO, 2001a). The World Food Summit: five years later will take place in November 2001 within the biennial FAO Conference. World leaders are requested to outline the measures needed to achieve the goal and make suggestions on how to accelerate the progress. They are also expected to consider how to increase resources available for agriculture and rural development.



**Box 2: The Seven commitments in the Plan of Action (World Food Summit, 1996).**

**Commitment One:** We will ensure an enabling political, social, and economic environment designed to create the best conditions for the eradication of poverty and for durable peace, based on full or equal participation of women and men which is most conducive to achieving sustainable food security for all.

**Commitment Two:** We will implement policies aimed at eradicating poverty and inequality and improving physical and economic access by all, at all times, to sufficient, nutritionally adequate and safe food and its effective utilization.

**Commitment Three:** We will propose participatory and sustainable food, agriculture, fisheries, forestry and rural development policies and practices in high and low potential areas, which are essential to adequate and reliable food supplies at the household, national, regional, and global levels, and combat pests, drought and desertification, considering the multifunctional character of agriculture.

**Commitment Four:** We will strive to ensure that food, agricultural trade and overall trade policies are conducive to fostering food security for all through a fair and market-oriented world trade system.

**Commitment Five:** We will endeavour to prevent and be prepared for natural disasters and man-made emergencies and to meet the transitory and emergency food requirements in ways that encourage recovery, rehabilitation, development and a capacity to satisfy future needs.

**Commitment Six:** We will promote optimal allocation and use of public, private investments to foster human resources, sustainable food, agriculture, fisheries and forestry systems, and rural development, in high and low potential areas.

**Commitment Seven:** We will implement, monitor, and follow-up this Plan of Action at all levels in cooperation with the international community.

The WFS Plan of Action (1996) has been accused of being a wish list for all good intention or a diplomatically balanced shopping list without any clear orientation (Windfuhr, 1997; Haug, 1999). The world leaders pledged their political will and both common and national commitment to achieving food security for all and implementing the Plan of Action. However, promises given in international settings are no guarantee towards action. The right to adequate food is firmly established as a fundamental human right in the Plan of Action, although at some point in the negotiations, it was almost removed. However, the USA introduced a reservation on the “right to food” in the Plan of Action.

The World Food Summit of 1996 gave new energy to different actors aiming at implementing the right to food. It became obvious that what was stated in the Plan of Action was not sufficient to ensure implementation of the right to food. Several actors have been involved in the follow up of the Plan of Action/right to food. Co-operation between the High Commissioner for Human Rights, FAO and its Committee on Food Security, UNICEF, the Sub Committee on Nutrition and the civil society have resulted in the right to food to be kept on the agenda. To facilitate implementation FIAN (Food First Information and Action Network), WANAHR (World Alliance for Nutrition and Human Rights) and the International Institute “Jacques Maritain” made a first draft of an International Code of Conduct in September 1997. The draft was endorsed by the representatives of NGOs, community based organisations, grassroots organisations and social movements in a effort

to make sure that the respective references in the text of the Plan of Action in the WFS 1996 would become more than non-binding programmatic statements.

## 5. CODE OF CONDUCT ON THE RIGHT TO FOOD

A Code of Conduct on the right to food was suggested by the WFS NGO Forum to reduce the weaknesses in the existing human rights instruments, e.g., the lack of precise descriptions of the legal concepts contained in the right to food and of corresponding state obligations mentioned in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (Windfuhr, 1998). A Code of Conduct is also expected to ensure that food sovereignty takes precedence over macro-economic policies and trade liberalisation as underlined in the final statement of the WFS NGO Forum (re *Profit for few or food for all: Food sovereignty and security to eliminate the globalisation of hunger* (point 6) (see also Box 3).

### **Box 3. NGO Strategy for the Code of Conduct on the right to food (Windfuhr, 1998).**

An international instrument should be adopted by states, drawing on the International Code of Conduct on the Human Right to Adequate Food. The mandate for the preparation of such an instrument was given by the World Food Summit to the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Such a new international instrument must therefore be adopted by the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and subsequently by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). Due to the fact that improving the right to adequate food was identified in Rome as one of the major tools for the implementation of the World Food Summit results in general, it is also important to get the support of the FAO Committee on World Food Security (CFS).

The first draft Code of Conduct on the right to food was presented in September 1997. The Code of Conduct starts from the recognition that there are enough resources available to eradicate hunger and malnutrition and that hunger and malnutrition are poverty problems. The right to adequate food means in the Code of Conduct, first, the right to feed oneself; second, the right to social safety nets for those who are unable to do so. The importance of access to productive resources is underlined. The Code was intended to clarify the content of the right to adequate food and the responsibilities of all actors involved in ensuring its full realisation.

The last draft (November 1998) of the Code of Conduct states that General Comment #12 (CESCR, 1999) should guide the implementation of the right to food at the national and international level. One of the recommendations of the second consultation on the right to food (Commission on Human Rights, 1999) stresses that efforts to clarify the right to food should be brought to completion in the near future. The participants recommend that the text of Article 4 (Box 4) of the International Code of Conduct on the Human Right to Adequate food be used as a basis for clarification. The final document awaits further action by FAO. FIAN is trying to get Mary Robinson to put it on the agenda for future meetings. Norway has agreed in principle to the draft.

**Box 4: Part II - Normative Content of the Right to Adequate Food, Article 4 (FIAN *et al.*, 1997)**

The right to adequate food means that every man, woman and child alone and in community with others must have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or by using a resource base appropriate for its procurement in ways consistent with human dignity. The right to adequate food is a distinct part of the right to an adequate standard of living.

The realisation of the right to adequate food requires

1) a) the availability of food, free from adverse substances and culturally acceptable, in a quantity and quality which will satisfy the nutritional and dietary needs of individuals;

b) accessibility of such food in ways that do not interfere with the enjoyment of other human's rights and that is sustainable.

2) The ultimate objective of the right to adequate food is to achieve nutritional well-being. Nutritional well-being is dependent on parallel measures in the fields of education, health and care. In this broader sense, the right to adequate food is to be understood as the right to adequate food and nutrition.

3) The realisation of the right to adequate food is inseparable from social justice, requiring the adoption of appropriate economic, environmental and social politics, both at the national and international level, oriented at the eradication of poverty and the satisfaction of basic needs.

## 6. MEASURING THE RIGHT TO FOOD

The primary responsibility in adopting the legislative measures necessary to realise the right to an adequate standard of living, including the right to adequate food, lies with the states. Two important issues have been recognised and must be reiterated. First, there are enough resources available to eradicate hunger and malnutrition, and hunger and malnutrition is a result of poverty. Second, the right to adequate food means the right to feed oneself and the right to social safety nets for those who are unable to do so. The focus of this report is to assess how four countries in Africa (Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia) are able to implement the right to food in national legislations and operationalise the right at individual level. In this regard, it is indeed a challenge to assess and monitor at country level the progress and practical implications of food as a human rights. Globally, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) is supposed to carry out monitoring of the Right to Food. Reporting guidelines are developed in relation to the right to adequate food; however, only few states have provided sufficient and precise information to enable the Committee to determine the prevailing situation in the countries concerned. Assessment and monitoring necessitate a conceptual framework to define what to assess and monitor before the appropriate indicators can be designed. While indicators are simple to construct in regard to the obligation to *respect*, it increases in difficulty with regard to the obligation to *protect* and *fulfil* the individual's right (Eide, 2000). For analytical purposes it can be useful to distinguish between *indicators of the political will by states to implement the rights* and *indicators of their degree of achievement in relation to capacity*. General Comment 12, para. 39 on the Right to Food includes that *States should consider the adoption of a framework law as a major instrument in the implementation of the national strategy concerning the right to food*.

## 7. OPERATIONALISING THE RIGHT TO FOOD IN ETHIOPIA, MALAWI, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA

What does a Code of Conduct on the right to food mean for countries in Africa? How can we develop effective indicators to assess to what degree the right to food is being implemented at country level? Eide's (1999) concept of looking at two indicators is to measure the implementation and realisation of social rights for Food as Human Right: *Indicators of will defined as legal commitments and indicators of achievement in relation to capacity*. Country profiles, legislation and programme of the state, if any, and the different sets of indicators for food security (classified into the formal and informal sector) are assessed below. Using Eides concept the analysis of legislations and programmes reveal *the will of the States to implement the rights*, e.g., ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and relevant legislation's adopted. A great challenge lies in how to *show the degree of achievement in relation to state members capacity* as noted by Eide (1999). How can we assess and monitor that individuals are able to produce or procure food of sufficient quantity and quality, free from adverse substances and culturally acceptable (General Comment No. 1, para. 3)? How to check how this right is fulfilled: by an individual's own efforts or in community with others and if there are distinctions made based on race, religion, sex, language and political opinion?

National FIVIMS (Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information Mapping System) was established at the World Food Summit in Rome, 1996 for countries to monitor food security. National statistical services normally conduct periodic censuses and surveys as well as line ministries such as those responsible for agriculture, health, trade, labour, industry or the environment (Committee on World Food Security, 1998). However, although a great number of national information systems have been established, they vary widely across countries. Variation related to the number of systems established and their content, how well they are integrated, the geographical coverage, the indicators and analytical techniques used, the quality and reliability of information produced and their institutional sustainability. PARIS21 is another initiative that has more to offer regarding food insecurity monitoring and poverty analysis than FIVIMS (Short, 2001).

This report looks at both quantitative data through available food security indicators, and qualitative data through related studies. Three indicator sets were reviewed. *Set 1: SIDA and Uppsala University* (Antonsson-Ogle *et al.* 2000) used 6 indicators for food security at national level, namely agricultural production, inputs that influence agricultural production, climatic factors, security in the area and data on crop diseases/ agricultural pests. *Set 2: IFPRI* (Diaz-Bonilla, 2000) used the following indicators: food production per capita, calories per capita, protein per capita, share in non-agricultural population and ratio of total exports to food imports. This indicator set has classified Ethiopia, Malawi and Tanzania in a cluster of nations that is most food insecure, while Zambia was classified as food insecure with consumption vulnerability. *Set 3: FAO* looked into the following: percentage of population undernourished, proportion of children under the age of 5 that is underweight, average per person dietary supply, share of cereals, roots and tubers in the total daily energy supply, life expectancy at birth and mortality under the age of 5.

Each set has its merits, but as pointed earlier, aggregate figures do not really reveal the real situation, especially for the vulnerable groups. This study opted for a combination of qualitative and quantitative data in an attempt to address not just the current, but also chronic and structural food insecurity. Table 1 is adapted from Nyborg and Haug (1995) and Wold *et al.* (2001). *Supply indicator* measures the availability of food. The term *access and impact indicators* on the other hand can give a reflection as to people's access and entitlements to food as seen through the country's own production, purchase or transfer/gifts, life expectancy, population data and the country's economic condition. The role of the informal sector as safety nets in Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia was also looked into.

**Table 1. Supply, Access and Impact Indicators for Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia.**

INDICATORS	Ethiopia		Malawi		Tanzania		Zambia	
	1981-1992	1993-2000	1981-1990	1991-2000	1981-1990	1991-2000	1981-1990	1991-2000
<b>A. Supply indicators (FAO, 2001b)</b>								
1. Food production per capita:								
-Cereals (kg/capita)	122.1	130	183	164	150	123	180	123
-Cereals used as food (kg/ca)	123	143	192	192	155	136	198	175
2. Food imports (Cereals) In metric tons	609	584	77	345	225	299	193	252
3. Food exports (Cereals) In metric tons	0	18	43	7	24	9	6	3
4. Calories per capita:								
-Grand total	1738	1760	2071	2003	2225	1972	2092	1948
-Cereal excl. beer	1112	1154	1414	1314	1030	934	1450	1296
5. Share of cereals, roots, tubers in daily energy requirement	75.6%	78.6%	73.2%	74.2%	69.3%	69.1%	78.3%	79.6%
6. Percentage share of roots and tubers in total calorie supply per capita	12%	13%	5%	9%	23%	22%	9%	13%
<b>B. Access and impact indicators (UNDP, 2001; UNICEF, 2001; WHO, 2001)</b>								
7. Rural population	90.5 (1975)	82.8 (1999)	92.3 (1975)	76.5 (1999)	89.9 (1975)	68.4 (1999)	65.2 (1975)	60.5 (1999)
8. Population Density (Person/square kilometer)	33	49.7	60	67	25	36	7	12
9. Undernourished people		49%		32%		41%		45%
10. Percent of malnourished children		48 % (1992- 1998)		30% (1996- 1998)		40% (1996/ 1998)		42% (1996- 1998)
11. HIV/AIDS prevalence Adult rate (% , age 15-49)		10.6% (1999)		15.7% (1999)		8.1% (1999)		19.95% (1999)
12. ODA received (net disbursements) as % of GDP:	14.8% (1990)	9.8% (1999)	27.9% (1990)	24.6% (1999)	27.5% (1990)	11.3% (1999)	14.6% (1990)	19.8% (1999)
13. Debt service as % of exports of goods and services	34.9% (1990)	16.8% (1999)	29.3% (1990)	11.4% (1999)	32.9% (1990)	15.6% (1999)	14.9% (1990)	46.6% (1999)
14. Debt service as % of GDP		2.5% (1999)		3.8% (1999)		2.2% (1999)		13.9% (1999)
15. Poverty incidence, % of population National poverty line		No data		54% (1987- 1997)		51 % (1987-1997)		86 % (1987- 1997)
16. Population below income poverty line one PPP US\$ Per day (1993)		31.3%		No data		19.9%		63.7%

17. Poorest fifth's share of national consumption		7.1% (1995)		No data		6.8 % (1993)		3.3% (1998)
18. Life expectancy at birth								
Males		42 (1998)		42(1998)		46(1998)		43(1998)
Females		44 (1998)		42(1998)		48(1998)		43(1998)
19. Gender related development index (Value)		0.297 (1998)		0.375 (1998)		0.410 (1998)		0.413 (1998)
20. Human Development Index (value)	0.265 (1985)	0.309 (1998)	0.347 (1985)	0.399 (1997) 0.385 (1998)	No data (1985)	0.421 (1997) 0.415 (1998)	0.447 (1985)	0.431 (1997) 0.430 (1998)
21. GDP per capita (1995 US\$)	91 (1985 only)	105 (1990/1998)	162 (1975/1980/1985)	159 (1990/1998)	No data	174 (1990/1998)	558 (1975/1980/1985)	419 (1990/1998)
22. GNP measured at PPP\$ US per capita (1999)		628		586		501		756
23. Average GNP annual growth rate (1998/99)		4.8		4.4		3.1		0.4

**Notes for Table 1:**

1. Available statistics for Ethiopia officially classified data as Ethiopia FRD (meaning with Eritrea) and without Eritrea (1993-present).

2. Daily calorie requirement is 2,200 per capita (FAO, 2001b)

3. When starchy supplies exceed 70 to 75% of total daily energy supply (DES), there is cause for concern. (FAO, 2001b)

4. Debt service is the sum of payments and repayments of principal on external public and publicly guaranteed long-term debts.

Hunger and food insecurity in Africa is first and foremost a poverty problem. When assessing the different countries and the right to food, emphasis is put on the national Poverty Reduction Strategy Plans (PRSP). In 1999, IMF's concessional lending was broadened to include an explicit focus on poverty reduction in the context of a growth-oriented strategy. Poverty should be integrated in macro-economic policies including the level and composition of government expenditures as well as good governance. To get the legislation right is not sufficient to implement the right to food. Legislation must go hand in hand with economic and political development. Social mobilisation and empowerment will be needed for people to be enabled to claim their rights. The PRSPs are one mechanism which can be used when operationalising the right to food for poor people. All the selected countries have developed interim PRSPs and the usefulness of these plans are assessed as they relate to the right to food. The PRSPs are important vehicles for placing poverty reduction at the top of the development agenda. PRSPs provide a mechanism for promoting pro-poor growth and for encouraging a multi-dimensional approach including economic growth, social sector investment and good governance. The following priorities have been stressed by most of the actors in the PRSP process:

- the need to focus on women as key agents in promoting growth and poverty reduction
- the adverse effect on external and domestic shocks on the poor
- the importance of addressing rural poverty and the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS in Africa
- the importance of trade policy in low income countries and of reducing the barriers to exports from poor countries

- the importance of focusing on employment (not “jobless” growth) and on environmental sustainability.

In 1999, the HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) initiative came about to assist the poorest countries. This approach, building on the principles of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), requires Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). This serves as a basis for concessional lending and for debt relief under the enhanced HIPC initiative. Table 2 shows the country timetables for the different economic packages of the four countries.

**Table 2. Possible country timelines for PRSP, Interim PRSP, CAS (Country Assessment Strategy), PRGF(Poverty Reduction Growth facility) and HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) Decision and completion Points through June 2001 (IMF, 2000).**

Country	April-June 2000	Jul-Sept 2000	Oct –Dec 2000	Jan-Mar 2001	April-June 2001
<b>Ethiopia</b>				Interim PRSP 1.PRSP 2.HIPC decision point under enhanced initiative	
<b>Malawi</b>			Interim PRSP 1.PRSP 2.HIPC decision point under enhanced initiative	Review of PRGF arrangement, or new arrangement	Country Assistance strategy (CAS)
<b>Tanzania</b>	Interim PRSP 1.PRSP 2.HIPC decision point under enhanced initiative	Review of PRGF arrangement, or new arrangement	PRSP	Review of PRGF arrangement, or new arrangement	
<b>Zambia</b>		PRSP Review of PRGF arrangement, or new arrangement	Decision point under enhanced initiative		

Another relevant mechanism came before the PRSPs and is still on-going: the SPFS (Special Programme for Food Security). The FAO Council launched the SPFS that was further endorsed by the World Food Summit (WFS) in November 1996. The objectives of SPFS are to assist LIFDCs<sup>2</sup> (low income food deficit countries) to rapidly increase food production and productivity on a sustainable basis, reduce the year-to-year variability of production, and improve access to food, as a contribution to equity and poverty alleviation.

<sup>2</sup> As of September 2000, all four countries are included in the list of LIFDC’s.



This programme is supposed to contribute substantially to the implementation of the WFS Plan of Action Basic Commitments in particular Nos. 2, 3 and 6. The core features of the SPFS strategy are national ownership, partnership with the development partners, including donor countries and multilateral financial institutions, participation of farmers and other stakeholders, emphasis on technical modernization, priority to small farmers, gender sensitivity, and an integrated, multidisciplinary and phased approach. FAO (2001) gives positive SPFS progress reports for the three countries Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia. Malawi does not have a SPFS programme.

*In Ethiopia* the SPFS package included improved seeds, fertilizers, improved cultural practices and implements (such as the tire-ridges to conserve soil moisture and broad-based-maker to avoid water logging). Yields of teff, sorghum and wheat during the 1997 season doubled those of the control farmers, except in one Tigray district, where drought and pests affected teff. *In Tanzania*, the Programme started in July 1995 for rice and maize intensification in 24 villages in two regions. Water control (rice and vegetables), diversification to small animal (particularly goats and chicken) and constraints analysis were incorporated later. Due to the excellent results achieved, the programme is extended to all 20 regions and 120 districts of the country. *In Zambia*, the SPFS has been integrated into the National Agricultural Programme and the World Bank Agricultural Sector Investment Programme. Yields from rainfed maize in 1998 averaged 2,3 ton/ha, compared with 1,7 on a control farm. Irrigated crops such as tomatoes, onions and cabbage showed high yields and satisfactory farm returns. With the support of the IFAD funded project, the SPFS has successfully introduced water control technologies in Zambia, focusing on small holders vegetable gardening.

## A. ETHIOPIA

<b>Key Indicators for Ethiopia (UNDP, 2001):</b>		
Population 1999	61 million	
Population below national poverty line (as % of population)	No	data
Population below income poverty line US\$1 a day (1993 PPP)	31.3%	
Rural Population (% of population)	82.8%	
People living with HIV/AIDS (% of adults 15-49 years)	10.6%	
Undernourished people (% of population)	49.0%	
Calories available per capita (Grand total) 1991-1999	1760	
Life expectancy at birth (years)	44.1	
GDP per capita US\$ (1999)	105	
GDP per capita annual growth rate 1975-1999	-0.3%	
Total debt service as % of GDP 1999	2.5%	
Official ODA received per capita US\$1 1999	10.1	
Military expenditure as % of GDP (1999)	9.0%	

### A.1. Country profile

*Politics and economy:* Ethiopia is one of the world's oldest nations and one of the few in Africa that was never colonised. It is a democratic federation of 9 regions, governed by Bicameral legislature with 656 combined representatives, a Prime Minister and a President. Since 1991, Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has been the ruling party. The country receives significant bilateral assistance from Germany, Sweden,

the European Union, Italy and the United States aside from the large number of international and local non-governmental organisations that are active in the country. The World Bank's portfolio consists of 12 projects worth US\$1.4 billion, supporting initiatives across a number of sectors, including infrastructure, health, education, energy, agriculture and social protection (World Bank, 2000b).

Since October 1996, Ethiopia has made progress on economic reform supported by an IMF backed Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF). Strong GDP and export growth has been achieved, inflation brought under control despite price liberalisation; and fiscal management improved. However the heavy military spending led to a breakdown in dialogue between the Government and IMF in mid 1999. Even if dialogues were resumed quickly with IMF, the timing of the HIPC debt relief would depend on progress in regaining macro-economic stability, taking urgent structural reform measures and preparing an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (DIFD, 2000). The estimated per capita income is US\$100 in 1999. Agriculture constitutes the livelihoods for around 85% of the population (UNDP, 2001). Around 76% of the population is estimated to live below the poverty line and about 49% of the population are malnourished (World Bank, 2001c).

*Access to production resources:* The poorest fifth of the rural population (resource poor farmers; landless and land poor; and pastoralists) have the consumption level of only one-tenth of the richest fifth, and the average land holding is 1.09 hectares (DFID, 2000). Soil erosion is a big problem in Ethiopia, one fourth of the land (14 million hectares) is seriously eroded and over 2 million hectares have reached a point of no return (FAO, 1986). Land resources are nationalised and all land rental, selling and mortgage markets are outlawed, thus land remains under state ownership, but short-term contracts are legalised. The country is based on smallholder agriculture (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, 2000). The rugged terrain of the country further complicates the problem of accessibility and increases transactions costs in reaching the rural population (infrastructure being a limiting factor). Natural forests, which were 16% of the land area in the early 1950's, accounted for only 2.7% in 1989 (World Resources Institute, 2001). Since the early 1980's, some formal credit in kind has been provided mainly for purchase of fertiliser, and to a limited extent for improved seeds and financing purchase of oxen for traction, however supply of formal credit for small-scale enterprises in remote rural locations, which includes the majority of the rural poor, has been limited (Shiferaw and Ahma, 2001).

*Legislation:* Ethiopia has ratified the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on June 11, 1993 (accession) (UNHCR, 2001). Other international laws that were ratified are as follows: Covenant on Civil and Political rights (CCPR), International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The following International Human Rights Treaties have not been ratified by Ethiopia: Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR-OP1), Optional protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW-OP), and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC-OP-SC) on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. The right to food is included in national constitution, Article 90 (Social Objective): *To the extent that the country's resources permit, policies shall aim to promote*

*all Ethiopians with access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food and social security* (FAO, 1998:43).

## **A.2. Achievements in implementing the right to food**

Ethiopia is one of the countries in the world most often hit by hunger and one of the 36 countries globally facing exceptional food emergencies. The country is affected or threatened by successive poor crops or food shortages and regularly requires external assistance for purchase and distribution of localised surpluses to deficit areas (FAO/GIEWS, 2001). Drought and Internally Displaced People (IDP) are cited as important reasons for the emergency. Pastoralists in the south-eastern part of the country have been the worst hit by hunger (FAO, 2001a).

Looking at the *supply indicators* in Table 1, cereals used as food, and calories available per capita increased slightly, and the share of imported cereals rose from 0.73% to 9% in the two periods studied. Average daily calories per capita are as low as 1,760 (1993-2000), which is far below the requirement of 2,200 and lowest of the four countries studied. The percentage share of cereals, roots and tubers in the daily energy requirement is another cause for concern because aside from exceeding the 70% share, it further increased to almost 80% in the period from 1983-2000. In addition, the percentage share of roots and tubers in total calorie per capita increased, which can be an indicator that people resort to “lower” quality food to meet the daily food needs. However it should be noted that these national figures do not reveal the regional differences in food production.

The *access and impact* indicators in Table 1 go one step further than the supply indicators and provide indications of the situation also at household and individual level. The huge increase in population density shows that land is less available than before. We can deduce that the opportunities in the agricultural sector are low and can be an indication of migration to urban centres (percentage of rural population has decreased from 90% to 82%; however, in actual numbers there has been an increase from about 40 to 50 million rural people). Though life expectancy has increased, child malnutrition is still the highest compared to the other countries (49%). The GNP per capita is also the lowest at US\$105, which indicates low purchasing capacity for the majority. 31% of the population live on less than a dollar a day and 76% on less than two dollars a day.

Regarding social security, the food-for-work (FFW) projects are the formal safety nets in Ethiopia in addition to direct distribution of food in relief programmes (Humphrey, 2001). Around 80% of food aid has been distributed through food-for-work. Cereal food aid in Ethiopia comes mainly from the European community and the USA (FAO website, 2001). The success of these food-for-work programmes have been discussed in several reports and the experience is somewhat mixed. Yeraswork and Solomon (1985:91), however, reported that half of the respondents in a survey thought that FFW activities had saved them and their families from starvation. The gender dimension of time pressures is important, since women are expected to carry out traditional domestic and reproductive roles regardless of any other work activities. This has often not been taken into account in the design of FFW.

Credit is another measure in trying to assist the rural poor and hungry in food production. Shiferaw and Amha (2001) report that a basic problem in rural areas is that credit is not

reaching the poor. However, UNDP found that Grameen Bank type<sup>3</sup> credit programmes funded by NGOs had played a significant role in relieving stress and temporary shocks on rural communities caused by natural calamities. Berg and Dibissa (2001) assessed the importance of on-farm seed saving and the development of seed markets/seed banks (with locally produced seeds) when it comes to household food security. Seed banks could cover the needs of farmers who have lost seeds and bridges the time of seed harvest and the time of seed marketing.

*Ethiopia's willingness and capability to implement the right to food:* The fact that Ethiopia ratified relevant international agreements and that the right to food is included in the national constitution show political willingness of Ethiopia to implement the right to food. At the same time, scarce resources are being used on war and conflicts, which contradicts the willingness to give priority to food insecurity issues. In 1999, 9% of GDP was used on military spending. Still, the question is whether Ethiopia is capable to implement the right to food. World Bank (2000) statistics for 1970 and 1995 showed an increase in the percentage of the debt service to exports of goods and services from 11% to 20% coupled with a decrease in the official development assistance from 14.8% to 9.8% that can pose a question regarding the country's ability to finance food security programmes. Ethiopia has shown willingness in taking part in the various international arrangements (i.e. SAP, SPFS, PRSP and debt relief under the HIPC initiative). In 1991, the country started a long-term programme, the Agriculture-Development-Led-Industrialisation (ADLI). Gondwe *et al.* (2001) noted the need for "appropriate entry points" for developing the pastoral and the nomadic areas. Addressing food insecurity at household level is the most effective and direct way of poverty reduction being envisaged by the government. Another factor to be taken seriously is HIV/AIDS whose prevalence rate has increased from 9% to 11 % in the two periods studied.

*Ethiopia's State obligations with regard to "respect, protect and fulfil" (Eide, 1998):*

**Respect:** This stipulates limits on the exercise of state power or non-interference with the livelihood of its subjects or their ability to provide for themselves. Ethiopia as a democracy should theoretically mean freedom for its citizens.

**Protect:** This obligation requires the State to regulate the conduct of non-State actors, establish an enabling regulatory environment (legislations and sanctions) in the fields of food safety and nutrition, protection of the environment and land tenure. Based on country data, Ethiopia has partly dealt with the protection obligation. Regarding food safety and nutrition, Ethiopia is member of FAO's Codex Alimentarius group and nationally it has a Quality and Standards Authority that administers national food standards to protect the population. These standards set aims to protect consumers. Regarding environmental protection, there is an Ethiopian Forestry Action Programme but the Interim PRSP just mentions protection of the environment in relation to the dry land agriculture programme under the ADLI (Agriculture-development-led-industrialisation). The current land policy does not allow for using land as collateral to gain access to capital credit. The fact that the majority of the rural poor are excluded from credit can compound the problem.

**Fulfil:** This obligation requires positive action to identify vulnerable groups and to design, implement and monitor policies that will facilitate their access to food producing resources or an income, or as a last resort, to ensure a minimum freedom from hunger. In identifying vulnerable groups, the Interim PRSP mentions assisting farmers through micro credit, but

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<sup>3</sup> This approach employs a group lending approach to reduce problems related to moral hazard and adverse selection in screening potential borrowers and repayment of loans.

the only vulnerable group mentioned were the pastoralists. The Ethiopian constitution provides equality for women but provisions are not provided in practice. The 1960 civil code that is still in force is based on monarchical constitution that treats women as if they were children or disabled. Discrimination against women is also seen in the job market where it does not provide equal pay for equal work, thus a number of women travel abroad (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, 2000). Assessing the Ethiopian situation, children, disabled and persons infected with HIV/AIDS are vulnerable groups that are not mentioned in the PRSP. Though it failed to identify vulnerable groups, Ethiopia approached the poverty and food insecurity situations through its ADLI area approach. In the PRSP matrix it aims to expand the coverage of micro-financing institutions borrowers by 20%. To be able to reach areas that are identified as poor, the food-for-work (FFW) programme is a safety net. However, as pointed out earlier, the design of the FFW needs improvement. The Interim PRSP shows a weakness in the monitoring aspect. Lastly, though the country made the Interim PRSP, its implementation can be hindered due to lack of budget.

### **A.3. Recommendations - Ethiopia**

According to Ethiopian legislation to the extent that the country's resources permit, policies shall aim to promote all Ethiopians with access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food and social security. However, reality is that 31% live on less than a dollar a day and 76% live on less than two dollars a day, while 49% is undernourished. External wars and internal conflicts lay heavy burdens on the country's resources. Poorly developed infrastructure and lack of distributive capacity among regions are limiting factors on national food security. Frequent droughts make it difficult to implement food security objectives. High population pressure makes land availability for cultivation a limiting factor. The Interim PRSP follows the Agriculture-development-led-industrialisation (ADLI) since 1991, whose approach is area based. The three programmes that take into consideration the diversity of the land are: Food production in relatively high potential areas with adequate and available rain; Dry land agriculture; and Livestock production. But the government has yet to identify target groups within these areas. The ADLI also has a food security strategy which points attention to the pastoral areas to increase welfare by increasing productivity. But the discussion of food security does not address the structural food security aspect. The present interim PRSP (Government of Ethiopia, 2000) broadly states the government's commitment to poverty reduction. The poverty reduction strategy focuses on promoting economic growth and increasing the income-earning capacity of the poor. It emphasised four elements:

- Agriculture-development-led-industrialisation (ADLI) with a core element of raising the income of the poor;
- Civil service and judicial reform;
- Decentralisation;
- Capacity building.

In addition, sector programmes in health, education and roads are included as well as food security, a national policy for women, and HIV/AIDS. The assessment of Gondwe *et al.* (2001) stresses that the Interim PRSP does not mention how to monitor the implementation of the strategy, how to relate to ongoing systems/programmes, which institutions should be involved, participation of civil society and how the results will be made available to the public. In spite of the shortcomings in the Interim PRSP, we would recommend that the

PRSP be used as a mechanism for implementing the right to food in Ethiopia. A monitoring system should be in place for measuring the effect of resource allocation on food security at household and individual levels. Civil society that was not consulted in the preparation of the Interim PRSP, should be included in the preparation of the actual PRSP. The concluding chapter in this report proposes a model (SOSIT) for how to address and measure the impact of resource use. Important fields for public investment are to implement the right to food in agricultural policy and marketing, infrastructure and distribution of food among regions, credit and capacity building (research, extension and training), support to farmers' organisations, seed security by improving the supply access, gender analysis and focus, primary industry development in rural areas to create employment opportunities for poor people (Table 3), improved access to international markets and debt relief. Reallocation of resources from military spending to the implementation of the PRSP will be essential.

## B. MALAWI

### Key Indicators for Malawi (UNDP, 2001):

Population in 1999	10 million
Population below national poverty line (% of population)	54%
Population below income poverty line US\$1 a day (1993 PPP)	...
Rural Population (% of population)	76.5%
People living with HIV/AIDS (% of adults 15-49 years)	16.0%
Undernourished people (% of population)	32.0%
Calories per capita (Grand total) 1991-1999	2003
Life expectancy at birth (years)	40.3
GDP per capita US\$ (1995)	159
GDP per capita annual growth rate 1975-1999	-0.2%
Total debt service as % of GDP 1999	3.8%
Official ODA received per capita US\$1 1999	41.3
Military expenditure as % of GDP (1999)	0.8%

### B.1. Country profile:

*Politics and economy:* Malawi became independent in 1964, with Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda as prime minister who mandated a single-party politics and in 1971 made himself president for life (World Bank, 2000c). In 1993, Malawi's citizens voted decisively to restore a multiparty political structure and proceeded to vote Banda out. National food security was achieved (up to the mid 1980s) through an extensive system of agricultural input and marketing subsidies, which promoted agricultural intensification's for most farmers (Cromwell *et al.*, 2000:1). Another factor that led to the success of Malawi's export-led growth in the 1970s was the wage policy. The government deliberately pursued a policy of wage restraint that further biased incentives in favour of the estate sector (Valdes and Leresche, 1998:156). Three-quarters of Malawi's rural households have holdings too small to be commonly involved in commercial crop production and to be effectively reached by the present agricultural extension services of the National Rural Developments programme (NRDP) (Quinn *et al.*, 1990:140). These households cannot with present technology satisfy their own subsistence requirements from their holdings (less than 0.7 hectares) and will remain dependent on off-farm employment.

*Access to resources* (Sahn *et al.*, 1990): Agricultural land in Malawi has three categories: customary land, private land and public land. Customary land is generally accessed through agreement with the village head and this agreement usually calls for residence on the land, as well as payment of an annual tax and gifts to the headman. The government, in response to applications made by private individuals grants leasehold estate lands. The sizes vary from less than one ha to more than 100 ha. However, recently formed estates are small in size. There is also a small amount of freehold land whose status dates back to the colonial period, and public lands that include forests and reserves. Around 72% of the labour force is working on customary lands but the smallholder sector generated only 34.2% of value added. There is also the presence of tenants in estate lands (mostly tobacco growing areas) who share marginally in estate profits (Nyanda & Shively, 1989). Malawi has one of the highest environmental degradation rates in the SADC region. Deforestation, consumes at least 50,000 ha of the country's 750,000 ha of indigenous forests every year (Tenthani, 2001).

*Legislation:* Malawi has ratified the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in December 1993 (accession) (UNHCHR, 2001). Malawi has also ratified all the Principal International Human Rights Treaties and they are as follows: Covenant on Civil and Political rights (CCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR-OP1), Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Optional Protocol to this Convention (CEDAW-OP), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children (CRC-OP-SC), child prostitution and child pornography.

The right to food is included in the constitution of Malawi under Article 13:

*The State shall actively promote the welfare and development of the people of Malawi by progressively adopting and implementing policies and legislations aimed at achieving the following goals:.... Nutrition: To achieve adequate nutrition for all in order to promote good health and self sufficiency* (FAO Legal Office, 1998:43).

## **B.2. Achievements in implementing the right to food**

In 2001, Malawi is facing an exceptional food emergency due to floods in parts of the country (FAO/GIEWS, 2001). The *supply indicators* in Table 1 show that cereal production has decreased while the amount of cereals available for food has remained the same. The decrease in production was augmented by a drastic increase in imports from 77 to 345 metric tons while food exports has declined from 43 to 7 metric tons in the two periods studied. The average available daily calorie per capita declined from 2,071 to 2,003 (recommended level: 2,200 calories/capita). The share of cereals, roots and tuber in the daily energy requirement has remained high, above 70%, thus a cause for warning. Statistics also show an increase of roots and tubers in the total calorie supply, which can be an indication that people resort to eating "inferior" foods.

*Access and impact indicators* showed a decrease in the rural population from 92.3% to 76.5%, which implies migration. Malawi is facing a serious shortage of agricultural land and the population density is high. There is little improvement in the life expectancy of the

population, 30% of the children are malnourished and 54% of the population is categorised as poor.

*Safety nets* in the form of formal food-for-work projects are present in Malawi. Food aid in Malawi before 1991 came mainly from the European Community. Between 1991 and 1999, the USA and the European Community both contributed 31% to the cereal food aid (FAO website, 2001). Both men and women participate in these programmes. Women's participation increases when payment is made in food rather than cash. Food-for-work plays an important role regarding food security as one study reported that more than 51% were not able to get enough food after depleting their own maize. Households cope by reducing the amount of food eaten and resort to eating "inferior food". Analysis of monthly household survey data showed that 42% of the respondents on the average ate one meal a day in May and by September the proportion increased to almost 50%. In addition to the formal food-for-work projects, there are *informal safety nets* that work in Malawi. Devereux (1999:373) notes that evidence shows rapidly disappearing informal nets under the process of commercialisation. Regarding access to credit, since the collapse of the smallholder agricultural credit association in 1994, relatively few poor smallholders have access to seasonal input credit. Credits from the private sector (including Norsk Hydro) lends only to registered tobacco growers (Devereux, 1997:12). Malawi has yet to show seriousness in protecting the smallholders by providing an appropriate enabling environment and to recognise the inability of the smallholders to feed themselves. There are also other vulnerable groups like the tenants in estate lands and female-headed households and children. A quarter of the children suffer at least moderate malnutrition in post-harvest periods when food is most abundant and the figure increases to nearly three-quarters before the next harvest (Peters and Herrera, 1989). A study by Sahn and Arulpragasam (1999:227) noted that the increase in maize production in 1989 was merely stored rather than consumed which points to the fact that Malawians lack the income to purchase maize.

*Willingness and capability to implement right to food:* Malawi has ratified a number of international agreements, which reflects the willingness of the country to implement the right to food. However looking at the economic situation of the country, its capability to implement the right to food is seriously put in question. For example, there was increase in the percentage of the debt service to exports of goods and services from 8% to 22% coupled with a decrease in the official development assistance from 29 to 24% which poses a question to the country's ability to finance its programmes in the two periods studied. The future effects of the high adult rate of HIV/AIDS prevalence of 16% for adults can also undermine efforts made by the government.

*Malawi's State obligations with regard to "respect, protect and fulfil", (Eide, 1998):*

**Respect:** This stipulates limits on the exercise of State power or non-interference with the livelihood of its subjects or their ability to provide for themselves. With a multi-party political structure, this should theoretically mean freedom for its citizens.

**Protect:** Is Malawi able to regulate the conduct of non-State actors, establish an enabling regulatory environment (legislations and sanctions) in the fields of food safety and nutrition, protection of the environment and land tenure? In the area of food safety and nutrition, Malawi is member of FAO's Codex Alimentarius group and the national coordinating office is the Malawi Bureau of Standards. The function of this office is to



maintain a national food standard to protect the population. For protection of the environment, as early as the 1970s, Malawi became aware of the deterioration of its environment but it was only in 1987 that a National Committee for the Environment (NCE) was established within the Ministry of Forestry and Natural Resources. And in 1992 the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) was developed. The NEAP was charged with integrating environmental concerns into the socio-economic development of the country but its lack of locally based financial resources hindered the strategy. Protecting the environment was mentioned in the PRSP, but it mainly emphasised the awareness of the importance of the management of natural resources. For the land tenure aspect, in the past the government has neglected the smallholders, but with the structural adjustment packages (SAP), there was a change in policies. The fact that smallholders are also rationed out of credit means that they do not have the resources to implement environmental protection projects.

**Fulfil:** This obligation requires positive action to identify vulnerable groups and to design, implement and monitor policies that will facilitate their access to food producing resources or an income, as a last resort, to ensure a minimum freedom from hunger. Identification of vulnerable groups was mentioned in the Interim PRSP under agriculture and the need to develop safety nets for the smallholders and orphans from HIV/AIDS. However the design is yet to be developed. The implementation of the Interim PRSP will be dependent on funding. In the Interim PRSP matrix, the improvement of poverty and programme monitoring was mentioned. Formally there are also safety nets through food-for-work projects. Women's participation is high when the payment is food and not cash. The gender perspective in the design of the FFW still needs to be tackled.

### **B.3. Recommendations - Malawi**

According to Malawian constitution *adequate nutrition for all* is included in the legislation. However, reality is that 54% is categorised as poor and 32% are malnourished. High population density and lack of land have constrained agricultural development. Flooding has caused additional problems to the country's food security situation in 2000/01. The present Interim PRSP (Republic of Malawi, 2000) states the government's commitment to poverty reduction. The government has launched programmes to empower communities and to develop rural social infrastructures to assist smallholder farmers to increase productivity as well as provide direct transfers to vulnerable groups through the public works programmes, food-for-work and nutrition programmes. The Interim PRSP identifies the following poverty causes:

- low agricultural productivity
- rapid population growth
- lack of off-farm employment opportunities
- low levels of education
- poor health status
- limited access to credit
- limited or inequitable access to productive resources

HIV/AIDS and debt are serious problems highlighted in the Interim PRSP. It is stated that one of the main reasons why the government under-invests in basic social services is due to the weight of the external debt burden in the national budget that accounted for an average of 22% of Malawi's recurrent budget between 1994/95 and 1998/99. Regarding the agricultural sector, Malawi is over-dependent on tobacco as a source of export revenue.

The governmental aim is to diversify export production (tea, coffee, sugar, cotton, groundnuts, pulses) and to expand traditional exports as bell peppers, cut flowers and fruits.

We would recommend that the PRSP be used as a mechanism for implementing the right to food in Malawi. A monitoring system should be in place for measuring the effect of resource allocation on food security at household and individual level. The concluding chapter in this report proposes a model for how to address and measure the impact of resource use. An important field for public investment is credit and capacity building (research, extension and training) to increase land productivity, support to farmers' organisations, primary industry development in rural areas to create employment opportunities for poor people (Table 3), and improved access to markets in the north. Employment opportunities and access to markets will be of crucial importance for achieving food security. Both off-farm employment and employment opportunities in relation to agricultural industries (e.g. conservation and processing as suggested in Table 3) should be encouraged and supported. Prospects for economic growth and poverty reduction among the largely subsistence smallholder sector is limited by natural resource constraints, with scarcity of land (and considerable regional differences) and density of households in the smallholder sector. Poverty reduction efforts should be targeted towards smallholders, estate tenants and female-headed households. Debt relief and investment in health and education will also contribute towards improved food security.

## C. TANZANIA

### Key Indicators for Tanzania (UNDP, 2001):

Population 1999	32.7 million
Population below national poverty line (% of population)	51.0%
Population below income poverty line US\$1 a day (1993 PPP)	19.9%
Rural Population (% of population)	68.4%
People living with HIV/AIDS (% of adults 15-49 years)	8.1%
Undernourished people (% of population)	41.0%
Calories per capita (Grand total) 1991-1999	1972
Life expectancy at birth (years)	51.1
GDP per capita US\$ (1999)	174
GDP per capita annual growth rate 1975-1999	...
Total debt service as % of GDP 1999	2.2%
Official ODA received per capita US\$1 1999	30.1
Military expenditure as % of GDP (1999)	...

### C.1. Country profile:

*Politics and economy:* Mainland Tanzania and island neighbour Zanzibar became independent in 1961 and 1963, respectively, and in 1964 the two formed a union known as the United Republic of Tanzania (World Bank, 2001d). Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Tanzania launched a socialist development agenda with broad state controls. Tanzania is a politically stable country and has assumed a leadership role in regional co-operation under President Mkapa. Tanzania has a long tradition of encouraging popular participation in decision making at local village level and through the party system at national level, with the intention that the voice and opinions of all - including the poor -

should be heard and influence politics. But through the years this system did not provide adequate opportunities for participation as human voices were silenced and the top leaders in government and the leading party directed policies. Policies have also been heavily influenced by external forces, especially dominant donors at the national level and various donors and organisations controlling external resources at the local levels (Jerve & Ofstad 2000:17).

Sarris and van den Brink (1994) summed up the Tanzanian experiment of 1967-1984 as an attempt at institutional change without micro-economic foundations, with a superstructure with resource requirements that stifled economic growth and which was ripe for crashing. With exogenous shocks, it crashed in 1979. The resilience of the Tanzanian people throughout the crisis can be attributed to the effective functioning of what is termed as the “second economy” (Ibid.). Based on the human poverty index, Tanzania is number 53 of the 90 poorest countries of the world, with a per capita income of about US\$174 per year (UNDP, 2001). Poverty in the rural areas has decreased from 65% in 1982 to 50.5% in 1991 (Ferreira, 1998). Inequality figures seem to decrease from 1983 to 1991, but the inequality has widened again in 1998 (0.52, 0.41 to 0.46) (Jerve & Ofstad, 2000). The economy is heavily dependent on agriculture (primarily coffee, cotton, tea, cashew nuts, sisal, maize, rice, wheat, cassava and tobacco), which accounts for 50% of GDP and 85% of its exports. The number of people employed in agriculture is 84%, thus the performance of the economy is closely related to the performance of the agricultural sector (Ferreira, 1998:4). An analysis of investment projects by Voipio and Hoebink (1998:28) showed that statistics contradict the widely shared perception that lots of donor money has been invested in rural development, education and health projects. The predominant development strategy seems to have over-emphasised physical capital and neglected the role of agriculture and human capital.

*Access to resources:* Vedeld and Larsen (1998:14) noted that the land tenure policy has been, until recently, essentially unchanged since the colonial period. The country’s land policy (Land Ordinance of 1923) empowers the President to grant land by way of occupancy of a period of up to ninety-nine years. But between 1973-1977, the village “collectivisation” programme, which had fairly disastrous effects on land use and management, affected an estimated 7 million people. The programme neglected issues of customary land tenure systems and ownerships. The dualistic characteristic has been pointed out in the same study. There is dualism between the farmer/pastoral sector governed by customary law (and deemed right of occupancy/usufruct rights) and the state/plantation/urban sector governed by the statutory legal system (and granted right of occupancy). Angelsen and Fjeldstad (1996) reported that customary rights holders in urban areas are treated as squatters while those in the rural areas are considered as tenants at the will of the Ministry. There have been several problems with regard to customary right and access for small farmers and documented land conflict connected to pastoralists (Ferreira, 2001). The recent land reform builds on the principles of decentralisation and the recent reform markets the right of women as an explicit concern of the law (Vedeld and Larsen, 1998: 16). The new land policy promised secure individual tenure, but there are alarming signs of land being concentrated in fewer hands (Jerve & Ofstad, 2000:25). Environmental degradation is another problem faced in Tanzania. Tanzania has the world’s highest consumption of fuelwood that exert visible strains on forest resources (Tibajjuka, 1996).

**Legislation:** Tanzania has ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on 11 June 1976 (accession) (UNHCHR, 2001). However, the right to food is not stated in the national constitution. Related international laws that were ratified are as follows: Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The following International Human Rights Treaties have not been ratified by Tanzania: Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR-OP1), Optional Protocol to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW-OP), and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children (CRC-OP-SC), child prostitution and child pornography.

## **C.2. Achievements in implementing the right to food**

Tanzania is one of the countries presently facing exceptional food emergencies and the reason for the emergency is food deficits in several regions (FAO/GIEWS, 2001) Food security *supply indicators* (Table 1) for Tanzania showed decreases in food production per capita, calories per capita and food exports. There was an increase in cereal food imports for the two periods from 225 to 295 metric tons. National poverty levels have fluctuated in the 1981-1999 period, but presently it went back to 51% while the percentage of malnourished adults is 40%. Amongst children below 5 years old, it is 30% (de Onis *et al.*, 2000). Most rural Tanzanians have access to land or land-based resources and even during periods of severe drought, individuals, communities and the government have been able to fend off famine-like conditions (Jerve & Ofstad, 2000:6).

*Safety nets* in Tanzania are a combination of formal and informal sources. A number of cereal food aids before 1991 came from the European Community and the USA. After 1991 Japan was a major donor (23%) with the European Community and the USA following (17% each). A number of NGO's are active in Tanzania. The Foods Resource Bank and the CRWRC (Christian Reform World Relief Committee) have development projects that are holistic in nature. World Food Programme (WFP) also has food-for-work activities for improved farming techniques of agro-forestry and maintenance of traditional irrigation systems. Specific interventions mentioned in addressing vulnerable groups would be food-for-work programmes implemented under the World Bank supported Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). An important element is the rural-urban linkages, where many families of the rural poor keep a foot in both settings (Jerve & Ofstad, 2000:6). This can be an indication that informal safety nets are still working in Tanzania. In 1991, private transfer income accounted for 19.7% of total household income for the very poor, 18% for the poor and 15.8% for the non-poor households (WFS draft strategy for 2010). However Geir *et al.* (1989) note that with increasing integration into the market economy, the household food security is affected by less diversity in production, heavier workload for women, neglect of subsistence production and overselling, increasing post-harvest losses, disruption of traditional assistance and neglect in food preparation and child care. Another issue pointed out is the concentration of the population in about 10-20% of the land that puts a stress on the environment.

*Tanzania's willingness and capability to implement the right to food:* Tanzania has ratified a number of international agreements but looking at its supply and access indicators and the state of the economy, the government's capability to implement the right to food is

questionable. Again, we see a similar pattern where overseas development aid decreases and the debt service as a percentage of export of goods and services increase, which puts to question Tanzania's capability to implement the right to food.

*Tanzania State obligations with regard to "respect, protect and fulfil", (Eide, 1998):*

**Respect:** This stipulates limits on the exercise of State power or non-interference with the livelihoods of its subjects or their ability to provide for themselves. The present political stability and economic reforms can point to the non-interference with the livelihoods of the people by the government.

**Protect:** Is Tanzania able to regulate the conduct of non-State actors, establish an enabling regulatory environment (legislation and sanctions) in the fields of food safety and nutrition, protection of the environment and land tenure? As to legislation connected to food safety and nutrition, Tanzania is also a member of FAO's Codex Alimentarius group and the national coordinating office is the Bureau of Standards office. The function of this office is to maintain a national food standard to protect the population. Tanzania has the world's largest per capita consumption of fuelwood estimated at 4.1 cubic meters annually (Tibaijuka, 1996:75). Environmental considerations are included in the PRSP where the plan is to incorporate environmental quality indicators into the poverty monitoring system. The final PRSP mentioned the importance of the environment but there was nothing on actions. Tanzania has problems in the area of land tenure. Reports of land being concentrated in the hands of a few rich usually do not match with the right to food for everyone. Also, reports on the rights of local communities versus e.g. commercial shrimp farming companies do not show much protection of the livelihoods of the local people. Women lose access to land when they are divorced or widowed (Tibaijuka, 1996:73). Marriage and children (including sons) do not guarantee a Tanzanian woman land rights.

**Fulfil:** Is Tanzania able to identify vulnerable groups and to design, implement and monitor policies that will facilitate their access to food producing resources or income, or last resort, to ensure a minimum freedom from hunger? Tanzania, through its PRSP, has already identified vulnerable groups. Indirectly, the July 2000 draft PRSP and the final PRSP (October, 2000) identified vulnerable groups through its characterisation of poverty. The groups mentioned are smallholder and subsistence farmers, young, old, and large households. Orphans and handicapped were also mentioned in the PRSP section under vulnerability (Government of Tanzania, 2000b). The draft PRSP also mentioned the need for safety nets for the children, elderly, orphans, refugees and victims of natural disasters. The high HIV/AIDS death statistics in Dar es Salaam, Hai and Morogoro with 35.5% for male and 44.5% for women were also mentioned in the report. The strategy mentioned increasing opportunities and capabilities to earn a decent income. The need to improve data collection to be used in the monitoring system was also mentioned. It should be underlined that social indicators are extremely uneven across regions, thus there is a need for a regionally differentiated strategy. Furthermore, the institutional framework, responsibilities for collecting, using and disseminating data appear to be at the design stage and arrangements for participatory poverty monitoring remain unclear (Gondwe *et al.*, 200:5). The PRSP still needs a more specific plan of action for activities, implementation and monitoring as well as a financial plan - who is going to fund what. Assessment done in 1999 by the World Food Programme, the Government of Tanzania and donors, concluded that emergency situations continue in a number of regions including Mwanza, Shinyanga and Mara (Food Resource Bank, 2001).

### **C.3. Recommendations - Tanzania**

The right to food is not stated in the Tanzanian legislation. Probably, legal inclusion in national legislation would not have made a big difference for the poor and hungry, at least not in the short run, but in the long run the right to food could have been an effective tool to mobilise around. According to the national poverty line, more than 50% of the people in Tanzania is poor and more than 40% is undernourished. These figures clearly state the need for food security directed actions. Tanzania is heavily dependent upon agriculture as about 68.4% of the population live in rural areas and rely on natural resources for their livelihoods. There are great variations among regions regarding production potential and welfare indicators. Poor regions are Kigoma, Lindi, Mtwara, Rukwa and Ruvuma where agricultural production is low, agricultural export is also low and infrastructure investment limited. Better distribution among high and low potential regions is one among several recommendations for improving the food security situation in the country. Settlement patterns follow soil fertility, rainfall and availability of surface drinking water, thus the population is concentrated in about 10-20% of the land. Some rural areas such as the Ukerewe islands have a population density of 300 people/square km. (Tibaijuka, 1996:75).

Tanzania expresses strong commitment to poverty reduction in the country's PRSP. The PRSP work has been managed and guided at a high level of political authority. However, the PRSP has drawn heavily on existing programmes rather than undertaking re-examination of current poverty policies and programmes. As most PRSPs, the Tanzanian PRSP is a rather general document and according to Jerve (2001) the main focus is on the importance of continuing to have a stable economy. In the draft PRSP the main causes of poverty were reported to be:

- lack of basic education
- poor health
- inadequate food security
- limited access to clean and safe drinking water
- poor rural transport
- social causes: drunkenness and laziness

In the consultative process, the poor gave priority to the following actions:

- secure land tenure
- availability of inputs
- credit and suitable technology
- access to markets and health service
- ability to put aside savings
- social capital such as trust, unity and participatory involvement (a voice in society)

Poverty reduction has been a policy objective in Tanzania for four decades. To what degree the PRSP will be more successful than efforts in the past is too early to judge. The new element is the heavy stress on sustainable economic growth and macro-economic stability. One challenge for Tanzania is that different donors do not agree on the best policies for promoting poverty reduction and for an aid-dependent country as Tanzania, the government has generally coped by trying to accommodate all donor policies simultaneously (Jerve & Ofstad 2000:28). Systems for monitoring and evaluating PRSP achievements are still not in place. It is expected that institutional weaknesses and lack of

capacity may delay the implementation of the PRSP and the development of the remaining parts in the strategy plan. The PRSP is also reliant upon high a level of external funding and debt relief under the HIPC initiative.

The government has indicated agriculture as the “lead” sector but agriculture needs a conducive policy environment and investments in research, extension services and rural infrastructure. A national agricultural strategy and a rural development strategy will be prepared after a broad-based consultative and participatory process in the preparation of the final PRSP (Government of Tanzania, 2000a&b). Land reforms might be considered as suggested by Jerve in Solheim’s article (2001:3). One of the greatest challenges in poverty reduction efforts is how to facilitate employment opportunities. Even with a heavy emphasis on agricultural development, there is no way that agriculture will continue to absorb some 75% of the work force. Mining and quarrying, light industry and tourism are the most likely growth sectors with a high employment generation to supplement agricultural development for an impact on poverty reduction in the short and medium future (Jerve & Ofstad, 2000:15). When addressing food security, a gender focus is needed. Women represent 70% of the agricultural work force in Tanzania, and they are the main producers of food crops, although their productivity is curtailed, *inter alia*, by lack of credit, access to land and lack of training opportunities, as the latter mostly benefit men farmers (World Food Summit follow up, 2000).

Important fields for public investment in the agricultural sector to improve the food insecurity situation in the country are: agricultural policy and marketing, improved infrastructure and food distribution systems among regions, land reforms (improved access to land by women), gender analysis, decentralisation to facilitate participation and social mobilisation, improved input supply, credit and capacity building (research, extension and training), support to farmers’ organisations, primary industry development in rural areas to create employment opportunities for the poor (Table 3), inclusion of the right to food in national legislation, improved access to international markets, and debt relief. The Sosit model (Wold *et al.*, 2001) in the concluding chapter of this report shows how the impact of this kind of public investment could be effectively measured.

#### D. ZAMBIA

##### **Key Indicators for Zambia (UNDP, 2001):**

Population in 1999	9.6 million
Population below national poverty line (% of population)	86.0%
Population below income poverty line US\$1 a day (1993 PPP)	63.7%
Rural Population (% of population)	60.5%
People living with HIV/AIDS (% of adults 15-49 years)	19.95%
Undernourished people (% of population)	45.0%
Calories per capita (Grand total) 1991-1999	1948
Life expectancy at birth (years)	41
GDP per capita US\$ (1999)	419
GDP per capita annual growth rate 1975-1999	-2.4%
Total debt service as % of GDP 1999	13.9%
Official ODA received per capita US\$1 1999	63.1
Military expenditure as % of GDP (1999)	1.0%

### **D.1. Country profile:**

*Politics and economy:* Zambia gained independence from Britain in 1964 and inherited a dual economy with a large urban economy and an impoverished rural population. Copper and other metal exports averaged around 72% in the period 1989/1998/1999 of Zambia's export earnings. Kenneth Kaunda was the first president in a one-party rule. With the legalisation of the opposition parties, Fredrick Chiluba defeated Mr. Kauanda in 1991 and was re-elected in 1996 (World Bank 2001e). The new government introduced fundamental reforms and believed that a system of fixed prices and subsidisation provided wrong incentives and was unfavourable for the development of the agricultural sector. Major institutional reforms were planned (World Bank, 1995) and they included: decontrol of prices and major reduction of subsidies to provide proper market signals and stimulate a change in the mix of output produced; new monetary and fiscal policies to dampen inflation; market based exchange and interest rates to lower indirect taxation and privatisation of parastatals to improve the efficiency of markets.

*Access to resources:* Zambia's land tenure system is divided into three categories: state, reserves and trust (Milimo, 1994). State land mostly consists of a narrow strip of land along the line of rail, 50 kilometres on both sides and a few pockets of land in outlying areas. State land was earmarked for European settlers and mining activities (around 3 million hectares held on a 99 year leasehold). Reserve land was set-aside for local people. Smallholders constitute 75% of the farming population in Zambia. Vedeld and Larsen (1998:18) noted that Zambian post-independent land legislation has reflected many concepts of customary tenure, which potentially limit acquisition and control over land by influential outsiders to community land for speculation, and accumulation of wealth, but there have been problems with implementation of these rules and laws. However, the customary land systems have limitations for women, in particular when widowed. According to Wold (1997:18) the major share of cultivated land is communal land and traditional law applies. Inheritance follows the traditional law and the father or brother of a late husband inherit the land, and they are obliged to take care of the widow and children. However, the widow is not entitled to retain the assets and though she can retain her own plots, the husband's plots are not included. The main challenge according to Sjaastad (1998) is to build institutional capacity to limit the illegitimate appropriation of customary land by powerful individuals and groups. Women-run farms comprise a majority either by sharing responsibility in a male-headed households or being solely responsible in a female-headed household. Regarding access to credit, Wold (1997:18) found that women farmers in general are claimed to have the same formal access to credit as men, but collateral is usually required which prevents women from obtaining credit. In general, married women farmers are not registered, thus they are not able to access credit.

*Legislation:* Zambia has ratified the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on 10 April 1984 (accession) (UNHCHR, 2001). Related international laws that were ratified are as follows: Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR-OP1), the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The following International Human Rights Treaties have not been ratified by Zambia: Optional Protocol to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW-



OP), and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children (CRC-OP-SC), child prostitution and child pornography. The right to food is not included in the national constitution.

## **D.2. Achievements in implementing the right to food**

Zambia is facing exceptional food emergency in 2001 due to floods in parts of the country (FAO/ GIEWS, 2001). The government assessment estimated Zambia needs 55,000 MT of emergency food aid for direct distribution (mostly through food-for-work programmes). *Supply indicators* in Table 1 for Zambia showed that among the four countries, Zambia has the highest increase in cereal food imports on a per capita basis, an increase of 52 kg in 1991-2000 compared to Malawi with 28 kg increase, Ethiopia and Tanzania with 13 kg increase each. Zambia is also not able to make available the required 2,200 calories per capita.

*Access and impact indicators* point to a deterioration in people's access as reflected in the lowered life expectancy levels from 43 in 1998 to 41 in 1998, a decrease in the GDP per capita from US\$ 558 to 419 and with poverty levels of 63.7% below a dollar a day and 86% below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2001; World Bank, 2000). Among the four countries, Zambia also has the lowest annual average growth rate in GNP. With the high poverty level, several public programmes have been launched such as public welfare assistance schemes, micro financing and food-for-work programmes. However, the majority of these programmes have not been sustainable. They have reduced some of the most negative effects of the adjustment programme, but done little to economically empower people to escape poverty. An additional weakness is that these programmes have been short in nature and not integrated in the overall economic framework. To supplement the short-term measures, the government instituted long-term programmes such as agricultural sector investment programmes (ASIP), environmental support programmes (ESP) and basic education sub sector investment programmes (BESSIP).

To address the difficult food security situation in Zambia, *safety nets* in place are projects like cash-for-work, inputs-for-work and food-for-work. These projects have been implemented through the efforts of both the government and NGOs such as CARE and the Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CIDA, 2001). Cereal food aid comes mostly from the USA and the European Community since the 1980s (averaging 39% and 17% respectively of total cereal food aid)

*Willingness and capability to implement the right to food:* Zambia has ratified a number of international agreements, which shows the willingness to implement the right to food. However, looking at the supply and access indicators, the question is again the capacity of Zambia to implement the right to food. The same pattern is seen as with the three previous assessed countries, a decrease in the ODA as a percentage of GNP and an increase in the debt service as a percentage of the export of goods and services.

*Zambia's State obligations with regard to "respect, protect and fulfil", (Eide, 1998):*

**Respect:** This stipulates limits on the exercise of State power or non-interference with the livelihoods of its subjects or their ability to provide for themselves. Zambia is a democracy and thus theoretically people have freedom.

**Protect:** This obligation requires the state to regulate the conduct of non-State actors, establish an enabling regulatory environment (legislations and sanctions) in the fields of

food safety and nutrition, protection of the environment and land tenure. Legislation for food safety and nutrition are numerous as Zambia is also a member of FAO's Codex Alimentarius group and the national coordinating office is called Food and Drug Control that is under the office of the Ministry of Health. The function of this office is also to maintain a national food standard to protect the population. As to environmental considerations, the Interim PRSP includes environmental considerations in its policy matrix by promoting sound natural resource management and environmental protection with the aim of reviewing and harmonising legal frameworks (2000-2001), strengthen institutional capacity (2000-2001) and launch a community environmental management programme (1999). Regarding land tenure, based on country data, Zambia has not protected the rights of widows to maintain land.

**Fulfil:** Is Zambia able to identify vulnerable groups and to design, implement and monitor policies that will facilitate their access to food producing resources or an income, as a last resort, to ensure a minimum freedom from hunger? Zambia identifies vulnerable groups in its Interim PRSP as: unemployed youth, rural poor smallholder farmers, central government, retrenched, children, disabled and child-headed households. The PRSP mentions the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. The National Development Priorities in the Poverty Reduction Action Plan mentions HIV/AIDS as one of the cross-cutting priorities together with environmental management. However, in the policy matrix plan, while it had strategies and measures for the environment, there was nothing on HIV/AIDS. Strategies and measures in the PRSP mention refining and diversifying on-going micro projects but this is supposed to be in the period 2000-2002 with technical assistance from the World Bank. Monitoring is only briefly addressed in the Interim PRSP. The major challenge lies in the Action Plan's financial requirements that are huge, and it is not clear whether funds will be available for implementation. Zambia has good data on poverty and statistical capability to keep the data base up-dated, however, effective monitoring of programmes on poverty reduction will call for more frequent sample data geared towards assessing the impact of specific interventions. Monitoring will also require a budget, which is a problem for Zambia. The PRSP also mentions the importance of safety nets but no strategy is laid out in the policy matrix.

### **D.3. Recommendations - Zambia**

Zambia has experienced one of the most rapid economic declines in Sub-Saharan Africa. The main thrust of the government's economic policies since 1991 has been macro-economic stability and liberalising prices and trade. Zambian farmers have been exposed to agricultural policies changing from one extreme to the other. Stability might be one of the most important elements to insert in future agricultural policies. Presently, 86% of the people fall below the national poverty line and 45% are undernourished. In 1998, a National Poverty Reduction Strategic Framework (NPRSF) was prepared following wide consultations with key stakeholders in government, civil society and the donor community. The strategies for poverty reduction in this framework are:

- Achieving broad based economic growth through agricultural and rural development
- Providing public physical infrastructure
- Increasing productivity of urban micro enterprises and the informal sector
- Developing human resources
- Co-ordinating, monitoring and evaluating poverty reduction programmes and activities.

To translate these broad objectives into action programmes a draft National Poverty Reduction Plan (NPRP) was prepared. In this NPRP, agriculture was mentioned indirectly

under sustainable economic growth in connection with communication systems and safe water and sanitation development in the rural areas and promotion of the private sector in marketing of inputs. In the Interim PRSP, the government proposed to privatise the marketing of maize and inputs, and decentralisation of research and extension. Drafting the Interim PRSP came soon after the NPRSF/NPRP. The Interim PRSP contains a comprehensive diagnosis of poverty in Zambia. It noted that the reason for Zambia's economic decline was that there was no structural change in the economy, thus, Zambia was not able to meet the challenges of changes brought about by the structural adjustment programme (SAP). The design and implementation of the SAP failed to address the issues of SAP-related poverty. The 1991 survey estimated that 69.7% were poor and 58.2% of these were in the extremely poor category. Rural poverty was as much as 88%. Surveys in 1993 and 1996, showed that the poverty levels rose, especially in Central, Copperbelt, Luapula, Lusaka and Western Provinces (89.2%). Rural poverty became deeper and severe especially among female-headed households and small-scale farmers. The reason that was cited was the stagnation of agriculture and lack of food, money and assets, lack of safety nets and poor access to social services. HIV/AIDS is one important cause of poverty now directly affecting 20% of the population. The Interim PRSP serves as a vehicle for the government to reaffirm its commitment to allocating at least 36% of domestically financed expenditures to social sector spending. Poverty monitoring issues are only briefly addressed in the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy plan (I-PRSP); however, there is recognition of the need to establish appropriate monitoring systems that are not in place today.

In order to improve the food insecurity situation in Zambia, poverty reduction strategies must be implemented. The I-PRSP provides a vehicle for public investment in agriculture and rural development and a system for monitoring the impact of such investments on poverty and food insecurity (see the SOSIT approach described on page 32). Important fields for public investment are conducive and stable agricultural policy (e.g. price control, floor prices or at least price information), improved marketing (e.g. public regulation of private traders to prevent exploitation at farmers gate, centres where farmers can sell their products at floor prices, storages and cereal banks to make food available in the hunger period), secured land tenure in particular for women farmers, support to farmers organisations, credit and capacity building (research, extension and training), support to farmers' organisations, decentralisation to facilitate participation and social mobilisation, primary industry development in rural areas to create employment opportunities for poor people (Table 2), increased access to international markets, inclusion of the right to food in national legislation, and debt relief.

## **8. PUBLIC INVESTMENT AND IMPACT MEASUREMENT MODEL**

The right to food is recognised in international, regional and national conventions, agreements and legislation, but presently, this recognition does not solve the food deficit problem for the almost 800 million people who are chronically undernourished. In order to give meaning to the right to food for the food insecure, legislation has to go hand in hand with economic and political efforts. Food insecurity is a question of poverty and, accordingly, the right to food has to be addressed in a poverty reduction context. What is needed to implement the right to food is an integrated approach to development including legislation as well as economic and social development and political empowerment. Food security responsibilities lie with national states. Resource availability at national level is an important, but not necessarily sufficient measure in implementing the right to food. The political will to end hunger and poverty is needed as well as resources and the ability to allocate resources in a wise way. In other words, the quality of public investments to facilitate pro-poor growth and social development is of crucial importance.

Bilateral agencies such as NORAD should accept responsibility for following up international agreements signed by Norway e.g., the World Food Summit Action Plan and different international agreements recognising the right to food. Regarding assistance and resource allocation, both multilateral and bilateral agencies as well as national governments need to know to what degree resources allocated and public investments lead to improvements regarding poverty reduction and food security. Presently, the most appropriate mechanism at country level in Africa for reducing poverty and implementing the right to food appear to be the PRSPs. The PRSPs include overviews of the poverty situation in the country and provide opportunities to measure both resources allocated to reduce poverty as well poverty reduction achievements. Although the PRSPs are far from perfect and to a certain degree too general to be effective, they still provide the best mechanism today. If the PRSPs survive a second round, we may expect that the next generation PRSPs will be more focused on change, poverty reduction results and impact. In order to implement the right to food at the country level and to achieve food security demand, one must look beyond integrated, multi-sectoral efforts. However, to simplify, below we use only the agricultural sector to illustrate through a chain of events, how allocated resources lead to services, achievements and impact; and which indicators could be used to monitor the different steps in such a process. This approach is presented in the NORAD-funded *SOSIT basic data draft report for the health, education and water sectors* (Wold et al., 2001). We have applied the *SOSIT model* on the agricultural sector with the aim of illustrating how public investment might impact on food security and how to measure such impact.

**Resource allocation to the agricultural sector (Public investment)**

- Individual women and men farmer investment (land, labour, capital, human resources)
- Public investment (infrastructure, research, extension & training, credits, guarantees, inputs, marketing, institutions (farmer organisations), storage, processing, cottage industry)
- Agricultural policy (marketing, price control, land reforms)
- Employment policy and investment
- Social security
- Private sector investment
- North-South perspective: Measures to improve market access



**Services**

- Employment opportunities
- Agricultural research
- Agricultural Extension
- Credit
- Infrastructure
- Marketing services
- Input availability
- Farmer organisation
- Private enterprises (research, extension, input & marketing)
- Food-for-work
- Food safety nets



**Achievements and status**

- Improved access to production assets
- Increased production per capita
- Increased employment
- Improved infrastructure
- Improved marketing and access to markets



**End goals and impact**

- Population below national poverty line (% of population)
- Population below income poverty line US\$1 a day (at PPP)
- Undernourished people (% of population)
- Calories per capita
- Life expectancy at birth (years)
- People living with HIV/AIDS (% of adults 15-49 years)
- Gender development index
- GDP per capita annual growth rate (in PPP\$ per capita)
- Rural development expenditure as % of GDP

This chain of events is one way of operationalising the right to food by allocating resources and monitoring the effect of resource allocation on the end goals of improved food security and poverty reduction. The rationale behind this chain of events is first, that food insecurity is a poverty problem and second, that to eliminate the problem of food insecurity, people need to have access to production resources to produce their own food, or they need to have access to employment to be able to purchase food, or lastly, social security must be provided. Regarding employment opportunities, the agricultural sector provides many possibilities for the cottage industry and industrial processing and manufacturing. The Table below illustrates how employment in rural areas might be provided in processing based on primary agricultural products. The Table also indicates possible public investment to initiate such primary industry development. As underlined in the country chapters above, employment is a crucial element when addressing food insecurity.

**Table 3. Facilitating employment by rural poor to decrease food insecurity - possible public resource allocation**

<b>Agricultural Industries</b>	<b>Primary products</b>	<b>Agriculture based industries</b>	<b>Processed products</b>	<b>Public investment schemes (Apply to all)</b>
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<b>Farming</b>	Rice, maize, wheat, sorghum, millet, groundnuts, peas, beans, lentils, sugarcane, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava, barley, hemp, sisal, oil palm, fodder feeds, cotton, tobacco	Mills, bakery, coffee shops, oil presses, sugar refineries, textile mills, factories for tea, coffee, canning, starch and feeds, projects for packing, transportation, marketing outlets	Flour, bread, cakes, breakfast mixes, other food products, cooking oil, sugar, syrup, cacao, coffee, tea, animal feeds for pets, cotton, cloth, ropes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Loans</li> <li>▪ Guarantees</li> <li>▪ Organisations for loans and savings groups</li> <li>▪ Cooperatives for buying and selling</li> <li>▪ Other institutional building</li> <li>▪ Training</li> <li>▪ Production and market consultancies</li> <li>▪ Networking</li> <li>▪ Price politics and price guarantees</li> <li>▪ Marketing</li> <li>▪ Organising for transportation and telecommunication</li> <li>▪ Infrastructure (i.e. roads and transportation)</li> <li>▪ Development of regional centres</li> <li>▪ Schools</li> <li>▪ Health services (i.e. HIV/AIDS)</li> </ul>
<b>Horticulture</b>	Citrus fruits, mango, papaya, tomato, apples, bananas, dates, avocados, nuts, grapes, chilli, okra, asparagus, paprika, tea, coffee, cacao, coconut, olives, spices, honey, dye materials	Factory for juice making, pickling, fermentation, canning, wine making, drying, projects for packing, transportation, marketing outlets	Juice, jams, chutney, canned products, spices	
<b>Animal husbandry</b>	Cows, oxen, goats, sheep, milk, camels, pigs, chicken, eggs, guinea hen, rabbits, ducks, turkey, ostrich	Slaughter houses, dairy, tanning factories, factory for canning and drying, projects for packing, transportation, marketing	Meat, processed milk, cheese, butter, skin and leather, wool, bone meal, animal feed	
<b>Forest resource use (including field gathering)</b>	Logging, poles, firewood, bamboo, other fibre products, materials for dye, nuts, fruits, mushrooms, roots, insects	Sawmills, planning mills, carpentry business, factories for juice making, pickling, fermentation, canning, wine making, drying and painting, projects for packing, transportation, marketing outlets	Building materials, materials for furniture, furniture, charcoal, firewood, baskets, mats, canned fruits and mushrooms and roasted insects	

The background papers for the WFS: FYL pinpoint that countries with a high debt burden also have high prevalence of under-nourishment. Debt is an additional drain on resources, which could be better invested in productive activities. Another serious problem threatening food security is the impact of HIV/AIDS: the increase of HIV/AIDS in Africa has a myriad of implications such as loss of access to land for AIDS widows/orphaned children (du Guerny, 1998; Villareal, 2000), sale or disposal of productive assets and capital to cover HIV/AIDS related costs, decrease in agricultural investments, reallocation of household resources because of increased medical costs, and loss of agricultural labour in the event of sickness or death. It should be added that understanding the factors that affect food security in Africa and accordingly allocating resources requires a gender analysis framework to the problem. At household level, women are key actors in a number of areas such as food production, food processing and cooking, intra household food distribution, fuel and water collection, decisions on the use of resources in terms of labour

time, cash income and food. Poorly developed physical infrastructure is another problem constraining transport, market access and intra-country food distribution among regions. Lastly, we would like to underline that the right to food is not simply a question of efficiency and purposefully implementing various measures to facilitate agricultural development, the actions must form part of a comprehensive development concept which encourages development processes that widen people's choices and their scope for action, while reducing their vulnerability and so improving food security. Achieving food security goes far beyond agriculture. An integrated approach involving all sectors will be needed with special attention towards human development, coping with conflicts and access to markets. The sustainable livelihoods framework will be an appropriate tool to be used in this regard e.g., to include food security at household and individual levels.

## **9. CONCLUSION**

*If the internationally recognised human rights in their entirety had been fully implemented, poverty would not have existed (Eide, in Kjørstad & Veit Wilson 1997).*

The right to food advocates focus not only on the food needs of food insecure people, but on the right these people hold regarding secure access to food. By focusing on rights and not only on needs, the charity aspect of food security assistance vanishes. The right to food is about how to foster conditions to enable people to care for themselves and their own food needs. The most appropriate way of fostering such conditions in Africa is by using the Poverty Reduction Strategy Plans (PRSP) as entry points and as a mechanism. Hunger and food insecurity is a poverty problem. Legislation alone cannot solve the food insecurity problem although legislation may be one important tool in the struggle to eliminate poverty and food insecurity. The critical issue regarding food as a human right is *enforcement*, not the legislation by itself. There may be a need for a new global institution to be responsible for enforcing food as a human right and securing sovereignty of this right in relation to other global processes and agreements. However, integrating *the food as a human right approach* in the ongoing poverty reduction processes is probably the most effective way of contributing towards a food secure Africa. In order for this marriage to be successful, social mobilisation and empowerment is needed. Poor and hungry people need to have a voice in the policy formulation and implementation process and through this process claim their rights. Perhaps, what is needed most is to overcome the civil society failure in Africa.



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## **ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ASIP	Agricultural Sector Investment Programmes
ADLI	Agricultural Development Led Industrialisation
BESSIP	Basic Education Sub Sector Investment Programmes
CAS	Country Assessment Strategy
CCPR	Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
CCPR-OP	Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEDAW-OP	Optional Protocol to the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CERD	Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CFS	Committee on World Food Security
CHR	Commission on Human Rights
CIDA	Canadian International Development Authority
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRC-OP-SC	Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child
DFID	Department for International Development
ECOSOC	Economic And Social Council (U.N.)
EPRDF	Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESAF	Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
ESP	Environmental Support Programmes
FAO	Food And Agriculture Organisation (U.N.)
FFW	Food-For-Work
FIAN	Food first Information and Action Network
FIVMS	Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Mapping System
FAO/GIEWS	Food and Agriculture Organisation/Global Information Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno Virus /Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IFPRI	International Food Policy and Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I-PRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan
LIFDC	Low Income Food Deficit Countries
NCE	National Committee for the Environment
NEAP	National Environmental Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRDP	National Rural Development Programme
NPRP	National Poverty Reduction Plan
NPRSF	National Poverty Reduction Strategic Framework
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PARIS 21	Partnership in Statistics for development in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century
PRGF	Poverty Reduction Growth Facility

PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SOSIT	Social Sector Initiative Basic Data (Now: Basic Social Sector Data)
SPFS	Special Programme For Food Security
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
UN	United Nations
CESCR	Committee On Economic, Social And Cultural Rights (U.N.)
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commission for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WANAHR	World Alliance for Nutrition And Human Rights
WFS: FYL	World Food Summit: Five Years Later
WHO	World Health Organisation (U.N.)