

## **Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems in Africa Report of the Planning and Methodology Workshop**

**July 13-15, 2009  
University of Sussex, Brighton UK**

### **Introduction**

The Future Agricultures Consortium (FAC - [www.future-agricultures.org](http://www.future-agricultures.org)) is a network of research organisations in the UK and Africa committed to promoting informed policy dialogue and debate on the future of agriculture in Africa. It is funded by the UK's Department for International Development, and has a secretariat currently located at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

The Science, Technology and Innovation theme of FAC is developing a new strand of work on the 'Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems in Africa'. A Planning and Methodology Workshop was held at the University of Sussex on 13-15 July 2009 to help develop an analytical framework and research design for this work to guide scoping studies in five countries – Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Zimbabwe. This report summarises the main discussions and action points from that event.

### **Focus**

As calls for a 'Uniquely African Green Revolution' gain momentum, the focus on seeds and seed systems is rising up the policy agenda. Much of the debate emphasises the technological or market dimensions, with substantial investments being made in seed improvement and the development of both public and private sector delivery systems. But there is currently much less emphasis on the wider policy dimensions – and particularly the political economy of policymaking in diverse African contexts.

Experience tells us that it is these factors that often make or break even the best designed and most well intentioned intervention. And since investment in seed improvement and supply was last emphasised as a major development priority (in the 1970s and 80s), contexts have changed. The collapse of national public sector breeding systems has been dramatic, and this has only been selectively compensated for by the entry of the private sector. Large multinational seed and agricultural supply companies are increasingly dominating the global scene, and there are many claims made about the promises of new technologies (notably transgenics) transforming the seed sector through a technological revolution. While informal breeding and seed supply systems continue to exist, and indeed have been extensively supported through NGO and other projects, they are often under pressure, as drought, corruption and conflict take their toll and economic transformation and livelihood change continues apace.

This project will explore the political economy of cereal seed systems across five distinct country contexts. Each country has a very different history of research and development in this area; in each setting the importance of the public or the private sector differs, with different actors and interests involved; each country has a different reliance on 'modern' hybrid (or sometimes biotech) varieties and associated R&D and supply systems; and each country has a different form and extent of independent informal sector, involving networks of farmer experimenters and seed bulkers and suppliers.

The focus on *cereal*/ seed systems allows the research to concentrate on a similar set of crops across the four study countries with a key influence on food security at household and national levels. Given the political reverberations of the 'food crisis' of 2007-08, this allows for a timely analysis of the implications of the policy processes shaping the breeding, production, marketing and distribution of cereal seeds. Whether grown for local subsistence or traded commercially, the significance of cereal crops to national politics (and so arguments about food security and sovereignty), commercial interests and local livelihoods – is likely to be profound.

## **Approach**

The project will test the hypothesis that contrasting politics and different configurations of interests will make a difference to the way cereal seed systems operate and how a 'new green revolution' push in envisaged and ultimately plays out. The underlying implication is that politics matter and engagement with policy processes is important – defining and then deliberating among different framings and interests – i.e. beyond the technical/market fix.

Overall, an historical approach will be necessary to trace changes in the way policies have been framed, looking at the shifts in narratives about what the problem is and what should be done about it over time. Changes in the configuration of actors, their networks and associated interests will also help illuminate how contemporary policies have emerged. A basic mapping of the current situation will take place, involving interviews with key players (from government policymakers to public/private, national/ international researchers to commercial sector seed suppliers and traders to farmers in different parts of the country and with different resource endowments).

This approach will allow the research to elaborate (in largely qualitative terms), first, the set of 'narratives' (stories about the problems and the appropriate solutions) being deployed by different people. Second, the way such actors interact and relate will be mapped, highlighting key gaps and connections. Third, the interests of different groupings will be analysed, looking at the competing power relations involved, and asking who wins, and who loses in policy formulation and its implementation. Finally, areas of contention and debate will be identified for each country setting, highlighting areas for institutional and policy development (for example, around issues of regulation, certification, priority setting and so on).

## **Research Plan**

The aim of the Planning and Methodology Workshop was to review available material on the subject and the country cases and to plan a scoping study which will be carried out between August 2009 and March 2010. The meeting sought to define both questions and appropriate methodology for the work (given the limits of time and resources), as well as a detailed terms of reference for the country case study researchers.

Preliminary reports will be prepared by February 2010 and presented at the Future Agricultures annual meeting which will be held around the Global Conference on Agricultural Research for Development (GCARD) in Montpellier, France. At this stage plans for follow on work will be defined, based on key areas/themes identified in the scoping studies.

## **Workshop Programme and Participants**

The workshop was a very focused event involving the leaders of several of the country research teams, together with a small group of resource persons with specialist knowledge. Participants included:

- Liz Adams, Research Assistant, SPRU, University of Sussex, UK
- Dawit Alemu, Ethiopian Institute for Agricultural Research
- Kojo Amanor, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana
- Sally Brooks, IDS/STEPS Centre, UK
- Jacob van Etten, IE University in Segovia, Spain

- David Hughes, Future Agricultures Communications Officer, Kenya
- Jim McCann, African Studies Centre, Boston University, USA
- Erik Millstone, SPRU, University of Sussex/STEPS Centre, UK
- Hannington Odame, Centre for African Bio-Entrepreneurship, Kenya
- Ian Scoones, IDS/Future Agricultures Consortium, UK
- Geoff Tansey, Independent Consultant
- John Thompson, IDS/Future Agricultures Consortium, UK
- Rob Tripp, Independent Consultant, UK

The full workshop programme and a detailed summary of the main discussion points are presented in the appendix. All workshop presentations will be posted on the Future Agricultures Consortium website.

Background material for the political economy of cereal seed systems was prepared for the project by Liz Adams (including reviews and/or copies of relevant material). This material was provided on a CD-ROM at the meeting to all participants, along with the following.

Here we review some of the highlights emerging from the first two days of the workshop. The group emphasised the following points:

- Take ecology/biology seriously → think beyond political economy to political ecology
- Think 'Maize Plus' → despite its dominance as a key staple, look at maize in relation to other cereals/ other crops in agrarian processes
- History of seed systems → examine longer term dynamics of forms of 'lock-in', agrarian relations, institutional dynamics, etc. to understand the factors driving change over time and space
- Historical moment → very rapid and partial liberalisation/marketisation over the past two decades has created a constellation of interests – both public and private – that have influenced the trajectories of seed technology and innovation in Africa
- Refocus of donors/international community → seeds are seen as 'instruments of development'/ 'relief'
- Policy narratives are confronting local realities → need to understand the 'unintended consequences' and counter politics
- Comparative perspective is critical → a cross-country comparison offers scope for mapping broader trends and drawing out common lessons, but we still need to draw out key points of comparison to frame the studies

## Key Questions

Following presentations from both resource persons and country research leaders and wide-ranging discussions on Days 1 and 2, the participants generated a list of questions to guide the research. These highlighted three interconnected themes: (1) policy narratives and how these frame agricultural research and development processes related to seed systems; (2) actors and networks – to assess who is involved and how they are connected; and (3) politics and interests – to assess the underlying power dynamics driving the seed system.

With this in mind, the principal questions identified by the participants included:

- What are the framing assumptions underlying the narratives about cereal seed system research and development processes – and which ones have real purchase in policy circles?
  - How do key government officials frame the 'problem' and the 'solution'?
  - How do key donors/external actors frame them – emphasis on 'impact at scale', 'quick wins', 'off the shelf technologies/approaches', 'low hanging fruit', 'breadbaskets', etc?
  - How do other key public, private and civil society actors frame them?
- How is the GR and national food security policy discourses, in particular, influencing these cereal seed policy processes?
  - What is the role of seeds in key GR / food security agendas?

- How and why have these narratives changed over time?
  - Evolution of policy positions/statements through different periods (gov't regimes; major programmes/interventions; etc)
  - Path dependence – institutional configurations that lock in dominant policies and practices
- To what extent do these narratives actually capture the reality on the ground - practices? From descriptive to normative.
  - How are the key seed-related policies/statements implemented in practice?
- Who are the national and international actors/networks behind these narratives and what interests/political agendas do they represent?
- How do global interests and processes impinge on and refract through national food security interests and policy processes?
- What are the real political economic/political ecologic drivers shaping change in these national cereal seed systems – and what socio-technological trajectories are they opening up/closing down?

### **Data Requirements**

Discussion also turned to the data requirements for the study. It was agreed that the following information would be

- Historical context – agrarian change, evolution of seed sector
- Relative importance/proportions of key cereal crops in national and regional food systems – change over time
- Smallholders as dominant structure of agriculture or not:
  - Farming structure/distribution of farming population by farm size, key crop – historical and spatial trends
  - Roles in cereal seed systems
  - Degree of commercialisation, subsistence
- Food security, nutrition and cereals – calories consumed per capita per day
- Review of key seed policies, strategies, programmes – gov't, donor, private sector, civil society - Legal structure + regulatory
- Alignment with international policy – UPOV, etc.
- Agroecological zones/ecological factors
- Seed system parameters – actors/institutions
- Recycled materials, OPVs, hybrids in fields per crop
- R&D on cereals - donor-funded initiatives

### **Country Focus**

On Day 3, the lead country researchers (Alemu, Amanor, Odame) met with the Future Agriculture Science, Technology and Innovation Theme Convenors (Scoones and Thompson) to review the research questions and consider their application in each country context. They also mapped out actor-network diagrams highlighting the key public, private and civil society actors in the seed system, their relationships and interests.

- Ethiopia – consequences of a liberalised seed sector
  - Nature of 'managed state control' – evolution of private seed sector – emerging private seed companies and their manoeuvring through the system
  - Role of public and private players – control of seed system → breeder seed as political 'bargaining tool'
  - Official government policies/statements vs. donor policies/statements – influence on donor 'alignment'
  - How people acquire seed through formal and informal channels
  - Role of regulation in facilitating access to seed

- Ghana – construction of the ideal ‘farmer’ (user) and ideal ‘plant breeder’ (supplier) in a rapidly changing agricultural setting
  - Demise of Vision 2020 – rise of new ‘visions’ of agricultural development – AGRA, SG-2000, etc.
  - Mismatch between standardised visions of the ‘small farmer’ (seen as grain farmers rather than commodity farmers (cashews, cocoa, etc.) – seen as Kenyan farmers in narrative → demand-driven narrative (informed user of seed technologies)
  - Links between politics of different crops – rise (Nerica), maize, others – and regional food politics
  - Dominance of national public breeding institutes w/ networks of (privatised) suppliers – but decentralised extension services (at district level) – diverging visions of breeding priorities
  - Private input dealers promoting agrochemicals + seeds – some linked to foreign companies (commodity focused – cashew, cocoa, etc); some to dominant, politically connected people; some to donors/NGOs/churches
  - Implications of new seed policy (supported by AGRA)
  - Lack of capacity of Grain and Legume Board to regulate small, private seed entrepreneurs – multipliers – misrepresentation of poor quality of seed as ‘certified’ – issue of ‘trust’
  - No tradition of purchasing certified seed
  - Training of future plant breeders – university PhD programme – how does the curriculum differ from the training of the past? → framing of ideal ‘plant breeder’
- Kenya – Liberalisation of private seed industry – politics of the rise of the ‘agro-dealer’ model/narrative – opportunities and limitations
  - Spatial distribution in favour of higher potential areas?
  - Who benefits/who doesn’t?; is there an ethnic dimension?
  - Policy alignment with international regulatory frameworks and policies – biosafety, IPRs, etc. – Kenya’s positioning as the ‘big player’ in these processes
  - Regional/ethnic politics of ‘breadbaskets’ (AGRA) – reinforcing cycle of privilege → Rift Valley, Central
  - Influence of Vision 2030 - future of agricultural extension – public, private, NGO, farmer org and their interactions – role in improving farmer access to seed technologies
  - Official government policies/statements vs. donor policies/statements – influence on donor ‘alignment’ (front stage – back stage)
  - Disconnect between outward policy pronouncements and negotiations in international arenas vs. interpretation in national policy circles vs. implementation and consequences on the ground
- Malawi – input subsidy programme and the politics of seeds and fertiliser
- Zimbabwe – post-crisis reconstruction of seed system

### Timeline

- 14 September – submit outline of report focus and structure
- 1 December – submit first draft of report
- 4 January – submit second draft of report
- Jan – review of report by FAC Seeds colleagues
- 14 Feb – submit final version of report + policy brief (summary)
- Feb-Mar – paper and brief to be formatted and produced as FAC Working Paper and FAC Policy Brief
- 28 Mar – 1 Apr – attend Global Conference on Agricultural Research for Development (GCARD) and for FAC Annual Review and Planning Meeting, Montpellier, France

### Actions

- Contracts - Ollie Burch in the FAC Secretariat at IDS to set up contracts with TORs with IDS Finance – two payments (1<sup>st</sup> – 50% time + 100% country costs at start; 2<sup>nd</sup> – 50% time on completion)
- Info support – Ollie to send information on signing up for BLDS info support service
- FAC e-mail list – Ollie to send contact details of all partners to CATS to add to FAC e-mail list

- Introductory letter – Ian and John to prepare an introductory letter for interviewees → ‘To Whom It May Concern’...Hannigton to send example to Ollie, who will prepare and send a version for this project
- Future publication – Ian and John to contact Colin Poulton at SOAS regarding publishing papers in *Food Policy* and obtain guidelines for authors (other relevant journals?)
- John and Ian to contact Mark Holderness at the Global Forum on Agricultural Research to arrange participation at the GCARD conference in Montpellier

# **Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems in Africa Planning and Methodology Workshop**

**Programme – July 13-15, 2009  
University of Sussex, Brighton UK**

**Monday 13 July/Day 1 – Room G23, SPRU**

## **REVIEWING EXPERIENCES, DEFINING THE QUESTIONS**

- 8.30 Taxis will be waiting at reception of Old Ship Hotel Brighton to bring participants to the University
- 9.00 Introductions and welcome. Overview of Future Agricultures and the Science, Technology and Innovation theme (John Thompson)
- 9.15 The political economy of cereal seed systems in Africa: why we have developed this study – background and overview; key themes and questions (Ian Scoones).
- 9.45 Discussion – reflections from each of the country settings. What are the big issues? Have we got the focus right?
- 10.15 Tea/coffee
- 10.45 Key debates, issues and questions: presentations and discussion from the resource persons (15-20 mins presentation, followed by discussions, drawing out key questions/themes – c. 45 minute sessions each)
- Rob Tripp: dilemmas regarding seed production/delivery in Africa
  - Geoff Tansey: the international politics of seed, the corporate sector and the global regulatory framework – implications for Africa.
- 12.30 Lunch
- 1.30 Continued...
- Jim McCann: an historical view – key themes from past experiences
  - Jacob van Etten: local seed systems
- 3.00 Review: listing out of key questions
- 3.30 Tea break
- 4.00 Brief reflections on country experiences by theme/question (developing a matrix)
- 5.00 Close
- 7.30 Dinner in Brighton

**Tuesday 14 July/Day 2 – Room G23, SPRU**

**DESIGNING THE STUDY**

- 8.30 Taxis will be waiting at reception of Old Ship Hotel Brighton to bring participants to the University
- 9.00 Country presentations and discussions
- Short 15-20 minute presentations on the country case and the political economy of policy surrounding (cereal) seed systems, with subsequent discussion aiming to identify key questions and to define the policy processes with which the study will engage.
- Ethiopia
  - Ghana
- 11.00 Tea break
- 11.30 Kenya
- 12.30 Lunch
- 1.30 Continue
- Malawi
  - Zimbabwe
- 3.30 Tea break
- 4.00 Summing up and defining the research plan
- 5.00 Close
- 7.30 Dinner in Brighton



**Wednesday 15 July/Day 3 – KNOTS Landing Meeting area, IDS (Study Team Only)**

**METHODOLOGY**

- 8.30       Taxis will be waiting at reception of Old Ship Hotel Brighton to bring participants to the University
- 9.00       Overview of proposed methodology – understanding policy processes: a political economy perspective (Ian Scoones)... and linking to discussions of previous days
- 10.00      Narratives – exploring examples from each country; developing a listing.
- 11.00      Tea break
- 11.30      Actor networks – country focused exercises, preparing an actor network map; followed by joint analysis of a) politics/interests and b) policy spaces/opportunities/constraints
- 1.00       Lunch
- 2.00       Research plans and logistics
- Timeline for project
  - Report outline (main headings)
  - Final presentations and GCARD
  - Communications activities
  - Information support/literature
  - Budgets
- 4.00       Tea
- Close

# Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems in Africa Planning and Methodology Workshop

## Summary of Proceedings – July 13-15, 2009 University of Sussex, Brighton UK

### Contents

<b>Day 1 – July 13, 2009 - Reviewing Experiences, Defining the Questions .....</b>	<b>11</b>
1. Overview of Future Agricultures & Programme - John Thompson .....	11
1.1. Discussion .....	11
2. Overview of seeds project: background, key themes & questions - Ian Scoones .....	11
3. Discussion - Reflecting on the question, are we on to something? Is the broad target area right? How should be refine it? - Everyone.....	12
4. Some Dilemmas for Cereal Seed Supply in sub-Saharan Africa – Rob Tripp .....	12
4.1. Discussion .....	13
5. The International politics of seed, the corporate sector and the global regulatory framework – Geoff Tansey.....	13
5.1. Discussion .....	13
6. A historical view – Key themes from past experiences - Jim McCann.....	14
6.1. Discussion .....	14
7. Local seed system – Jacob van Etten.....	14
7.1. Discussion .....	15
8. Overview of Day 1 .....	15
<b>Day 2 – July 14, 2008 - Research Design.....</b>	<b>15</b>
9. Opening Discussion - Everyone .....	15
10. Ethiopia – Dawit Alemu .....	16
10.1. Discussion .....	16
11. Ghana – Kojo Amanor.....	17
11.1. Discussion .....	17
12. Kenya – Hannington Odame.....	17
12.1. Discussion .....	18
13. Zimbabwe – Ian Scoones.....	18
13.1. Discussion .....	19
14. Malawi – John Thompson .....	19
14.1. Discussion .....	20
15. Basic Data – Everyone.....	20

16. Discussion of Questions – Everyone .....	21
<b>Day 3 – July 15, 2009 - Methodology.....</b>	<b>21</b>
17. Discussion of Methodology – Alemu, Amanor, Odame, Scoones, Thompson, .....	21
18. Discussion of Actor Networks in Ethiopia - Dawit Alemu .....	24
19. Discussion of Actor Networks in Ghana – Kojo Amanor .....	26
20. Discussion of Actor Networks in Kenya – Hannington Odame .....	28

## **Day 1 – July 13, 2009 - Reviewing Experiences, Defining the Questions**

---

### **1. [Overview of Future Agricultures & Programme - John Thompson](#)**

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems Workshop FAC Overview.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_Workshop_FAC_Overview.pdf)

- Future Agriculture has an important role to play in opening up the renewed debate around agricultural development in Africa and adding empirically-grounded evidence.

John Thompson introduced Future Agricultures, highlighting its importance in a time when there is a renewed emphasis on agriculture in the international development agenda, with its particular focuses on “pro-poor” growth in Africa. Recently the G8 summit has pledged \$15 billion for agriculture.

Thompson discussed the potential dangers presented in the rush to spend money, including complex policy processes being simplified or bypassed. Therefore, there is a need to open up the debates around these issues, and include empirically-grounded evidence on local events and impacts. The Future Agriculture Consortium has both the ability and aim to do so.

For more information on Future Agricultures, including its four-core research themes, resources, events & discussions, partners and future work please see <http://www.future-agricultures.org/> and John’s presentation.

#### **1.1. Discussion**

Geoff Tansey mentioned how DFID has downplayed agriculture in the past and its recent inclusion is about politics not subsistence. Jim McCann also highlighted how the idea of scale transfers knowledge into bureaucratic process, a process which can be seen in Gates’, Sachs’, and Collier’s notion of large scale providing silver bullet.

### **2. [Overview of seeds project: background, key themes & questions - Ian Scoones](#)**

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems Project Overview and Questions.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_Project_Overview_and_Questions.pdf)

- Although this is an old debate, the contexts are new and diverse. The workshop and resulting research will take a political economic perspective to highlight the nature of politics in seed systems.

Ian Scoones discussed how the ideas we are discussing is an old debate, but situated in a new context. The problem may vary in framing as from Malthusian to geographical but the solution is always focused on a technical and market fix. Once again, the new Green Revolution for Africa is focusing on technological and market fixes for improving seeds and seed systems. However, there are new factors to consider since the 1980s. Therefore, the set of assumptions which we saw literature based on in the 1970s, are no longer applicable in the current national and international contexts.

To understand the broader context, a political economy perspective is important. By highlighting the nature of politics and the way seed plays into the politics, we can initiate a debate around framing and interests, going beyond the technical and market fix. A comparison of 5 countries in Africa, analysing either by crop or institutions will allow us to assess the following hypothesis and implication:

**Hypothesis:** Contrasting politics and different configurations of interests will make a difference to the way cereal seed systems operate and how a 'new green revolution' push in envisaged and ultimately plays out....

**Implication:** Politics matter and engagement with policy processes is important – defining and then deliberating among different framings and interests – i.e. beyond the technical/market fix

### 3. Discussion - Reflecting on the question, are we on to something? Is the broad target area right? How should be refine it? - Everyone

- Focus - arrows
- Tripp mentioned the importance to find a niche, focus and theme. The Sperling diagram can include more players, and every arrow has PE dimension. In terms of a project, it is important to find a political element that cuts across arrows, or particular sets of arrows that deserve attention. Otherwise there is a danger to overlap.
- Different cereals – maize, wheat, etc and compare – implications of choices
- McCann mentioned the differences between cereal crops including varying responses to disease and climate change. Choosing specific indicators across different cereals may be a good way to compare.
- Political economy & ecology
- Cereal in relations to other crops – export and agri-business
- Amanor mentioned how cereal relates to other export crops, such as coco.
- Formal and informal systems exchange –how they interact, especially the transfer between them.
- Discussion on the danger to focus only on formal system. Important to focus on complementariness between the two. CIMMYT has not considered this, as its focus is on expansion.
- Public discourse (hybrids) – practised on ground

Scoones concluded by emphasising that there is a need for the project to define political economy, to focus, to consider who the audience is, and what type output can raise debate.

### 4. Some Dilemmas for Cereal Seed Supply in sub-Saharan Africa – Rob Tripp

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Tripp\\_IDS%20Cereal\\_Seed2.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Tripp_IDS%20Cereal_Seed2.pdf)

Audio: [www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Rob\\_Tripp.m4a](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Rob_Tripp.m4a)

- The public, private and community/farm-level seed supply systems have been constrained due to limited demand. There is a need to understand the nature of demand. Foundation seed can be used to link PPP. There is a need for recognition of farmers and their interaction with producers and regulators in regulation.

Rob Tripp discussed the three options for seed supply identifying the constraints to each: Private sector, public sector and community of farm-level. He described an example of the only successful commercially viable community level enterprise in Nepal. The project, was funded by DFID from 1992-1997, but still continues today.

Tripp described the solution as demand, and goes on to describe the nature of seed demand. Need to ask: Why do farmers want to buy this seed? Why would they NOT want to buy it?

He described similar practices of farm-saved wheat seed in both Punjab (India) and Kansas (US). Both cases have formal seed sector, but in productive agricultural systems, the reliance on formal seed sector

is not high in the case of wheat. (It is commented by Jim that the example would be very different for maize, highlighting crop-specificity.)

He discussed the role of the public sector in breeding and regulations. He emphasised how foundation seed may help the link between public and private partnerships for public breeding. However, farmers, whose name all the regulation is for, are being overlooked, especially in their interaction with producers and regulators.

#### 4.1. Discussion

- Trust – Jim McCann discussed the idea of trust, and the inability of suppliers to guarantee quality. A comparison was made to Indian farmers, who have a system for complaints and are taken more seriously. Also, how to know if the seed is the cause of bad harvest, especially in areas of rain-fed agriculture. In the US there is an arbitration panel. Tripp emphasised that until farmers are better organised to make demand, pumping into top-end of pipe has limited impact.
- Package delivery systems – discussion on the past when seed part of state delivery package combined with input. McCann mentioned Zambia, where there is a correlation between a decrease in availability of fertilizer and purchased seed. However, it was commented that this may again be crop-specific. There is always a focus on top-down approach, with emphasis on physical capacity (i.e. new trucks) rather than increasing communication.
- Self-regulation of seed traders, and labelling
- Harmonisation – Success or constraint – Odamtobo mentioned because of it, now Ugandan varieties, being sold by SME in Tanzania.
- Scale – an encouragement or danger? Example: Seed Co.? Jacob mentioned that Walis demonstrates scaling up is sometimes useful.

#### 5. The International politics of seed, the corporate sector and the global regulatory framework – Geoff Tansey

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Tansey\\_IDSseedsJul09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Tansey_IDSseedsJul09.pdf)

**Audio:** [www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Geoff\\_Tansey.m4a](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Geoff_Tansey.m4a)

- An overview of the contemporary food system, its actors, agreements and the role of IP in it.

Geoff discussed people talking about talking about making rules. His presentation highlighted the key trends in food systems and how its actors interact to shape the dimensions of politics. He highlights the major shift in power over the past 30 years. There is a fight for the control of the system in which specific tools, such as S&T and information are used for control. Laws, rules and regulations are the central battle ground, as they frame what is going on.

Tansey discussed the importance of IPR, and highlighted its difference to IMP which have different costs. He then identified key issues for UPOV, TRIPS, WIPO, CBD, ITPGRFA. He demonstrates the interconnections and complex network in which all the actors and agreements interact. He concluded with potential alternative futures.

#### 5.1. Discussion

- Van Etten questions the space for counter politics. How effective is this drive for a few to run the world? Tansey responded that these rules have had a big impact on R&D and on universities which assume that IP increases the potential for money, although it is not true have become fixated on it. As a result music, film and pharmaceuticals are reactionary, conservative, and protectionary.
- McCann commented on the point that legal systems are trying to imagine control but are based on unpredictable biological systems.

- Thompson commented on how normative frameworks play out and imposes on national policy framing resulting in a mismatch of intergovernmental framework are translated to national. Tansey answered that it does not produce radical, or institutional change, but me-too innovation.
- Millstone – the rules are unenforceable in Argentina, does the informal system dominate the formal system, and will formal system dominate informal? What rules matter for particular place, and what is underlining these rules? Trends of direction?

## 6. [A historical view – Key themes from past experiences - Jim McCann](#)

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Seeds\\_in\\_Africa\\_%20sussex.pdf#](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Seeds_in_Africa_%20sussex.pdf#)

Audio: [http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/James\\_McCann.m4a](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/James_McCann.m4a)

- A discussion through a series of images of the unintended consequences of history focusing on the importance, distinctness and non-infinite nature of local knowledge.

Jim McCann noted that history of science allows for long term historical perspectives but science usually does not. The presentation also includes going through a series of images to discuss the history of seeds. There is little historical record about seeds, selection of seeds or what we use to eat. Fairs played a part. He uses examples of SR52 maize in Zimbabwe, to show how local knowledge is not infinite. Farmers could not identify flint, the type prior to SR52. This is different to Malawi, where there is a desire to hold onto traditional. Gender discussions on selection also varies country-by country.

McCann also discussed the difference in knowledge and understanding between the government and farmer. Smallholder will win by not using those things that conform to the regulations.

Quality Protein Maize- especially important for poultry, but phenotypically the same. F2 generation does not have any of the qualities, but does not look any different. Economical philosophy with serious problem, as based on farmers buying seed annually, so narrative works for funders but not in practice.

### 6.1. Discussion

- Tripp discussed the importance of clarifying what part of the smallholder population we are focussing on.
- Jacob asked what is argument behind big/small farm. Tripp highlighted Collier's argument- only small number of net producers, most of net consumers.
- Scoones notes Zimbabwe captured research and innovation trajectory and pushed maize, in which 10-15% smallholder produce 90% of sold output. What about the remaining 85% is it flint, or maize? Mixture? Farmers unions and organisations are not geared up to respond.
- Tansey asked if this 15% a positive thing?
- Discussion on the shift in appropriated land and contracts recently intensifying. This also affected by a shift in domestic processing, when factories reduce buying domestically, either for different varieties (as seen in Ethiopia with wheat) or the increased transactions costs from dealing with many farmers, in which case its cheaper to bulk import (Rice is a good example). In this case, small-scale processors add value by adding nutrition.

## 7. [Local seed systems – Jacob van Etten](#)

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/JacobVanEtten.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/JacobVanEtten.pdf)

Audio: [www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Jacob\\_van\\_Etten.m4a](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Audio/Jacob_van_Etten.m4a)

- An overview of several case studies on local seed systems. A demonstration of local seed systems and emergency responses, and also the emerging public private partnerships (PPP).

Jacob van Etten discussed several local seed system studies. He commented on how Sperling has shown seed can be used not only to concentrate power, but also as a means to promote dialogue, as an incentive. While, DFID separates human rights and technical fixes, Sperling combines them together. He discussed the limited number of PPP, and actors involved as well as benefits and drawbacks to the public sector. He concludes with questions about the future of PPP in relation to local innovation and the seed sector, and the call for more empirical evidence to answer them.

### 7.1. Discussion

- Millstone commented on how evidence suggests the informal and formal sector undermine each other, whilst there is a normative view that they should work together. Has happened in Nicaragua with bean, informal sectors managed to push one through the varietal selection processes.
- Tripp noted that commercialisation needs to be distinguished from PPP. With PPP there are different types of relationships to be had, and that more is written about PPP than actually on the ground. CGIAR and ICRISAT (for millet and rice) have rules and models for PPP.
- Discussion about Chinese hybrid rice.
- Thompson concluded that the ideal narrative is that public sector will partner with private, but there is huge uncertainty of how this will happen.

## 8. Overview of Day 1

- Need to take ecology and biology seriously, and how ecology and economy intersect. Really root discussion in biological discussion
- Maize plus= maize may be a lens, but need to discuss in relation to other crops. Does maize drive politics; maybe barley has another role brewing? Wheat in Bread? Political relationship between these different crops in particular context
- Historical perspectives, tangible in genetic sense, but in political and social sense as well. Understand longer term history has created lock-in, and trajectories which have created the systems now. (i.e. Zim and Malawi, different agrarian histories which have shaped the systems now) this will help to identify present political economy.
- We are looking at it in a particular historical moment, partial market liberalisation, and ineffective regulatory systems with varying capacity. Liberalisation has created new relations between state and private. Dilemmas around PPP settle around this.
- Refocus on agriculture by donors and national governments, with seed as instrument for development and aid. Important connotation with seed now. Important to understand the particular moment and context. Difference 20 years ago, even 5 years ago with varying institutional relationships
- Broader narratives backed by power have come up against local politics and has resulted in unintended consequences 1. The clear & strong global narrative on property rights, emphasising harmonisation and quality control, confronts the chaotic regulatory system, and reinvention of what property means 2. The other narrative is innovation, buying each year, focusing on maize confronting the practices of replanting, mixing, and managing in different ways. Work with the narrative or the realities?
- Comparative perspective upon which this project is designed, emerging configuration informal/formal, private/public, politics of policy, whose voices count, who drives the agenda, patronage, look incredible different. Result is formula of PPP and formal looks very different.

## Day 2 – July 14, 2008 - Research Design

### 9. Opening Discussion - Everyone

Thompson – summarised points raised from Day 1 including:

- Testing contrasting politics and different configurations which make a difference, how GR push ultimately plays out.
- Implications – policy matter, engagement with policy process matter, defining among different narratives and frameworks leads to deeper understanding

Tripp asks to clarify who is our audience. Also that the hypothesis is fine, but no one will disagree with it. Of course will find considerable differences, and varying narratives. But then what, what will you do with

it? The responses included that the project is important to identify policy constraints and highlight differences in which one size does not fit all prior to granting large funds and will also be useful for those assessing bottle necks. Also, that it is important to clarify that policy matters in the bigger debate. AGRA and CAADP will be a major audience.

Van Etten noted maybe it's a suppressed topic, a conscious suppression? Or is it that the most simplistic narrative wins?

Tansey noted on how technological paradigms lock-out R&D, and whether or not Maize should be focus for food security.

Scoones – what is it about grains give particularity....Durability, food, symbolic value on political contract

Van Etten suggested making a 'reality map' with ethnography (possible to work with University of Sheffield on this).

McCann asked, Does Africa falls out of general paradigm; is it exceptional, are we making that case? In these terms, it is, institutions don't work under the IP issues laid down.

Van Etten highlights the parallels between Kansas and Africa that Tripp mentioned, and countries which resembles Africa in Asia didn't work.

## 10. Ethiopia – Dawit Alemu

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Ethiopia\\_Political\\_Economy\\_of\\_Cereal\\_Seed\\_Systems\\_Awetu\\_14\\_Jul\\_09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Ethiopia_Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_Awetu_14_Jul_09.pdf)

- The presentation focused on the formal sector, and is applicable to crops beyond the cereals. The presentation reviewed the Ethiopian seed system, its key players, regulatory framework, and trends in price and distribution. The public sector predominates in Ethiopia, with a small, nearly non-existent private sector system. Where are all the seed shops?
  - The public sector is dominant, there are no seed shops
  - Prices are fixed by central government. The system is not based on supply and demand and therefore is open to corruptions.
  - Limited focus of seed system - Whilst there are 18 major agro-ecologies, the seed system provides for 3 and limited growing periods.
  - Formal system has regional regulations which limit commercial viability, and encourage informal system.
  - GMOs are not allowed, once deputy prime minister was unsure whether to accept or reject GMO food aid, but were unable to say no as it was not required. Commercial cotton textile sector booming, shortage of domestic supply. Push for BT cotton.

### 10.1. Discussion

- Tripp comments on the thriving underground market, highlighting that seed demand is different than perceived. Like to see ESE become source of foundation seed. Supply is not legally allowed, but the capacity is potentially there from previous projects.
- Discussion on the Skewing of the statistics and demand. What types of questions are being asked? Tripp highlights specifying demands of economics from demands of X.
- Alemu discusses the unique distribution system with one network near farm.
- Tansey asks to what extent an alternative system can be suggested especially with regards to personal safety.
- Thompson asked if AGRA is operating its seed programme?
- Tansey noted Pressure from flower industry – request strong PPP law



- Alemu said Govt #1 focus – Productivity. Ensuring scale, capacity, irrigation, technology, sufficient so no need for food aid
- Policy process is unfolding, exposing some of these elements , politics of seed system with a bit of unlocking could make huge difference... scarce resources made scarce by system

## 11. [Ghana – Kojo Amanor](#)

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Ghana\\_Political\\_Economy\\_of\\_Cereal\\_Seed\\_Systems\\_Amanor\\_14\\_Jul\\_09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Ghana_Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_Amanor_14_Jul_09.pdf)

- The presentation focuses on the historical perspective of maize in Ghana. Historical story of innovation and farming system evolves, and how particular model being suggested now does not articulate.
  - Maize is being abandoned

### 11.1. Discussion

- Discussion on problem of rice importation from Thailand and China - Investors going to sell domestic rice at same price of import.
- Loss of consumer choice? No consumers prefer Thai Varieties which do not contain stones Niche market established for brown rice 'eat healthy'
- Skewed statistics which show a rapid increase in rice production in Ghana outstripping the rest of Africa
- Who are the key actors making these arguments? How are they refracted in local debates? More nuanced analysis with historical insight dismissed?
- Role of coco and cash crop and interplay between them and food crops? Lack of food in mature coco areas, food tends to be responsibility of woman farmers,
- Role of particular crop in system changes. Contemporary policy debates given this insight, need from north to complement this transitions

## 12. [Kenya – Hannington Odame](#)

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Kenya\\_Political\\_Economy\\_of\\_Cereal\\_Seed\\_Systems\\_Odame\\_14\\_Jul\\_09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Kenya_Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_Odame_14_Jul_09.pdf)

- The presentation focuses on cereal seed systems in Kenya highlighting the current political economic context, as well as its history, evolution and emphasis on non-linear transformation. It also presents a comparison of the informal and formal seed systems. A conclusion presents the current challenges of cereal seed systems.
  - The current political context encompasses a food-crises, violence, drought, political instability (3 presidents)
  - The context might lead to the consideration of alternative orphan crops.
  - Another point of entry for alternative crops would be school feed programmes
  - Long history of plant breeding in Kenya, first to become a member of UPOV, R&D
  - Claimed to be a huge number of agro-dealers, so that the distance between farmer and source of input is reduce tremendously, between n3-5 kilometres.
  - AGRA has also joined with the bank so farmers can access credit, before locked-into relationship with one agro-dealer, but now can access any of the 50 companies.
  - With so many companies in Kenya, better to shift towards self-regulation , move to comply with TRIPS agreement.
  - Unholy alliance between Kenya Seed Co, KARI and KEPHIS, 3 institutions have big say over what is going on, and reduces influence of other seed companies.
  - Figures on wheat, remain below 2 million, in the last 4 years. (2003-2007) Maize below 30 million metric tonnes, 24 attributed to Kenya Seed Co. Dominates, has brought problems and debate

- Government says supporting millet and finger millet, but seed production is very low! Wheat has remained in ha planted under 2 million hectares
- Rice has higher yields than wheat and then maize.
- Sorghum high fluctuation, due to less emphasis. Perhaps with the commercial interest, possible more focus especially in dry areas.
- Informal and formal seed systems provide diversified sources of seed, challenge how to make both systems complementary to fully utilise
- There is a need to link formal and informal!

### 12.1. Discussion

- Presentation is of a normative description and does not encompass the regional political aspects (i.e. Somalia refugees in North with collapsed maize sector, parasites to reduce Stemborer found in Ethiopia, COMESA to harmonise seed policy)
- Kenya Seed Co. has opened in Uganda,
- Odame mentioned that few farmers are actually doing seed selection, but combine traditional varieties and OPV. An attempt to move them to formal system initiates other challenges.
- Tansey highlighted that Rules are being made with the assumptions that states trade, but it needs to be acknowledged they don't, business are the ones who trade.
- Why growing maize in marginal areas? 7 out of 10 years have crop failure. Because it is food, cash, crop insurance, and also shows failure in national system to give people hope and confidence that they can buy maize on the market.
- Odame mentioned expanding the market from maize to traditional food. A good example of this is Nigeria with 4% of bread using cassava. Thompson also mentioned that Gates has just put a call out for technical advice on how to mix other local crops to improve nutritional value
- Scoones mentioned how the agro-ecological diversity fuels the way market chains and agro-dealer markets are managed. In reality, the broader narrative of "the success of agro-dealers" is actually fragile to ethnic and boarder issues.

### 13. Zimbabwe – Ian Scoones

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Zimbabwe Political Economy of Cereal Seed Systems 14 Jul 09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Zimbabwe_Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_14_Jul_09.pdf)

- The presentation gives a brief overview of the history and actors in the Zimbabwean seed system. It presents the shift in political economy from the 2008 crisis to the 2009 recovery, and key questions for its affect on the emerging seed system and the role of its actors.
  - The previous seed system was developed on back of particular agrarian history. The current agrarian structure is far different to that of 2000/1. With regards to the Sperling diagram, relative importance of each sector and components has changed dramatically, rapid shift in agrarian structure over relatively short period. What is the appropriate mix at the moment?
  - The formal system appears similar to Ethiopia and Kenya, but informal is greatly different. In practice, farmers have some interaction with formal system, politics, relief and humanitarian aid, a lot of effort is informal cross border, smuggling.
  - Private sector emerge during 1990s, but has found difficult to operate in the last few years, because of influence of regulatory system setting prices which aren't commercial
  - Now, members of seed associations have disappeared largely, except through humanitarian relief.
  - Political economy questions and theme? Uncertainty of donor positions, broader question of what is happening next? Secure delivery to large-scale, high volume low return to small scale system, will it be able to return in the recovery? How to reconfigure?

### 13.1. Discussion

- What is the power of MNCs currently in Zim? Not, very identifiable outside of the rhetoric about rebuilding commercial sector. Seed Co. is in a good position to define what is commercially viable though. Monsanto and Pioneer have left.
- There was no basis for commercial sector as cash was no longer exchange system.
- Now, seed companies are positive, but practicalities different. There still is political volatility, stolen/invaded crops. There is a need for some political/economic stability to make investment feasible.
- There was a discussion about Seed Co and Pannar, who are not reliant on relief aid to buy seed, and have a business model to sell everywhere in shops. Think Coke! With regards to rethinking how to sell seed, Tansey also mentioned the idea of “selling it with soap”. Tripp gave an example of Rajasthan where millet is sold everywhere.
- There was a discussion of the role of aid agencies – their ability to distort the market. The current work by Sperling will reveal more about the influence. Scoones mentioned how in Zimbabwe seed aid arrived late, and was eaten and food aid arrive early and was planted
- There is an idealisation of the 1990s, and sense that Zim will return to what it was then, but based on agrarian economy that is no longer there. There is a need for rethinking of current actors and breeding priorities, etc. This level of detail has not occurred.
- Odame asked since everyone has become entrepreneurs, wouldn't the agro-dealer model work?
- The current problem is seed multiplication, due to instability and insecurity, it is difficult to find stable producers to make enough quantity.
- CIMMYT has stayed the whole time, but there is not 1 maize breeder in the country.
- Debated to include in the project, no other cases that come close to this crisis, therefore it is an important inclusion. The 1980s in Zimbabwe were hailed as Green Revolution in Africa, for massive increase in smallholder production, but subsequently collapsed.
- Amanor highlighted how Zim appears similar to Ghanaian situation with regards to history of land use, but whereas politics got rid of large commercial farms in Zim, it is the economy and market which eroded it in Ghana.

### 14. Malawi – John Thompson

[www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Malawi\\_Political\\_Economy\\_of\\_Cereal\\_Seed\\_Systems\\_and Input Subsidy Programme 14 Jul 09.pdf](http://www.future-agricultures.org/Seeds/Presentations/Malawi_Political_Economy_of_Cereal_Seed_Systems_and_Input_Subsidy_Programme_14_Jul_09.pdf)

- The presentation focuses on the maize politics that drives Malawi's seed system and highlights the input subsidy programme, which has become emblematic of the new Green Revolution agenda in Africa. It draws on research by Future Agricultures partners Andrew Dorward, Ephraim Chirwa, Blessings Chinsinga and others, as well as Hannington Odame's recent review of the seed sector.
- Following food shortages from 2001-2003, and again in 2005 Malawi went ahead with input despite donor resistance. A case of domestic maize politics triumphing donor politics. The rains came on time, and 2006 harvest surpassed previous years.
- Because of success the programme went ahead again, and donors change tune.
- Malawi could export maize to Zim and also aid donor to Lesotho
- Maize politics looms large. In the last couple of elections, each candidate out due each other in how much they offer farmers. It has been the ruling party leading the voucher scheme.
- Now the program is growing in cost, especially with the rise in fertiliser cost. This is where donor comes in, but also raises question about sustainability.
- Gender and income inequalities in voucher distribution have been found.
- There is a missing link between companies and agro-dealers. A network (like Kenya) is being developed, and millennium villages.
- Questions on How to go about subsidized approach to ensure access and equality in distribution? Patronages of vouchers, how it is being used to buy influence, leakage and control
- Idea of displacement (Dorward)

- Lack of capacity of private sector to deliver
- International – spikes in prices, and its knock on events. Buying at wrong time in international market
- Keynes asks the point on how some donors – USAID, want to see exit strategy. That is a point to consider when economy is economically stable and can therefore have livelihood resilient and diverse. But in a time when it could tip back to insecurity and instability in one season, not time to ask this question!

#### **14.1. Discussion**

- McCann asked how is different to pre-SAP in Zambia? Thompson stated World Bank is different. Consider “baby went out with bath water” in SAP, and they now understand need support, but needs to be smart, which means exit strategy.
- Amanor mentioned now more privatised, indirect subsidy of agri-business, public money on private market.
- Thompson commented that the results of ISP have been that of a social protection programme. The government through maize politics has benefitted.
- Odame mentioned that Malawi could get local varieties, and therefore that increase yield statistics are exaggerated.
- Tansey mentioned that the argument should be linked to the right to food. Jacob said then who are the 500,000 remaining hungry, the right to food of the landless?
- Thompson – increase in capital flows due to increase labour demands and surplus retained in country side.
- McCann mentioned seed multiplication could be rural employment .
- Discussion on where the vouchers are redeemable? In Kenya vouchers emerged with Kenya Seed Co. stamp.
- Odame criticizes Malawi because it does not have full integration of private sector (in comparison to Kenya), but Malawi does not have structure that Kenya has.
- Scoones mentions that political analysis will be more revealing, the way the seed system feeds into electoral politics, patronage over use of voucher, seed companies capture voucher system to stream revenue, how does this effect their incentive to invest in new seed, at the moment limited competition. (This can be restricted even more by limited place to redeem)
- Tansey - Does this lock-in to production system restricts innovation and resilience, reinforcing maize and tobacco lock-in, a case where people should be diversifying?
- Tripp – social protection wasn’t included in initial extension packages
- Amanor – right to choose your own seeds, must conform to all requirements laid down by supermarket chain, goes under name of quality control .
- Jacob – black market of vouchers?
- Amanor – role of Agr Extension?

#### **15. Basic Data – Everyone**

- Historical context – agrarian change, evolution of seed sector
- Relative importance/proportions of key cereal crops in national and regional food systems – change over time
- Smallholders as dominant structure of agriculture or not:
  - Farming structure/distribution of farming population by farm size, key crop – historical and spatial trends
  - Roles in cereal seed systems
  - Degree of commercialisation, subsistence
- Food security, nutrition and cereals – calories consumed per capita per day
- Review of key seed policies, strategies, programmes – gov’t, donor, private sector, civil society - Legal structure + regulatory
- Alignment with international policy – UPOV, etc.
- Agroecological zones/ecological factors
- Seed system parameters – actors/institutions
- Recycled materials, OPVs, hybrids in fields per crop

- R&D on cereals - donor-funded initiatives

## 16. Discussion of Questions – Everyone

- Tripp – element & drivers of Political Economy, novel part is the political economy, all govt are involved in seed systems in particular ways and here are the ways, and we have looked at 123.
- Jacob – are we future orientated? Scoones – we want to show policy discourse about how to go about doing things, but actually there are other factors which influence its implementation and outcomes.
- Scoones – underlying framing assumptions in these narratives, unpack in detail. Which statements are emphasised by influential people.
- Tripp – inconsistency and vagueness, what are shared assumptions and definitions
- McCann – also important to recognise our own assumptions
- Tripp – and recognise our inconsistencies
- Scoones - Contemporary narratives resonating with past ones
- Tansey – is this about control of food system, who control seeds, mismatch of international interests and local national ones?
- Scoones – articulation on how international process impinge on local systems
- Amanor – how far do cereals fit into this global system, and how far are they constrained by national food insecurity?
- Odame – how to frame narrative?
- McCann - identifying actors. People will be drawn in for in for about themselves or their competitors.
- Scoones – tell story through lens – ie Malawi – input, Ghana – changing food import/export, Kenya – agro-dealer, Ethiopia – emergence of private sector, not to impose generic lens, what has real traction. Millstone – do narrative match realities
- Tansey – Malawi – food matters narrative – do not use academic speak for final output! Remember your audience!
- Jacob – easy for actors blame website statements on lower people (with regards to Amanor presentation with statement from CNFA)
- Brooks – public discourse, realities on the ground, effects what actually happened
- Scoones – important to cross-check
- McCann - the direction of influence from donor influence
- Jacob – Kenya has gone the other way, distortion of direction.
- McCann – people in Ethiopia would not be happy to say things are based n Kenya case
- Jacob – donors need positive cases

## Day 3 – July 15, 2009 - Methodology

### 17. Discussion of Methodology – Alemu, Amanor, Odame, Scoones, Thompson,

- How to go about capturing dominant narratives – what documents would we analyse?
  - o Alemu – pre/post market liberalisation, trend in policy initiatives (setting historical frame)
  - o For contemporary issues – consider prime minister, economic advisor. How they describe the problem and the solution. (Ie national sense about Ethiopia being an exporter of food through a package approach.)
- **Ethiopia** - Role of state and private sector actually doing, donor alignment, way breeder seed is controlled. Foundation seed? , if AGRA make intervention this is where they need to look, enabling breeders to produce, private sector reaching out. Not good enough to say we need to liberalise, understand the market, and give specific.
- **Kenya** – strong seed industry monopoly by Seed Co. and KARI. Alignment in international debate, which then is becoming localised. Tendency for Kenyan narrative to be “we are operating at international level”. Being driven by horticulture industry with power actors in the ministry. Reality is different than what is said to international community, 2 arenas – international & smallholder, disconnect between.
  - o How do you capture public narrative? Many years not sure what Kenya stood for? But then president, present to launch biosafety lab.

- Liberalised Kenya was seen the big player in East Africa. Allow extension of private seed sector. Front stage vs Back stage.
- Debates around Vision 2030, a Neoliberal modernist approach, influenced by Washington consensus. Similarity and framing. Shifting development planning, separate into milestones, 5 years planning period. In debate, remove politics from it.
- Agro-dealer lens – dismantling of state extension services, assumed to be substituted with private sector. Myth of agro-dealer as public service. Can be used to mirror more long term divisions. concentration in specific area, bread-baskets, in this case Rift Valley. Assumptions on neo-liberal Reaganite/Thatcher idea of 'trickle down', and realities. Replicating forms of privileges and underlying assumptions that this will replace state services and be nation-wide
- AGRA narrative – 'impact' , scaling up!
- Diversifying from western entrepreneurial model, to diversify to farmers unions, woman groups, or youth groups
- **Ghana** - dominated by public breeding institutions, have agr ext offices, which are decentralised to regional level. Influences the way donors interact,
  - 2 types of privatization – 1 to foreign companies, and 1 to dominant political actors.
  - How does AGRA view itself in Ghana?
  - Idea of Vision – the market, the farmer, the plant breeder, the narrative , all have long histories, but are very contextual and based in history....male , entrepreneurial classical farmer. The construction of the farmer in a dynamic setting.... mismatch between standardized uniform narrative.





## **18. Discussion of Actor Networks in Ethiopia - Dawit Alemu**

- Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) - Regulatory organ — regulation and support, provisional licensing, varietal release quality control, linked with top policy maker from PM also related advisors.
- Within ministry actors, some are more formal, also linked to two regional seed enterprises and also bureaus of agriculture.
- Rice research heavily supported by Japanese and SG2000.
- EIAR - Autonomous research institute, technological innovation, with own research centres. Some of the cereal crops are given to regional research institutions. Gates, World Bank, and other international donors, works closely with international research institutes Research system works closely with regional....
- Private seed company 1) seed producers with license of producing own seed 2) totally depend on govt provisions 3) private seed co
- Seed multiplications programme supported by NGO
- Striking point – huge state infrastructure, multiplication research enterprises , next level is farmer community based organisations
- Role of companies in relation to gaining access to basic seed and how they operate in relation to local and state production system. Donors and international organisations on the side, groups mediated through government, do not go directly to regions. No particular place for AGRA.
- Specificity of separate crops. Besides maize, most crops are out of the system, with little impact, due to no route to commercialisation. Wheat is different because of pasta and bread makers.
- Food Politics – teff is the crop? Symbolic politics of teff? But still not driven by commercialisation, self-pollinated.
- Different crops have different politics, specific use (wheat) , teff (local market and exchange), centralised (maize) all totally reliant upon local breeding. Barley (brewing)





## **19. Discussion of Actor Networks in Ghana – Kojo Amanor**

- First circuit is donors going through Ministry of Finance through state institutions, also influenced by international organisations
- Research linkage between international and national research and university, goes to farmer through research and participatory research programs under the state.
- Grain development board coming out with new varieties .First to dealers and then farmers. Linkages between different types of farmers who exchange seed. There is a focus on commercial rice and poultry farmers who would have voice, except come into conflict with international research organisations. Become marginalised, but still a powerful voice trying to reconstitute themselves.
- Irrigation authority, before liberalisation structured around parastatals. Who owns irrigation extension, privatised and internationalised.
- Local produced rice does not compete with market.
- Among farmers in terms of their organisations, GNAFF (very weak, as set up by former govt, so when elections came they have been marginalised by those now in power)
- Where are the narratives – donor cluster, commercial producers, weakly articulated from farmer groups, state (MOFA) serious member of cabinet. How to mediate competing narrative of Farmer and AGRA. A decentralised, national narrative echoing international, but at district level possibly different picture, with each region being bought.
- Rice? External investors in rice. What is the Narrative of rice importers? Question of whether commercial rice farmers still exist.
- Who is consulted in various workshops and quoted in newspapers? Does a cross ministerial Co-ordination department exist, linking public/private?



## **20. Discussion of Actor Networks in Kenya – Hannington Odame**

- KARI, historical role of research. Have few centres within, each with particular commodity, (not sure about rice, as they were managed by national irrigation board). In terms of research organisation, KARI works close with CG (IACs) centres, many of which are located in Kenya, with each one focusing on different crop. KARI works under MoA, in terms of policy and research.
- Plant varieties developed, under KEPHIS, after national performance trials. KEPHIS is linked to WTO/UPOV. Once approved, ADvCen with Kenya Seed Co (KSC) does research.
- Kenya Seed Co, partly parastatals and partly private. Once realise seed important part of economy, fighting for it. Used KDC farms for multiplication.
- Strong private seed sector (over 50, about 10 focus on cereal, especially maize). Another feature, companies right now can get breeder seed from KARI or CIMMYT, royalty-free.#
- 2 types of private seed company - those that do research (Western and KSC) & those who use other company seed
- Monsanto is linked to WEMA and AATF, played an important role in IPR and biosafety, so stand out of the system.
- Form seed trader association of Kenya (STAK), very influential especially in seed policy review. STAK taking role in harmonisation, working closely with COMESA, KARI. (Seems like it is STAK almost part of the govt, take lead in studies, given power, seed producers. Private people are driving system)
- MoA - Agr sec co-ordination unit, trying to harmonise national seed policy, national seed and produce board – strategic reserve of food, particular wheat and maize,
- KPBA, influential after UPOV, and is housed at KEPHIS.
- When seeds have been released, multiplied thru companies and KARI seed unit. Before UPOV, all seed produced at KARI were given to KSC, but since IPR KARI want to claim their seed.
- After seed produced, go to agro-dealers. Also have set of NGOs also buy seed for farmers or seed relief. CNFA funded by AGRA and USAID, in order to be involved in NAIP program must have gone through CNFA training.
- International organisations – largest AGRA and Rockefeller, involved in seed sector, distribution and supporting plant breeders. How AGRA works together with vision 2030 (in which agriculture is a strong pillar) Ministry of Science and Technology, PBS, many other donors hovering