DECLARATION

I, Barbara Kyeremaa Asamoah, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Peace Medie, and that no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for any other purposes.

............................................................                                       ....................................................
BARBARA KYEREMAA ASAMOAH                                            DR. PEACE A. MEDIE
(STUDENT)                                                                              (SUPERVISOR)

DATE: ..............................................                                        DATE: ...........................................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Mrs. Sabina Agyare-May and family. Thank you, Mama Sabina for shaping my life. You have been a great blessing in my life; I wouldn’t have made it this far without your selfless love. I really appreciate all that you have done for me. I really love you very much, and also to my mum Naana and siblings Claudia and Audrey thank you all for the love I really appreciate you all.
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<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>Accra Agenda for Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAGDS</td>
<td>Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Development Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAADP</td>
<td>Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEAO</td>
<td>Commutate Economique de l’Afrique de Ouest (CEAO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAP</td>
<td>ECOWAS Agricultural Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African states</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Economic Partnership Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FASDEP</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOODSPAN</td>
<td>Food Security and Advocacy Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDHS</td>
<td>Ghana Demographic Health Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>GoG</td>
<td>Government of Ghana</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>IFPRI</td>
<td>International Food Policy Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSR</td>
<td>Joint Sector Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Food and Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>METASIP</td>
<td>Medium Term Agricultural Sector Investment Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>MTADP</td>
<td>Medium Term Agricultural Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIAP</td>
<td>National Agriculture Investment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for African Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMTIP</td>
<td>National Medium-Term Investment Programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPMED</td>
<td>Policy Planning Monitoring &amp; Evaluation Directorate</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAIP</td>
<td>Regional Agriculture Investment Program</td>
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<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIP</td>
<td>Regional Implementation Planning</td>
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<td>RPFS</td>
<td>Regional Program for Food Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAKSS</td>
<td>Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPFS</td>
<td>Special Program for Food Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDEAO</td>
<td>Union Donaire des Etats de L’Afrique de ‘Ouest</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAEMU</td>
<td>West African Economic and Monetary Union</td>
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<td>WAPP</td>
<td>West African Productivity Program</td>
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<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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ABSTRACT

In the 21st century food security, has received more attention from the international community due to the global food crisis in 2008 and the prevalence of food insecurity across the globe, particularly in West Africa. The West African sub-region, as a result of ECOWAS’ initiatives and commitments, has thus also made efforts to address the problem through the adoption of the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP). Under the ECOWAP policy, member states must harmonize their national agricultural policies and strategies for implementation. In Ghana, the ECOWAP is implemented through a national agricultural investment plan known as the METASIP. Against this background, the study, using interviews and secondary data, assesses the level at which Ghana’s agricultural policies reflect the ECOWAP. It also investigates the nature of implementation and challenges faced as well as the implications of the ECOWAP for food security in Ghana. The study reveals that Ghana’s agricultural policies are consistent with the regional framework. Also, the implementation includes various stakeholders in the agricultural sector, particularly the private sector to facilitate active and effective participation. However, there implementation challenges, including financial and political challenges that hinder the implementation of the ECOWAP. The study recommends that the government of Ghana must endeavor to adequately fund the programs in order to achieve food security. Moreover, the government must seek to engage the private sector effectively by creating a conducive environment for them to invest in agriculture. This would limit the overreliance on donor support, which is volatile.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Study

Food insecurity according to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) is when there is inadequate world supply of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption.\(^1\) In other words, it is a situation in which there is limited access and ability to acquire adequate and nutritious foods for consumption. Food insecurity has been on the increase in the past millennium across the globe; both developed and developing countries. Food security has consequently become one of the topical issues of the 21\(^{st}\) century with discussions revolving around the quality and quantity of food as well as the sustainability of food production across the globe. At the center of these discussions are the poorest countries in Africa, where food insecurity is a reality for majority of the population. In response to the challenges of achieving food security on the continent, the African Union, operating on the platform of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), initiated the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) in July 2003 at the Maputo Summit to serve as a framework to assist in accelerating agricultural development in order to achieve food security on the continent. The summit was followed by the Fertilizer Summit in Abuja on June 2006 which also called for a green revolution in Africa.\(^2\)

West Africa has not been excluded from the challenge of food insecurity. While the region’s economies are dominated by the agricultural sector, which usually accounts for up to two-thirds of their economies, the nutritional demands of the population are hardly met.\(^3\) Over the past two decades, the region is the only area to have had a decline in per capita food

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production. From the year 1980 to 1981, food consumption dropped at a rate of 15 percent at the beginning of consumption in 1970 and at a rate of 20 percent from 1960. Food insecurity is a major problem in member countries of the regional bloc, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), with high prevalence among the rural and urban poor populations and also among internally displaced persons and refugees from post-conflict and sometimes unstable states like La Cote d’Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Despite the increase in dietary energy supply recently, about one-third of the region’s population also suffer from chronic malnutrition. According to the FAO, over 34 million people are malnourished in the region. The most affected are the poorest countries, particularly those with fragile state mechanisms or those recovering from crisis such as Togo, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Again, consumption surveys reveal that landlocked countries such as Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali have high levels of malnutrition. The FAO model places the availability of local food under the umbrella of food security. The discussion above shows that there is chronic food insecurity in the region.

Food price hikes on the international markets in the years 2007 and 2008 struck the urban populations of these states severely as a result of their extreme dependence on imports (especially rice). The global financial crises of 2008 hit the region hard with problems of food shortages and increased poverty. This also caused the average person within the region having to live on a dollar per day as a result of increase in poverty.

As a response to this prevalent inadequate food security, ECOWAS adopted the ECOWAS Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP). The adoption took place in Accra on January 19, 2005 at the 28th ECOWAS summit. The ECOWAP is to serve as a framework to boost the agricultural sector since it is a major sector in the economies of member states. In effect, the aim
is also towards securing food for the population of the region. In the early parts of 1998 several intervention strategies had been employed to address the many challenges of the region’s agricultural sector. These several interventions were also due to the diversified structure of the region especially by the linguistic and financial factions. The region for example, has the two main regional economic blocs namely the ECOWAS and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU). The two blocs often implement development policies in mutual exclusivity of each other. In effect, this has impeded coherence and effectiveness of interventions on the whole in the sub-region. With scarce resources, these organizations operate with overlapping objectives. Thus, the relevance for a more integrative strategy is captured in the ECOWAP to harmonize the various interventions in the region to incorporate the regional aim of developing the agricultural sector to ensure food security. Member states are therefore mandated to ensure that they harmonize existing agricultural policies with new ones in the implementation of the ECOWAP. In principle and as a member of the ECOWAS, Ghana as signatory must then also align its agricultural framework with that of the region to ensure effective implementation.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The Economic Community of West African States adopted the ECOWAP in 2005. The general objective of the ECOWAP is for member states in the region to contribute in a sustainable way to meet the food needs of the population, for economic and social development, to reduce poverty among the member states and thus to reduce existing inequality among territories, zones and nations. Given the precarious state of food security in the sub region, the relevance of the ECOWAP is unquestionable. It is to serve as an overall regional framework to facilitate agriculture-led developmental activities through harmonizing existing and new policies of
member states in the region to enhance food security. Despite the fact that there have been a lot of studies on food security in West Africa, not enough academic work has focused on studying the effects that the ECOWAP would have for agriculture and food security in the sub-region, and specifically Ghana.

This study focuses on assessing Ghana’s implementation of objective one of the ECOWAP which is, “to ensure food security for the rural and urban populations of West Africa and the health quality of its products, following an approach that guarantees food sovereignty for the region.” This is done by assessing measures Ghana as signatory to the ECOWAP has put in place in the implementation of specific objective one of the ECOWAP. Notwithstanding this objective of the ECOWAP, its realization among member states in West Africa is becoming a daunting task. This is because there is weak cooperation among the major stakeholders of the policy or seeming lack of commitment on the part of various governments of member states towards the realization of food security. Also, twelve out of the fifteen members of ECOWAS are perceived as highly indebted poor countries with only three achieving middle income status; these are, Ghana, Nigeria and La Cote d’ Ivoire. This makes it difficult to mobilize financial resources towards the above objective. What is also important is that for a successful implementation of the ECOWAP, Ghana must create the appropriate synergy between its Agricultural policy and the sub-regional policy. However, not much study has been conducted into determining how Ghana’s agricultural policies align with the sub-regional policy, ECOWAP. In light of the challenges that confront Ghana’s implementation of the ECOWAP as well as the limited study into Ghana’s implementation of the policy, especially the synergy that exists between Ghana’s agricultural policy and the sub-regional policy, it is unclear whether Ghana’s implementation of the ECOWAP has contributed to addressing food security in the country. This
study seeks to assess Ghana’s implementation of the ECOWAP and to determine whether the policy has improved food security in Ghana.

1.3 Research Questions

- To what extent does Ghana’s national agricultural policies reflect the ECOWAP?
- What are the challenges to implementing the ECOWAP in Ghana?
- What have been the implications of the implementation of ECOWAP in Ghana in ensuring food security to achieve objective one of the ECOWAP?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study seek:

- To ascertain the extent to which Ghana’s national agricultural policies reflect the ECOWAP.
- To ascertain the challenges of implementing the ECOWAP in Ghana.
- To assess the implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana and its implication to ensure food security with regards to specific objective one.

1.5 Hypothesis

The adoption of the ECOWAP has not yet made a significant improvement in food security in Ghana.
1.6 Scope of Study

The ECOWAS Agricultural Policy defines seven specific objectives. This study focuses on objective one of the ECOWAP which seeks to ensure food security. Again the policy mandates member states to design a national agricultural investment policy (NAIP) as the means for implementation. Ghana designed it’s NAIP in the year 2011. Thus the study seeks to assess the implementation of the policy after three years. This would help ascertain how it has influenced Ghana’s response to food security issues. Moreover, the scope of the beneficiaries of the policy is also small-scale crop farmers who specialize in cassava and rice production. Farmers producing these two main crops from the Ningo Prampram and Adentan Municipality in the Greater Accra region are the focus. An analysis is made of how policy makers are formulating policies, and how policy implementers are implementing these policies in order to develop the agricultural sector to ensure food security in Ghana.

1.7 Rationale of the Study

Food security is critical to the survival of states in the sub region. Consequently, recent programs have sought to tap into the prospects of cross country collaboration and regional integration to address challenges of food security. This notwithstanding, there has not been enough discussion in the literature on food security in West Africa as it pertains to the ECOWAP, particularly its implementation in Ghana. The study, therefore seeks to first of all advocate for the mainstreaming of food security discussions in the sub region by using Ghana as a case study. Again, the state of implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana has not been clear since its adoption. It is, thus, of essence to lay out what policy-makers and implementers are doing to
ensure the implementation of the policy to achieve its food security goals. It is also expected that other member states would learn from Ghana through the findings of the study.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The global food crisis in 2008 had an adverse effect on the international system. It led to situations such as food price hikes and poverty. And to this end there was the need for collective effort to eradicate these problems to ensure food security in the international system. This explains why at the global level the issue of hunger, poverty and creating a food secure globe is included as the first target of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) on the global front. The MDG1 is a global action plan which encompasses solving food security issues through halving extreme poverty and hunger by the year 2015. This aim is what transcended into Africa’s vision and consequently led West Africa to advance this agenda among its member states as well. In effect, food insecurity has been seen as a global challenge for which global efforts are needed to address the situation. In this regard, regime theory is deemed appropriate for this study.

Regime theory explains why states come together to formulate rules and regulations to guide their behavior. According to the proponents of the theory, regimes are issue-specific institutions that seek the common good of states. A regime is best defined by Krasner as a “set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations”. It is a social institution where these actors merge their solutions to a given problem within the international system. Consequently, international regimes in their discretion, limit their constituent units to decide and implement policies to address problems that fall within their domain, making them
intersubjective. Therefore, regimes are found in various aspects of international relations such as environment, security, communication, trade among others.

There are two main schools of thought that have influenced the debates about international regimes, the liberal and realist schools. According to classical realists, which include Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and more recently Hans Morgenthau and David Kirshner, states are the main actors of the anarchic international system and to this end they seek their survival.\(^{16}\) The notion of self-help thus comes to mind as states transact among themselves in the absence of a central or higher authority. Also, states strive to seek more achievements than each other (relative gains).\(^{17}\) Thus, realists emphasize the need to coordinate among each other on addressing significant issues through regimes. Realists also argue that states use their power to influence issues of coordination and the nature of regimes and how benefits from the formation of the regime are derived.\(^{18}\) That is how individual states can assume control of regimes.

Neo-liberals also agree that states are rational actors in the anarchic international system. It is therefore essential that states cooperate to serve their common interests for common gains. These collaborations facilitate the production of the common good to the world at large.\(^{19}\) Thus, neo-liberals, on other hand, concentrate on the way regimes overcome impediments to collaboration posed by the systemic anarchy of the global world. Both schools however, ascertain that regimes are products of rational self-interested actors.\(^{20}\) Moreover, Krasner submits that regimes are more than a set of rules; they rather require a high level of institutionalization.\(^{21}\) A regime by way of classification can either at one end arise in the absence of any formal agreement, or be a highly formalized agreement or even the emergence of an international
organization. Krasner’s definition, however, sets regimes apart from a much more encompassing perspective, in existence and approach, than an international organization.

Furthermore, according to Haas, regimes are formed to address issues that could usually be best solved by the collaboration of states. That is regimes often arise as a result of a coactive effort by states towards a problem or situation affecting these states. This is why the occurrence of the global food crisis and its adverse effects became of much interest to the international system. And in the West African sub region, for example, the prevalence of the issue among its member states has strengthened efforts to solve the food security issue at hand. Under the auspices of regional blocs, member states are to address food security by developing their respective agricultural sectors. Regimes are proven to have substantive effects on national behaviors. Furthermore, according to Haas et al, regimes function as the channel through which states learn from the international level which influences the formulation of their state policies. These policies are usually a way of complying with the proscriptions and prescriptions for action under the rules established by agreements. And in light of implementing these policies, Haas et al are of the view that, governments of states must ensure three fundamental conditions: First, governments must be ready to devote resources which they can otherwise use in solving other problems to address a particular problem in order to show a high concern for the problem at hand. Second, states must be able to cooperate in the anarchic international system in the absence of the fear of being cheated by other states, thus there must be a hospitable contractual environment. And finally, states must have the political, scientific, and administrative capacity that will enable them to understand the issues, to negotiate international policies that can address the problem at stake, and to effectively implement these policies in their states within the necessary time frame.
Regime theory is faced with criticisms by some scholars including Susan Strange. According to Strange, the assertion that regimes concentrate on finding solutions to the most pressing issues of its member states is not always the case within these states. This is because democratic governments and even authoritarian governments often respond to the most pressing issues of their electorates in order to consolidate power. Also, in light of these international issues that governments negotiate through cooperation among states may not necessarily be the needs that their citizens find pertinent among themselves.

Notwithstanding this, regime theory assists social scientists to understand rule-governed behaviors even in the anarchical international system. Which is why international decision have continued to roll out as principles by regimes for states and their respective governments to put into act these principle by implementation of policies. Moreover, the ability of states to cooperate and negotiate their problems through these strict norms and rules also helps identify the decision-making process and principles of regimes. These notions have become important in policy analysis, which can be accomplished by coordinating domestic policies as well as action with common rules derived from agreements made in such regimes and have become very pertinent in addressing world issues today.

The ECOWAS Agricultural Policy is a protocol with a set of norms, rules and principles brought forth by the Economic Community of West African States to address the food security issues of the ECOWAS institution as a whole. In principle, the ECOWAS is an economic regime that seeks mainly the economic and general welfare of member states including achieving food security in the region. This is what led to the adoption of the ECOWAP in order to visualize its guiding principles into direct rules and norms to help achieve one of its goals, food security.
Hence, the ECOWAP agreement fits into the usefulness of regimes to understand and measure the degree of expectations for which these agreements are made.\textsuperscript{27}

1.8.1 Conceptual Definition

**Food Security**

According to the United Nations World Food Conference in 1974, food security is the “availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset the fluctuations in production and prices.”\textsuperscript{28} The concept as defined by the FAO gives a useful set of goals to be achieved globally. Moreover, it serves as a spectrum through which important aspects of food security such as well-being of households are outlined for the formulation, implementation and assessment of policies and programs towards food security.

1.9 Literature Review

1.9.1 Overview of Global Food Security

There is expansive scope of literature on food insecurity. One contribution to the literature in the field is the work by Angela Mwaniki in which she ascertains that food security continues to be a major challenge not only for the developing nations, but also for the developed world. The only difference lies in the magnitude of the problem in terms of its severity and proportion of the population affected.\textsuperscript{29} She also states that in developed nations the problem is alleviated by providing targeted food security interventions, including food aid in the form of direct food relief and food stamps, or indirectly through subsidized food production. These efforts have significantly reduced food insecurity in these regions.\textsuperscript{30} However, although similar approaches
are employed in developing countries, the divergence in the results may be due to insufficient resource base, shorter duration of intervention, among other variables. She indicates there are many situations in Africa that contribute to its food insecurity; these include the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, civil wars, strife and poor governance; frequent drought and famine; and agricultural dependency on the climate and environment. According to the author, all the listed factors have contributed to the deteriorating state of food security in the region since the 1970s.

The author also maintains that several other identifiable challenges including an underdeveloped agricultural sector, barriers to market access, negative effects of globalization, diseases and infections, and handicapping policies, have undermined regional efforts to curb the food insecurity on the African continent.

The author provided a list of interventions namely, nutritional interventions; facilitating market access; capacity building; gender sensitive development; building on coping strategies; creating off-farm opportunities; and good governance which she proposes for African leaders in the implementation of the NEPAD and its strategic objective to address food security concerns in Africa.

Analyzing food security in broader a context, Niek Koning gave a brief history of the measures European countries took to protect their farmers in the latter part of the 19th century as a response to an international price decline in agricultural products. He submits that the EU and the US after facing the Great Depression, focused on the protection of their agricultural sectors. According to the author the EU in particular integrated national policies into a common agricultural policy to boost the sector. The EU and other developed countries in subsequent years of coming into agreements on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade fused their protectionist approach with supply managements to facilitate their aim of achieving agricultural
development. Although this policy has had some shortcomings such as excess export surpluses of major farm products, the policy has achieved many benefits for these countries with respect to their agricultural sector as well as other sectors of their economies.\textsuperscript{36} Germany, for instance, saw rapid growth in agricultural productivity when it employed protectionist measures. However, Great Britain suffered stagnation, and if not for her level of industrialization at the time would have fallen into serious economic relapse.\textsuperscript{37}

Initiating policies that seek to address food security is vital to the analysis of both Mwaniki and Koning. While Mwaniki recommends that African leaders take measures under the NEPAD program to address factors that perpetuate food insecurity on the continent, Koning also discusses policy measures taken by some European countries such as Germany and Britain in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century to solve food insecurity. There is obvious disjuncture between the policies Mwaniki would want to see African countries adopt and those that Koning refers to about European countries in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. There is no indication that African countries would be focusing on protectionist policies as adopted by European countries. This is the case because policies adopted so far to address food security, such as the ECOWAP, do not look protectionist in orientation.

\textbf{1.9.2 Food Security Challenges in Africa}

In his article, Mathew Okai argues that colonial agricultural objectives created a distortive structure for the agricultural sector of the African continent.\textsuperscript{38} According to him, in crop production, these colonial agricultural objectives were set towards producing crops for export, leading to conflict between the agricultural needs of local farmers and the state. The region and the continent at large gradually became an economic periphery, which fed the agricultural raw material needs of America and Europe due to the unequal economic relations that were created.\textsuperscript{39}
In a similar vein, Dambisa Moyo states that, there are several challenges to food security in Africa.\textsuperscript{40} She goes further to state that one of the special challenges to food security in Africa is poverty and food access. According to her, for instance, a majority of the African population live on less than a dollar each day as a result of poverty. As she adds that one major indicator of poverty is the over-reliance of subsistent farming in the continent with inadequate access to other off-farm or income generating activities.\textsuperscript{41} Thus in situations where there is food in excess the vulnerable and poor are unable to access the food available as result of financial constraints. An analysis to her work factorizes policy decision-making in light to targeting poverty related strategies essential to addressing food security while paying attention to solutions to Okai’s emphasis on over-dependence on agriculture and for that matter on-farm activity across the continent.

\textbf{1.9.3 Food Security Challenges in West Africa}

According to Okai, agriculture constitutes the principal link between the population and the environment. He addresses the effects that colonial agriculture has had on the environment, the people and food security in West Africa. In spite of the above, he indicates that West Africa is highly endowed with four broad physiographic units: the moist coastal forest belt, the transitional savanna zone, the semi-arid Sudano-Sahelian zone, and the Sahara desert in the extreme north.\textsuperscript{42} And the use of improved technology is important to take advantage of the land resources of the region in order to improve food productivity, hence ensuring food security.

On the other hand, Brown et al focus on the relationships between global environmental change, food prices, and food insecurity in West Africa, and the role that technology plays in addressing these problems. They first of all argue that, farms are small and primarily cultivated
with hand tools, planted with seeds of very low yield potential, and with the use of little or no fertilizer. Consequently, the majority of small farms is only able to harvest one-seventh (14 percent) of that which is yielded by industrialized areas. More so, most people in the region use up to 50 percent or more of their household income for food. As the global demand for food doubles by 2050, the regions that are already food-insecure today are likely to be put under further pressure. They further ascertain that, climate change and a possible doubling of the local population in West Africa would also lead to increases in food prices. Yet, access to international markets become a way for stockpiling, since food can be imported and exported in the same way that stocks rise and plummet. However, due to costly export procedures and overall low volumes, there is little potential for export selling food on the world market for rural farmers. This is because these poor rural farmers are unwilling to invest in technology to improve their yields. Most small farmers produce little more than they consume throughout the year, and many are net buyers of the crops that they produce. For instance, farmers in Burkina Faso sell 10-20 percent of their cereals after harvest and utilize the rest among their households or trade them for needed household goods or services whereas they purchase when they are out of stock. Brown et al then propose technological advancements such as mobile phone fund transfers which can be used to transfer funds for agricultural transactions with virtually no fee. Programs that provide microloans for agricultural inputs and crop insurance programs, paid out when satellite remote sensing shows crop failure, can provide for loan coverage and funds to support the households during crop failure.

Brown et al are in favor of technological advancements to improve the life of the particularly small scale farmer in a similar vein as Okai, who also acknowledges the usefulness of technology, but warns that it should be adopted in the specific way to meet the needs and
existing practices of farmers towards ensuring food security and good environments. This is key to streamlining the use of technology in agriculture, which would in effect improve productivity and in turn ensure food security. Thus, it is an effective line of consideration in policy and decision-making.

1.9.4 Addressing Food Insecurity in West Africa

Asenso-Okyere et al identify the various dimensions of food insecurity in West Africa. They identify two main variables that largely contribute to food vulnerability in the sub-region namely, geographical and economic factors. According to them, a major part of West Africa is in the Sahelian ecological zone where agro-climatic conditions are very bad and the capacity for food production is low. Huge areas of land cannot support food crop production in some countries, while in others, rainfall is so low and erratic that crop yields are not only low but also highly unstable. On the demand side, food security is affected by household incomes and economic assets (including stocks of animals), prices, demographic factors such as number, gender and age composition of households, and socio-cultural factors like health and sanitation status, educational level, cultural norms, and food consumption habits. They ascertain that many attempts have been made to address food insecurity at the regional, national and household level taking into consideration the environmental and economic problem. At the regional level, they find that the primary regional bloc, the ECOWAS, makes efforts towards addressing issues such as free movement for trade, resolution of conflicts and the like, which all go a long way to positively affect food security in the region. At the national level, many countries embark on several policies also aimed to address the problems from diverse angles and solve them at any cost. This even includes ensuring reproductive health among individuals, particularly in the rural
areas of countries in the sub-region. And at the household level for instance, the demand for food in the urban areas not only has increased rapidly, but also caused an increased demand for certain new types of foods due to a shift in consumption patterns. Thus as a result, rice imports for instance have increased to supplement domestic production. Again, they point out that on the whole with regard to economic factors and food security, most problems are as a result of a lack of negotiating skills which push West African countries into detrimental agreements, which cripple their economies. In effect, they suggest that research can support policies needed to be food secure in West Africa. They advocate for the participation of research in agricultural policies. However, the gap in literature is that it does not study the implementation of agricultural policies in the sub-regions. This gap clearly gives a focus for this study as it seeks to study the implementation of the agricultural policy adopted by the region that is the ECOWAP.

Simon Maxwell proposes a solution to food insecurity on the globe but particularly in Africa (precisely Sub-Saharan Africa) and suggests a post-modern appeal to address the problem. He establishes that in over the past two decades there has been a paradigm shift in encapsulating food security. He identifies three main shifts in thinking about food security since the World Food Conference of 1974 in Rome: from the global and the national to the household and the individual, from a food first perspective to a livelihood perspective and from objective indicators to subjective perception. Thus, for instance, from the food first perspective to a livelihood perspective, short-term nutritional intake, is only one of the objectives people pursue in Africa. In the 1984-1985 famine in Darfur, Sudan, people chose to go hungry to preserve assets and future livelihoods. This implies that people are quite prepared to put up with considerable degrees of hunger, in order to preserve seed for planting, cultivate their own fields or avoid having to sell an animal. In this case, he argues that avoiding hunger is not a policy
priority for rural people faced with famine. Furthermore, and particularly in the context of analyzing the sequence of coping or adaptive strategies people follow in times of drought and in situations of time preference, people go hungry now in order to avoid going hungrier later. However, according to him, there is a broader aspect of livelihood at stake, in which objectives other than nutritional adequacy are pursued and preference remains important, in other words, not just a secured livelihood is important, but a secured and sustainable livelihood must be aimed at.\(^5^7\)

In light of this example, Maxwell suggests, among others, that in Africa (precisely Sub-Saharan Africa) food security planning should follow a "process" rather than a "blue-print" approach, with large-scale decentralization, a bias to action over planning, the encouragement of risk-taking and innovation, and the fostering of task cultures, not role cultures, in multi-disciplinary and multi-sectorial planning teams.\(^5^8\) Maxwell favors pragmatic policy-making and makes it more relevant to determine the value of relating food security not just to topics in development but to the study of agricultural development for that matter.

Maxwell’s arguments regarding the need for pragmatism to address the challenge of food security is important because, in many regards it was in pursuit of pragmatism towards addressing food security in the sub-region that West African leaders adopted the ECOWAP. Whether the sub-regional policy achieves the needed pragmatism to address food security in the sub-region remains one of the areas to be investigated by this study.

According to Pannhausen, since food security is a prerequisite for development, the Economic Partnership Agreement’s (EPA) negotiations must take into consideration the need to address food security in West Africa.\(^5^9\) He adds that, the need for the European Union (EU) to bring their trade practices in line with the World Trade Organization requirements are to make
the shift from a preferential market to a mutually free market for trade between themselves and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The EU saw regional integration as the best means of achieving the two main objectives of the agreement, the promotion and deepening of the regional integration process and to ensure sustainable economic development in the West African region. In this regard, changes occurred in the Common External Tariff (CET) which was adopted in 2005 and led to Nigeria’s adjustments to its schedule. In this regard also, the ECOWAP is seen as a policy which seeks integration through the harmonization of the policies of the various sectors of national economies. Further, studies contend that, in spite of this, the new tariff lines are higher than the old ones. A decline in tariff rates engenders competition between domestic products and agricultural imports which would be on the increase. This subsequently goes contrary to the very objective of the ECOWAP to reduce the region's dependency on imports.

Pannhausen’s analysis is particularly important for this study because it points to the challenges that might arise with the implementation of the ECOWAP in the presence of an agreement such as the EPA in West Africa. However, Pannhausen’s work is limited because it does not address food security in detail; it rather concentrates on trade related issues (trade liberalization). Thus the study would fill this literature gap by addressing the inputs made in addressing food insecurity in the region using the case of Ghana.

Koning also emphasizes the tendency of West African countries to accept blindly the numerous conditions of developed countries to open up their markets for agricultural goods from development countries. He submits that since protectionist approaches have yielded success, the region must diligently question the requirement of liberalization of their agricultural sector. Koning is interested in how trade protectionist measures affect food security especially in West Africa. His analysis serves as a guide for the attainment of some of the objectives of the
ECOWAP. However, it does not clearly outline the mechanisms through which the ECOWAP could achieve these goals which is what the study seeks to do by assessing the effectiveness of the mechanisms by the ECOWAP.

Oyekale Abayomi posits that, the recognition of the contributions of women to food production in the Sahel can facilitate a process for understanding and devising livelihood strategies to mitigate the impacts of climate change and more specifically to ensure food security. According to him, the involvement of women and other household members in cash crop production, fruit production and vegetable production would lead to a reduction in food shortages in the sub-region. He calls for agricultural extension support to reach more women and the provision of a favorable environment to ensure adequate access by women to production resources. In some households where men did most of the work in food processing, records identified that those months were characterized by the most food shortages (using case studies from Burkina Faso and Mali).

Furthermore, Abayomi asserts that the fragile nature of natural resources in the Sahel belt of West Africa demands adequate policy initiatives to guarantee all-year round supply of food. In his study, 24.1 percent and 43.57 percent of the households experienced erratic rainfall in Mali and Burkina Faso, respectively. Also, 16.31 percent and 36.43 percent of the households in Mali and Burkina Faso respectively reported less overall rainfall; and highest level of rainfall were recorded in Mali and Burkina Faso as 1.42 percent and 2.14 percent, respectively. Abayomi addresses the need for gender sensitization in the agricultural sector as a useful means to addressing some challenges in the sector such as climate change and to a larger extent food security. However, Abayomi does not advocate for this mechanism in a policy and decision-
making perspective to fully identify its effectiveness by a collective action of the stakeholders in the agricultural sector.

1.10 Sources of Data and Research Methodology

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used for the study. Primary data was sourced from interviews with four categories of people. The first category of respondents listed all farmers 18 in number who benefited from agricultural programs and projects implemented under the ECOWAP in Ghana were interviewed using focus group discussion. The second category of respondents was four officers from the Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluations Directorate (PPMED) of Ghana’s Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The PPMED is the principal outfit responsible for the implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana. A third category was interview with Deputy Director of Extension Services of the West African Agricultural Productivity Program (WAPP), one of the programs operating under the ECOWAP in Ghana. The fourth category of respondents includes Ghanaian private and civil society organizations who are signatories to the METASIP. Interviews were conducted with the president of Private Enterprises Foundation, Nana Osei Bonsu and the coordinator of the Food Security and Advocacy Network, Daniel Oberko. Secondary data was sourced from books, journal articles, policy documents and reports. The data collected was analyzed using the qualitative method. Unstructured interviews were conducted with the respondents as indicated above. The interviews were recorded and transcribed with the permission of the respondents. The responses from the respondents were discussed drawing on the context of the stated objectives of the study, while comparing with the available literature. On this basis, conclusions were drawn and recommendations made.
1.11 Limitations of the Study

The study has encountered challenges. First, due to time constraints, the study was limited to the Greater Accra region of Ghana. This limited the scope of programs available to be studied under this research, as many other programs could not be covered under the project because they fall outside the scope of the study area. Secondly, officers of state agencies were unwilling to grant interviews. This made it difficult to develop a complete picture of how government is implementing the program.

1.12 Arrangement of Chapters

The arrangement of the study is in four chapters. The first chapter constitutes the research design which comprises the research problem, hypotheses, the methodology of the study and the literature review. The second chapter covers food security in West Africa, the framework and mechanism of the ECOWAP as well the importance and implications of the ECOWAP and food security in other member states as well as Ghana. The third chapter looks at the implications of the ECOWAP on Ghana’s commitment to the agricultural sector and food security as well as the challenges of implementation in Ghana. And finally, the fourth chapter comprises the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
Endnotes

2 See the background of the ECOWAS Regional Food Reserve report, July 2012, 7.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p.9.
6 “Vulnerability to Food Crises” in the ECOWAS Regional Food Reserve report, July 2012, 25.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 ECOWAP at a glance
10 The ECOWAP official document, Accra, January 2005, p. 3.
11 Ibid., p. 11.
14 Ibid.
16 Richard Little, op. cit., 371.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Krasner, op.cit.
24 Ibid, p. 381.
28 FAO, IFAD, op.cit.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p.1.
32 Ibid., p.4.
33 Ibid., p.2-3.
34 Ibid., p.11.
36 Ibid., p6.
37 Ibid.
39 Ibid, p.16.
40 Moyo, D., “ The future of food: elements of integrated food security strategy for South Africa and food security

41 Ibid.
42 Okai, M., op. cit.
44 Ibid., p.1.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., p.4.
47 Ibid., p.5.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., p.9.
CHAPTER TWO

FOOD SECURITY IN WEST AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses food security in West Africa and Ghana as well as the strategies that have been employed to address food insecurity. The chapter also takes a general look at agricultural and food security policy in Ghana.

2.1 What is food security?

At the 2001 FAO Food Summit, food security was defined as a situation when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for a healthy and active life. The definition outlines four basic elements of food security, namely availability, accessibility, utilization and stability.

Food availability is the first element of food security. It refers to the overall ability of the agricultural system to meet demand for food. This can also be viewed as the ability to balance population growth with food production. It is also the level at which there can be an adequate quality and quantity of food that is physically available in a given belt. Availability of food can however be impeded by several factors. These factors may be social, economic, and health, among others, and may for instance affect a household’s ability to produce enough food. Household food insecurity in turn can have an adverse effect on agriculture since it remains the major source of income for most developing countries. An affected agricultural sector can also impede on efforts to alleviate food security. In most developing countries, agriculture provides over 75 percent employment and two to four times more income to the poor population than any other sector of their economies.
The second element of food security is access to food. Access to food is the ability of individuals to acquire adequate resources in order to procure appropriate foods for nutritious diets. This is because even when there is food, people may not have the means of procuring these foods. Thus, food access can also be achieved when communities, individuals and households have the resources to produce foods at home, purchase from markets or stocks, borrow, barter trade or even have access to food gifts and aids. It includes physical access to food in adequate supply as well as an efficient distribution system, including storage, preservation, transportation, marketing and processing. It also entails economic access to food, which refers to the ability of individuals, households or communities to establish entitlements over a requisite amount of food. Economic access also refers to the purchasing power of consumers. That is the ability or the means to purchase food at either high or low food prices. A change in either variable has a significant impact on food access. Access is quite challenging and culturally relative as a remote or an isolated society may not have access to markets due to lack of infrastructure. Moreover, having access to food must be culturally acceptable. That is, there must not be just any supply to food needs within a given belt. It must be able to satisfy the culturally constructed preferences made by the various societies and cultures. Food access is also defined in relation to the ability of one to purchase and produce food seen as entitlements. Thus, in the case of a farmer for example, these entitlements are the means of food production, labor and land. A diminishing land or labor entitlement consequently affects prices of food and in turn, household or individual food security. On the other hand, for the non-farmer, entitlements are seen in a ratio of incomes and prices. Therefore, how much food costs and the amount of money they have to enable them buy the food available is core to the assessment of
accessibility to food. An increase in prices and a decrease in income can also affect household or individual food security.

The third element of food security is utilization. This entails the food safety and the quality of food in order to provide good nutrition. Food utilization also refers to as how the body makes use of the various food nutrients received.\textsuperscript{10} For food utilization to occur, the individual needs to be in good health. For example, people with chronic conditions such as HIV or those malnourished, especially children, lack the ability to utilize food.

Food stability is the last element of food security. The relationship between individuals who are at high risk of temporarily or permanently losing their access to resources needed to acquire adequate food, either because these individuals are unable to ensure beforehand income shocks or they lack enough reserves to ensure smooth consumption in the aftermath of such occurrences.\textsuperscript{11} An individual may have adequate food consumption in a day, but would be food insecure if he or she has inadequate access to food periodically which in turn distorts an individual’s nutritional status. To ensure food stability all the other three elements outlined above are prerequisite.

Food security has several dimensions which present different challenges when viewed at the regional, national or household perspective. The official definition given by the FOA has been widely accepted. It draws attention to the larger underpinning food insecurity in developing countries.\textsuperscript{12} This is because it projects the wider social, economic and political factors that increase the risk of food insecurity, it also emphasizes the relationship between poverty and malnutrition.\textsuperscript{13} For instance, agriculture continues to be the mainstay economic activity of many developing countries, yet small scale farmers have less or no influence on agriculture or food-related policies. They also lack adequate resources for agriculture, such as land, fresh water,
fisheries and forest lands. Food security, however, as defined by FAO, could also provide a useful means for monitoring an important aspect of the well-being of households and for the design, implementation, and evaluation of policies, programs and projects.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection*{2.2 The Precarious Food Situation in West Africa}

In spite of the increase in agricultural productivity in West Africa, food insecurity remains a major problem in the region. According to an FAO survey, over 34 million people are undernourished in the region.\textsuperscript{15} The main factor causing food insecurity in the sub-region is the very high levels of poverty.\textsuperscript{16} Thus, despite increased food availability in the region, access to sufficient quantities of varied foodstuffs remains difficult for many poor households. Furthermore, there have been several incidents of food crises such as the food and nutritional crisis in Niger between the years 2004 and 2005, the global food price crisis from 2007 to 2008 that mainly affected the region’s urban populations, the pastoral crisis from 2009 to 2010, and the food crisis affecting the entire Sahel belt from 2011 to 2012.\textsuperscript{17} These series of events draws attention to three major experiences of the West African region. First, the deterioration in the living conditions of a growing proportion of households, within the context of significant demographic growth and increased pressure on already sparse resources. Second, there is low resilience for these households and they tend to struggle in recovering their livelihoods at the end of a crisis. Finally, there is the problem of the complexity of the crises and the overlap between the structural and cyclical factors. In the worst cases, these cause malnutrition at higher levels among infants.\textsuperscript{18} The most affected in these scenarios also are the urban and rural poor. The nutritional status available to the ECOWAS indicates that approximately one-third of the region’s population suffers seasonal or chronic malnutrition.\textsuperscript{19}
Food insecurity in pastoral and agro pastoral states such as Chad, Niger, Mauritania and Senegal are worsening. Access to some staple foods by vulnerable households has reduced. For instance, millet prices are on the increase while livestock prices have been falling. This is evident in some parts of Niger, where cereal prices doubled as compared to the previous years from 2003 to the year 2005. As a result chronic malnutrition is on the increase in Niger and Mauritania. In agro-ecological areas of West Africa, harsh conditions constitute a major cause of food insecurity. Over fifteen years, the semi-arid Sahel parts of West Africa have been struck with locust invasions amidst severe droughts. About 9,366,804 of the region’s population were affected by June 2005 due to the locust invasion. This is an equivalent of 1,461,632 households by the year 2005. Niger faces a 7 percent loss at national level in cereal production as a result of locust attacks as well. Moreover, about 60 percent of households in Mauritania are highly vulnerable to food insecurity. These account for 26 percent of the region’s most affected areas including countries such as Mauritania, Niger, Chad and Senegal.

Furthermore, food production has always been low within the sub-region compared with averages across other regions. In the colonial era, the Europeans were largely interested in cash crops in the region. This led to the implementation of various damaging agricultural policies which procured raw materials for trade rather than facilitate the production of food for the population of the region. Again, rural-urban drift is another factor contributing to the prevailing food crisis in the region. The growing urban population and the power and political significance of these areas to governments in the region have largely influenced the adoption of policies that are to help solve these food security problems. Domestic food prices are kept low for the urban population at the expense and disadvantage of local producers as well as the rural population as a result of increased prices in the rural areas. Governments have also failed to improve internal
distribution and marketing within its territory. This has in turn stirred very sensitive political in terms of food prices and its availability. For example there was a “rice riot” in Liberia in 1979 over the increase in price and import controls by the then government of Liberia. Several protestors took to the streets causing destruction of properties and violence and by 1980, Liberia was again faced with a military coup.

In light of the persistent food insecurity in the sub region, the ECOWAS and its member states developed with policies to curb the widespread food insecurity in the region. In this regard, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria undertook large-scale production due to the unsustainable nature of food importation in the region, a situation that could be attributed in part to the increasing decline of incomes. Decisions by member states to undertake large scale food production schemes are primarily due to low farmer remuneration, poor marketing, and poor storage and distribution systems. Decision-makers however tend to attribute these decreases in food supply to the inefficiency in peasant production.

2.3 The Food Situation in Ghana

In Ghana, food insecurity has not been fully addressed as average yields of food have stagnated over the years. Commercial food imports and food aid only constitute about 4.7 percent of food needs over the past 15 years. The intensity of rainfall gradients fluctuate food production annually during and between growing seasons as a result of the increasing climatic variability. Thus these climatic changes destroy both crops and livestock. Consequently, food insecurity is worsened at the household level, which is either transitory in poorer communities or chronic in distressed areas. In highly dense areas, such as the Upper East Region, the situation is cyclical and severe for three to five months every year. Similarly, there are regional disparities in food
insecurity due to seasonal food deficits especially in the three northern regions. The rural and urban poor communities produce some of the food they consume. And for most of the households in these communities, hunger is largely associated with poor harvests as a result of environmental degradation, poor weather, natural disasters, or even conflict. Furthermore, families supplement their food needs by purchasing significant amounts of these foods.

Moreover, a crosscutting aspect on the cause of food insecurity such as gender shows a significant link between poverty and inadequate gender sensitization to help address food insecurity. In most parts Ghana especially in the northern and southern parts, there are gender imbalances between men and women in terms of income-earning opportunities, access to arable lands and other farming inputs for production. For example, women lack adequate economic opportunities and resources to procure entitlements such as lands for cultivation. Again, most women hardly gain access to credit facilities and loans, although women have been ascertained to play leading roles in ensuring food security, particularly in Ghana. In that, in Ghana most women are the heads of households; and when these women have challenges with access to some inputs, it can affect food security and hunger related problems.

Also, malnutrition is more prevalent among children, adolescents and pregnant women as a result of poor diets and insufficient levels of food intake. A 2003 Ghana Demographic Health Survey (GDHS) shows that malnutrition contributes 40 percent to mortality among children less than 5 years. And 29 percent of these children under the ages of 5 are chronically malnourished; which results in an increase of 3 percent after the 1998 survey. Again 22 percent of such children are underweight with 5 percent of these malnourished children also usually severely underweight.
Furthermore, the annual quantity of food available in Ghana is highly dependent on a rain-fed agricultural sector. The of harsh weather conditions causes droughts leading to crop failures mostly as a result of bushfires which significantly affect small-scale farming. Persistent climate changes and naturally caused hazards have over the past 20 years made Ghana vulnerable to some natural and man-made disasters such as floods and droughts which have in turn worsened food insecurity and also disrupted several livelihoods. Again, food insecurity is higher in areas with dense population and even worse among women and children in situations where they require specific dietary needs as compared to the men in these households.

Again, the livelihoods of the urban and rural poor are largely dependent on agriculture. However, these groups are also challenged with problems of access to land and lack of irrigation facilities as well as access to extension services, particularly on the safe use of agrochemicals. Inadequate extension services affect the dissemination and the use of good agricultural practices and technology or farm mechanisms for cultivation. Most farm produce in these zones, for instance, are vegetables, and essentially the absence of quality extension services also pose threats to food safety for consumers. This is because these farmers then tend to practice farming activities which do not ensure good quality and varieties of produce.

2.4 Challenges Facing Food Security in West Africa

The West African region is bedeviled with a number of problems that impede the alleviation of food insecurity in the region. These factors are lack of commitment to adopt policies, lack of technological advancement in the agricultural sector, political conflicts, disease outbreaks, lack of adequate infrastructure and environmental degradation.
2.4.1 Inadequate commitment to enabling protocols and policies

In light of food insecurity in the region, several policies and protocols have emerged to help solve this issue. These policies are important because agricultural mechanisms are usually towards the production of cash crops which are more commercially beneficial than the production of crops which enhance the achievement of the objectives of food security.\textsuperscript{39} In spite of the fact that these protocols and policies have been signed and ratified to advance food security, governments of West African countries rather tend to concentrate and allocate more resources to other sectors than the agricultural sector. Again, some governments are not willing to facilitate the enabling environment such as reducing duties on goods at their borders, as well as regularizing the activities of their border officials.\textsuperscript{40} Although this is also sometimes due to the fact that these nations are too poor to implement some of these policies it has also been noted that some member states’ behaviors are still influenced by the imbalanced structure of the international community at the expense of the region.\textsuperscript{41}

2.4.2 Lack of technological use in agriculture

The growth rate of agriculture in West Africa’s is very stagnant as a result of the growing population rate. Also agriculture in the region is largely dependent on peasant farmers who continue to use old systems of agriculture as well as rudimentary equipment for production.\textsuperscript{42} The use of technology enhances productivity, yet most farmers lack the expertise to use technological tools and methods in farming. Also, technology is by far very expensive for these peasant farmers, thus only large scale production schemes usually by transnational companies tend to benefit from it.\textsuperscript{43} Such companies are less interested in producing foods for the poor population since their main interest is profit making. In instances where such companies are
owned by governments, there is an overdependence on the technologies from developed countries which are also very expensive and difficult to manage as well as maintain.\(^{44}\) Furthermore, several countries are not able to afford the cost of maintaining the sophisticated equipment provided by the developed countries, causing more debts and financial losses to these countries. And in West Africa, scientists have not been able to generate the appropriate farming technologies suitable for the region’s ecology and geography.\(^{45}\) This also ascertains Okai’s findings that the region continues to adopt agricultural technologies which were used in the colonial era and are harmful to the environment and ecology of the region.\(^{46}\)

2.4.3 Political Conflicts

Political conflicts are another major factor that impedes food security in the sub-region. It is ascertained by several scholars and their respective findings that the region is one of the most volatile regions in the world.\(^{47}\) The wars in Liberia, Guinea Bissau, La Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone have all caused serious food crises in these states and the region. These countries are gradually recovering from these conflicts, but the levels of food insecurity remain very high.\(^{48}\) These conflicts are embedded with other such as hunger and malnutrition, which affect the region. Teodosijevic ascertains in a sampling of 38 countries which have experienced conflicts between the years 1961 and 2000 that the level of agriculture and food production per capita are on the average 10 percent lower during conflicts and 5 percent lower after conflicts or five years before the conflict.\(^{49}\) The incidence of hunger is usually high in states with prolonged conflicts as was the case in Liberia and Sierra Leone. And in the same period of 1990 to 2000 of his study, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mauritania saw to about 50 percent reduction in cases of undernourishment since these countries were less involved in conflicts.\(^{50}\)
2.4.4 Environmental and Climatic variability

Environmental degradation has also been a major problem in the sub-region over the past two decades. There have been several incidents of drought, severe desertification and locust attack mainly in countries such as Mali and Mauritania as a result of lack of rainfall. More so, the Sahara desert over the past decade is sweeping further South into other areas that have a lot of farmlands. In effect these lands are also being turned into deserts, forcing farmers to migrate and utilize the already scarce lands available. This puts pressure on the little lands left within the region, which in turn also causes further land degradation as the lands are overused leading to a decline in food productivity. Also, severe rainfalls have washed off several layers of soils on farmland causing soil erosion and leaving such lands as gullies as has been the case in Nigeria. In Ghana, Sierra Leone and Liberia illicit mining activities have also contributed to large soil erosion cases. Oil spillages on both land and water have also been major issues to both farmers and fishermen of the Niger Delta in Nigeria.

2.4.5 Pandemic Outbreaks

Healths are also in a deplorable state in West Africa. The sub-region is burdened with various chronic diseases as well as epidemics. These diseases affect several determinants of food security in the region. HIV/AIDS is one of the region’s most prevalent causes of food insecurity or vulnerability. At the individual level, there are the psychological and physical impacts on the infected person that affect the household, community, institutional and societal levels. This is because people suffering from HIV/AIDS are unable to utilize the various nutrients available within a food. Further impacts on food security include loss of labor. Furthermore, medical and
funeral expenses distort and delay agricultural activities which in turn deplete household reserves.\textsuperscript{55}

A report presented to the European Union to facilitate intervention measures on the Ebola epidemic in 2014 also shows that the 2014 Ebola outbreak in the sub-region affected household incomes and markets, which has in turn resulted in an increase in food insecurity in the affected areas due to a lack of food access.\textsuperscript{56} For example, there have been disruptions in economic activities due to restrictions on movement of people in affected areas to avoid the spread of the virus. These disruptions have affected Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia in spite of the variations in the magnitude of the Ebola epidemic among these affected countries. Food stocks would be completely exhausted and this would also cause severe food shortages in areas highly affected by the virus.\textsuperscript{57} Farmers have also abandoned their farms for fear of contracting the disease. Hunters have been prohibited from hunting bush meats since such animals could be the main carriers of the virus. Again, governments have prohibited consumers from eating bush-meats reared or hunted by animal farmers since it is suspected to be a host of the virus. This limits food stocks, and more so the work of these farmers.\textsuperscript{58}

\section*{2.5 West Africa’s efforts towards Food Security}

The first step made by the sub region was to facilitate integration among its member states to make collective efforts to achieve common goals. After the independence of most states within the region, states came together to first of all foster economic cooperation among them. Several organizations sprung up among the Francophone, Lusophone and Anglophone sections of the region such as the Union Donaiere des Etats de L’Afrique de ’Ouest (UDEAO) which later became the Commutate Economique de L’Afrique de Ouest (CEAO). But the most successful
union is the ECOWAS, which was incepted in 18th July 1975. The bloc sets out as its aim to promote cooperation and development in all relevant sectors of the regional community, such as, industry, energy, transport and telecommunications, natural sciences, commerce, monetary and financial issues, social and cultural as well as the agricultural. This is in order to help improve the living standards of the region’s population, create sustainable economic growth among member states to also enable close associations and in turn contribute to the development of the African continent.

And to this effect address food security is also one of the goals of the region’s agenda. ECOWAS and FAO first designed the Regional Program for Food Security (RPFS) to create a common agricultural sector as well as trade policy to improve food quality and safety with standard and technical procedures. Funding for the policy implementation was supported by FAO to facilitate implementation by ECOWAS. This program was followed by the Special Program for Food Security (SPFS) also another initiative from the FAO. This initiative was supported by host governments and donor agencies. The program is consistent with the RPFS to increase food productivity on a sustainable economic and environmental basis to enhance food access for the vulnerable populations in the region. The approach was to increase productivity of small scale farmers to enhance household food security and consequently national food security. Burkina Faso was the first to sign on to the program in 1995. Other states, including Ghana subsequently followed suit until the year 2000 covering all member states except Sierra Leone.

FAO made several donor contributions to these programs at a number of sites in member countries based on their locally defined priorities. The RPFS was implemented in areas with either diversification or major constraints within the agricultural sector. For example Ghana was 1479 USD which covered about 5 sites. Burkina Faso also received 15491 USD with the
Furthermore, the South-South Cooperation (SSC) started in 1996 and is now fully operational in 10 states in the sub region. The aim of the program is to convey and facilitate low-cost technologies among member states. This initiative also involved experts and technicians from developing countries to help implement the SPFS. The program has therefore involved, for example, 23,000 farmers from Nigeria, 6,800 from Burkina Faso and 9000 from Mali. A total of 142 farming communities and 178 rice farmers have also been trained in Niger while in Senegal, 37 farmers, 100 technicians and 870 facilitators have been produced from the program.  

In 2003, the AU a summit was organized in Maputo where the CAADP was adopted to serve as the framework to help stimulate agricultural development and advance food secure continent. This commitment was reinforced in Abuja in December 2006 at the Abuja Food Security Summit, where decisions were made in policy statements. These decisions were made towards alleviating hunger by the year 2030. It was also to reaffirm the Maputo declaration to increase the pool of resources into agriculture in the sub region by the various governments. This involves promoting and protecting the production of rice, maize, cotton, oil palm, legumes, beef, dairy, poultry and fisheries as strategic commodities in the region. Furthermore the RECs are to adopt a conducive trade arrangement by lowering tariff barriers or eliminate non-tariff barriers. Again, member states must then construct good infrastructures to facilitate movements across borders at lower costs. The leaders are to also create conducive public sector investment through public-private partnerships in areas such as water, electricity, irrigation and roads. Finally, African-based development banks and financial institutions were implored to create adequate access to credit facilities such as small and soft loans as well as grants.
2.5.1 Ghana’s efforts towards Food Security

The agricultural sector is the most dominant sector in the economy of Ghana. The sector employs about 60 percent of the population and earns one-third of the country’s foreign exchange. Agriculture has also been tasked to help alleviate food insecurity and insufficiency in the country. In effect, several policies and strategies have been formulated over the years. The Economic Recovery Program in 1983 was the first strategy to be adopted towards agriculture to ensure price controls, input and credit subsidies, credit allocations, and heavy state involvement in production, distribution, and marketing.

Subsequently, in 1998, the Medium Term Agricultural Development Program (MTADP) was also formulated to establish and enhance market-led growth in agriculture. This was also to ensure an enabling environment and increased investments in public goods and services, including feeder roads, marketing infrastructure, irrigation, research, and extension. Simultaneously, Ghana envisaged in its Vision 2020 to move to a middle-income economy as the agricultural growth was projected at 4 percent. Furthermore, the Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Development Strategy (AAGDS) was developed in 2000 as a framework for policies and programs in agriculture to support Vision 2020.

Again in the year 2002, Ghana initiated the Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy, FASDEP to help modernize agriculture. The objective of the GoG was to align FASDEP goals with the AAGDS as well as the MTADP. FASDEP was to guide interventions in the agriculture sector by building on the key elements of AAGDS with a focus on strengthening the private sector as the engine of growth. However, a poverty and social impact survey showed that the FASDEP did not sufficiently address the poor. And Ghana in 2003 had then signed to the continental agriculture and food security policy known as CAADP to serve as a framework for
countries to adopt in the development and implementation of their own strategies to develop the agricultural sector as well as respond to food insecurity in the continent. This was in response to the Maputo Declaration in the same year, which was also a response to the food challenges of Africa. The document stated that Africa was spending about 19 billion USD per annum on agriculture imports, thereby estimating a sum of 251 billion USD to this end within the period of 2002-2015. About 17.9 billion USD was to be allocated for this strategy. The aim was to develop the sector and in effect help address food security in the continent.

The FAO was then assigned by the AU/NEPAD committee to help regional economic communities and the various governments of countries to develop plans for the implementation of the CAADP. The CAADP also obliged that countries, including Ghana were to create the national medium-term investment programs (NMTIPs) to ascertain current agricultural constraints and opportunities and set out priorities for investment and the bankable investment project profiles (BIPPs) to regulate specific agricultural development projects that could be offered for financing by donors although the signatories including Ghana did not implement them.

In 2005, Ghana under the auspices of the ECOWAS adopted the ECOWAP to coordinate and monitor the implementation of CAADP which had been placed under the monitoring committee of NEPAD and its sectorial programs in West Africa after several meetings for regional implementation planning (RIP). It was to serve as a framework at the regional level to provide guidelines to the principles also encompassed in the CAADP.

Two years later, in 2007, as a result of the limitations of FASDEP, Ghana adopted the FASDEP II. The new policy was to encompass all kinds of farmers and create a conducive environment for them. It proposes long term policy objectives for government to develop the
agriculture sector and also aims at ensuring that stakeholders are best positioned to take advantage of the emerging opportunities within the sector to facilitate investments. The first objective of FASDEP was also to ensure food security and emergency preparedness. The FASDEP II was also in line with the objectives of the ECOWAP as well as the goals of the Vision 2020 in Ghana.

Consequently, the Medium Term Agriculture Sector Investment Plan (METASIP) was then developed in the year 2011. It was also a policy designed to implement the objectives of the FASDEP II. The METASIP was an investment plan to ensure investment in agriculture by procuring the 10 percent budget allocation to the sector as advocated in the Maputo Declaration. The approach of the METASIP was also to identify key stakeholders of the sector and the policy. More so, to ensure its implementation, a national team, a policy dialogue forum, and a Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System (SAKSS) were created to facilitate stakeholder participation as well as coordination. Again, significantly FASDEP through METASIP is now also mandated to ensure that the country is a food secured nation by 2015.

2.6 An Overview of the ECOWAP

The adoption of the ECOWAP in 2005 followed the initiative of the CAADP which was the continental agricultural framework to help address food security and agricultural development. This was also to allow various regions to take charge of their food insecurity by providing guidelines to their member states. The general objective of the ECOWAP is “to contribute in a sustainable manner to satisfying the food needs of the population, to economic and social development and to poverty reduction in Member States as well as to address inequalities between territories, areas, and countries.” The ECOWAP acknowledges the major constraints
of agriculture in the region and in effect the policy outline seven additional specific objectives.

These are summarized as to:

i. Enhance food security for people in the region;

ii. Reduce food dependence and achieving food sovereignty;

iii. Involve producers in the markets;

iv. Create jobs with guaranteed incomes in order to improve living conditions and services in rural areas;

v. Intensify production systems in a sustainable manner;

vi. Reduce the vulnerability of West African economies by limiting factors of instability and regional insecurity; and

vii. Adopt appropriate funding mechanisms.

These objectives outline the much needed approach to agricultural development in the sub-region. It is to achieve sustainable food security among member states, to provide remuneration for persons in the agricultural sector as well as expand trade in a sustainable way within the sub-region and the world at large. Again, the policy operates under three themes as “increasing the productivity and competitiveness of West African agriculture, implementing a trade regime within West Africa, and adapting the trade regime vis-à-vis countries outside the region.” The second and third themes are to enhance avenues to the regional and global markets to be able to effectively adapt to the increasing production as a result of modernization within the sector by the production systems of the region (basically trade oriented). The first theme, however, is to ensure food security in the region, which is taken from the angle of increasing the incomes of producers and recognizing their status as well as reducing poverty. This is also in line with objective one of the ECOWAP which seeks to “ensure food security for the rural and urban
population of West Africa and the health quality of its products, following an approach that guarantees food sovereignty for the region”.

As a regional bloc and taking into account some restrictions in achieving goals at the regional level through member states, the policy also advocates some guiding principles. The first is subsidiarity, which establishes that member states must provide solutions to problems which are usually daunting at the national level but can be approached with regional solutions. Second is proportionality which advices that member states must not overburden themselves with actions which may not necessarily enhance the attainment of the objectives of the policy. Third is complementarity which acknowledges the “comparative advantage” of the various countries and their productive sectors whiles placing a geographical perspective on agricultural policies as well as permitting “discretionary public investment and external aid”. Also, fourth is “regionality” which establishes that issues affecting at least two member states also affect the region. Fifth is solidarity which assures minimum cohesion between member states to provide common resources to curb disparities within the region. Sixth, the policy advocates for partnership and consultation to enhance permanent involvement of stakeholders in the sector in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation as well as necessary reforms of the policy. This is also to synergize and enhance efficient implementation of the policy amidst the diversity of stakeholders in the sector. And finally the ECOWAP sets to abide by the principle of progressivity which ensures the gradual push to move forward whiles putting taking into consideration “national circumstances” as well as particular interests.

ECOWAP as a regional policy is to harmonize various policies at the regional level as well as the national level. This approach is to enhance the effectiveness of the policy and also to facilitate further integration within the region.
From the foregoing the West African sub-region is making conscious efforts to alleviate food insecurity in the region. The impacts of these programs and policies have yielded some results. Governments of some member states have also shown a commitment to advancing the region’s agenda at the national level. For instance the positive results from the SPFS at onset have influenced some governments to further the program to other sites with national resources. Farmers have also improved upon their use of good farming practices such as adopting the use of low-cost technologies for cultivation of crops which has in turn resulted in a significant amount of increase in crop yield. For example, an average of 1.5 tons per hectare in the year 1998 increased to 2.0 tons per hectare in 2007 in West Africa. Other farmers shifted into smaller short-cycle livestock and small-scale fish farming, which in effect increased the generation of income among women and improved the household food consumption. Moreover, policy decision-making procedures at both the regional and member state level have also been significantly influenced by certain indicators. For instance, the regional agenda to develop the agricultural policies have been mainstreamed at the national level of member states through synergizing sector objective with the regional goals. Member states make efforts to roll out action plans by showing considerable commitments to these objectives. Again, there collective effort by governments of member states by the studious attempt to addressing the concrete evidence of major constraints and issues affecting the agricultural sector and food security.
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CHAPTER THREE

GHANA UNDER THE ECOWAP: CHALLENGES AND IMPLICATIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION

3.0 Introduction
Agricultural development policies set to enhance food security are now major priorities for the West African region and individual countries. A response to the global food crises led to the adoption of the CAADP at the continental level. This initiative further influenced the adoption of the ECOWAP by all member states including Ghana at the sub-regional level to better facilitate the implementation of similar pillars in the CAADP to ensure a food secure region. Thus, Ghana is obliged to commit to principles laid out to help achieve food security at the national and regional levels. This chapter discusses the level to which Ghana’s agricultural policies at the national level is consistent with that of the regional policy. It also discusses the challenges of implementing the ECOWAP in Ghana. Finally, it assesses the implications of implementing the ECOWAP in Ghana.

3.1 Ghana’s response to the ECOWAP
Ghana reinforced its commitment in the policy statements of FASDEP II to implementing the objectives of ECOWAP in 2007 after ratifying the agreement in 2005. After the ratification, an ECOWAS official visited the country to declare the full support of the commission to facilitate the establishment of more expansive agricultural investment plans to enhance the implementation of the policy. Subsequently, Ghana was present at a regional meeting in Benin. At the meeting, an ECOWAS support framework was outlined to guide the necessary actions to be undertaken by the commission and its member states. These were to establish a steering committee and technical teams to oversee the planning process, to recruit consultants for
stocktaking, and to organize a national retreat, prepare technical proposals meant for presentation at round table meetings which were also to be organized by member states. The ECOWAS commission also pledged funding to hire consultants to help analyze agricultural constraints and also prepare for roundtable meetings for discussions. Ghana later hosted ECOWAS field mission which was led by the Commissioner of agriculture, environment, and water resources. The commissioner met with several stakeholders of the agricultural sector in Ghana to deliberate on the preparation of the sector plan, particularly the National Agricultural Investment Program (NAIP). And in September 2007, there was a national retreat held in Ghana to share information and data gathered towards the preparation of the NAIP among stakeholders in Ghana’s agricultural sector. To this effect, a road map was prepared by Ghana to propose the level of work as well as the scope of analyses required in meetings and hearings to be held internally, and consultations to be made with stakeholders. Finally, preparations were made for round table meetings for the purposes of preparing the NAIP. Ghana and the sub region envisaged that through these meetings, NAIP would help solicit funds from development partners who had already expressed their commitment to the policy. The strategies and components of the NAIP in Ghana also reflect the FASDEP II.

The NAIP is consistent with the aims of the Regional Agricultural Investment Plan (RAIP) which was also developed by the ECOWAS as the regional framework to guide the NAIPs for member states. The RAIP serves as a guide for all member states to prepare all complementary national agricultural programs towards the implementation of the ECOWAP. National consultants from Ghana were then obliged to give information to the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). The IFRI had been tasked by ECOWAS to provide model support by analyzing the information obtained from the round table meetings to match up the
proposed investment plan made by Ghana. A report from both the IFRI as well as the consultants to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) of Ghana were presented on the various major constraints in the agricultural sector at a workshop which was organized in April 2008. And in October 2009, an ECOWAP/CAADP compact on the implementation of the ECOWAP in collaboration with the CAADP was signed by the government of Ghana (GoG). The compact was also an agreement to facilitate active participation of the various stakeholders in the implementation of the ECOWAP and at the continental level CAADP by aligning with the intervention strategies in FASDEP II through the implementation of the METASIP.

3.2 Agricultural policies in Ghana and the level of harmonization with the ECOWAP

One of the requirements of the ECOWAP is that states, including Ghana, must be able to align their national agricultural policies with the ECOWAP. This section therefore seeks to outline the various components of Ghana’s agricultural framework known as the Food and Agriculture Sector Policy. The framework was designed to roll out strategic activities which would be implemented through an investment plan, also known as the Medium Term Agricultural Sector Investment Plan.

3.2.1 The Food and Agriculture Sector Policy (FASDEP II)

After the ECOWAP was adopted, GoG reviewed its existing agricultural policy known as the FASDEP I to become the FASDEP II, in order to reflect the objectives of the ECOWAP. In this regard, GoG set the first objective FASDEP II to ensure food security in Ghana, coinciding with the first objective of the ECOWAP. As a result, the main goal of the policy framework is to factorize a structural transformation of the Ghanaian economy which would ensure food security,
employment and poverty alleviation. This is in line with the identification of food security as one of the global cross-cutting problems which must be addressed immediately for sustainable reduction of poverty and hunger in the world in order to meet the MDG One which is to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger by the year 2015.

Under the FASDEP II, MoFA defines food security as good quality nutritious food, hygienically packaged and attractively presented, available in sufficient quantities all year round and located at the appropriate places at affordable prices. The major components in this definition are nutritive quality of food, self-sufficiency and physical and financial availability. Consequently, food safety is also the major concern of Ghana’s agricultural sector. Moreover, emergency preparedness according to FASDEP II is the country’s readiness to respond to the needs of victims of natural hazards and other calamities. And in the case of food and agriculture, it is the ability to provide food to affected persons in times of disaster. The policy also states that the most affected group during emergencies are the small-scale farmers who are usually inadequately equipped to deal with such adversities. Furthermore, FASDEP II takes into account the major constraints of Ghana’s agricultural sector such as low productivity in staple crop production, seasonal variability and its relation to food supply and prices due to climatic changes and other natural occurrences which make it difficult for Ghana to meet its food demands all year round, especially in the three northern regions. Farmers (usually the rural or urban poor) who are vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity have limited capacity to respond to agricultural programs, they also have poor road infrastructure which limits the effective distribution of food and lowers producer prices against a high cost of production by these farmers. Again, these farmers are handicapped by weak systems for disaster prevention and preparedness as well as response (usually gaps in legal and policy frameworks). Nutritional insecurity is also factored...
in FASDEP II this is because malnutrition which is a serious problem is increasingly prevalent among children, adolescents and women, especially in rural areas and urban slums in Ghana.\textsuperscript{14}

In effect, a broad approach is required for the attainment of food security in Ghana under FASDEP II. First of all a primary focus is placed on developing the production of at most five staple crops namely maize, rice, yam, cassava and cowpea at the national level. A maximum of two crops must then be supported by MoFA depending on the comparative advantage and the importance of the crop to the respective zones based on the agro-ecology of the district.\textsuperscript{15} The support for the production of these crops in turn requires some specific activities. These are quality irrigation, sustainable management of land and forestry by the appropriate agencies, improved planting materials, and appropriate mechanization which will in turn enhance productivity along with the whole value chain of these crops.\textsuperscript{16} More essentially, FASDEP II also outlines specific approaches to attain its first objective in the agricultural sector by first developing appropriate irrigation schemes for different categories of farmers to ensure production throughout the year. Second, introduce high-yielding and short-duration crop varieties. Third, develop effective post-harvest management strategies, particularly storage facilities at individual and community levels. Fourth, liaise with the Ministry of Transportation for quality road infrastructure and the Ministry of Harbors and Railways to improve accessibility and facilitate the distribution of crops. Fifth, target the vulnerable in agriculture, with special programs that will enhance the diversification of opportunities, reduce risk and enhance access to productive resources. Sixth, enhance nutrition through coordination of programs and institutions for food security, dissemination of nutrition and health information, and advocacy for food fortification. Seventh, strengthen early warning systems and put in place emergency preparedness and disaster management schemes, including contingency planning to ensure
access by the poor to food especially during disasters. Eighth, establish strategic stocks to support emergency preparedness. And finally, advocate for improved legislations and policy frameworks for collaboration between institutions responsible for disaster management.\textsuperscript{17}

According to MoFA, FASDEP II is also an institutional framework for the implementation of a medium term investment plan which is to serve as the NAIP for Ghana under the ECOWAP. This investment plan is the METASIP which was adopted in 2010 targeted to achieve most of its objectives by 2015.\textsuperscript{18}

3.2.2 The Medium Term Agricultural Investment Plan (METASIP)

The METASIP is an investment plan for the implementation of FASDEP II, which is a policy framework. This is a plan for the agricultural sector to achieve an overall gross domestic product of at least 6 percent annually in Ghana.\textsuperscript{19} Under the METASIP Ghana plans to set up the 10 percent budget allocation to address of food insecurity within the period of 2011-2015 with respect to its mandate to the NAIP obligated by the ECOWAP. It is a product of a much more comprehensive consultative, technical and budgetary process to enable the identification of results and resources, requirements and roles of stakeholders involved in the sector particularly the signatories to the 2009 compact.\textsuperscript{20} The METASIP also takes into account the previous strategies as well as performances in past years within the sector to conclude on the most appropriate ways of interventions for the improvement and the success of the plan. The METASIP advocates for active participation from the Ministries, Department Agencies (DAs), NGOs, academia, civil societies, and farmers as well other off-farm and on-farm private sector-operators and service providers.\textsuperscript{21} Furthermore, the plan is to facilitate coordination and active participation from the major stakeholders. Essentially the METASIP is in line with the first pillar
of the FASDEP II which is also food security and emergency preparedness. This objective is also in line with the specific objective one of the ECOWAP which is also ensuring food security in the sub-region.

According to records documented in the policy, 18.2 percent of Ghana’s population is chronically food insecure and 10.3 percent are classified as extremely poor above poverty line. They also suffer from transient food insecurity.\textsuperscript{22} Thus, METASIP under the first objective of ensuring food security outlines specific program strategies to ensure food security. The emphasis on ensuring food security is further divided into several components and their respective outputs for successful implementation.

To begin with, Ghana seeks to ensure adequate productivity on farms of small-scale farmers on a sustainable level by ensuring that these farmers make use of improved agricultural inputs on their farms. According to statistics from the Ghana Living Standards Survey, 5-10 percent of small scale farmers with about one acre of land use fertilizer as compared to the large scale farmers with up to five acres.\textsuperscript{23} Furthermore, 20 percent of these farmers do not have access to improved seed as a result of limited availability of the seeds. In instances where the seeds are also available they are accessible to a limited number of agricultural zones at high purchasing costs of procurement. This is not the case for large scale farmers who have adequate access to the seeds for production, 30 percent of large scale farmers use improved seeds in Ghana.\textsuperscript{24}

And in Ghana each of the crops prioritized in FASDEP have leading roles to play in her food and agricultural productivity. For example, cowpea is the most widely consumed legume in Ghana. Also, maize and cassava have a wider range of land holdings, that is they have a larger capacity to grow on any form of land irrespective of the geographical dynamics of the area in Ghana this is beneficial to both producers and consumers at the same time. Yam is also a widely
preferred energy giving food as compared to cassava. Furthermore, an excess in demand for rice in the country justifies the need to support the growth of the food in the country. Ghana has since 2009 imported up to 409,000 Mt of rice at the cost of 168 million USD.\textsuperscript{25} Farmers producing these crops are being encouraged to practice Good Agricultural Practices (GAPs). In that, a survey indicates a difference in yield increment between crops produced under good practices and that of crops not produce under such conditions ranges from 37 percent for maize, 55 percent for cassava, 25 percent for cowpea, 36 percent for yam and 42 percent for rice. Furthermore, the steps to take at the farm level to ensure productivity thus includes the use of Integrated Crop Pest Management, comprehensive research on how to improve productivity of the five main crop commodities, access to irrigation, sustainable land and water management, improved access to irrigation facilities, improved access to mechanization, market linkages of produce and adequate extension services from extension officers.

According to a study by Ghana Demographic and Health Survey, even though poverty declined in Ghana between 1998 and 2008 malnutrition particularly among children has been on the increase. The study also showed that most incidence of malnutrition is related to poverty.\textsuperscript{26} However, a decline in the level of poverty of a population may be necessary but may not necessarily lead to an improvement in nutrition. The production and consumption of food is essential for providing nutrition for a population. Again, there is the need for prioritizing the production of highly nutritious food crops essentially through fortification of the food for a given population. This notwithstanding, a lot more can be done. Thus, generally, the METASIP seeks to ensure advocacy and education on nutrition to enhance in-depth knowledge of macronutrient and micronutrient malnutrition in attempt to support improvement in nutrition among Ghanaians.\textsuperscript{27}
Furthermore, Ghana is one of the countries with a larger population of small-scale farmers. A survey conducted by the Ghana Support Strategy Program disclosed that most small-scale (particularly subsistence) farmers do not have other means of livelihood as compared to large-scale farmers. Also they do not engage in a lot of on-farm and off-farm activities within agriculture as compared to the large-scale farmer. Thus, when given sufficient support the subsistence farmer has the tendency to invest in other off-farm activities. In this regard, the METASIP as its third strategy of intervention also seeks to encourage such off-farm activities as a means of support to the livelihoods of these farmers who are usually vulnerable to poverty.

The production of the five main priority crops are faced with a lot of challenges ranging from poor harvesting practices, inadequate knowledge on post-harvest handling, poor access to information on pest control methods, poor transportation channels and equipment and poor storage facilities. These contribute to a large number of post-harvest losses in the country. For example, in 2009 post-harvest loss on these crops were 35 percent for maize, 34 percent for cassava, 24 percent for yam and 6.9 percent for rice. This poses a threat to food security in the country. Furthermore, disparity between the various regions in Ghana is a potential food security threat; hence the output on this problem is by improving distribution networks according to the METASIP. The main focus in this regard is to reduce at all cost the prevalence of these post-harvest losses. This would be achieved through improvements in transport and storage methods, capacity building of producers on good harvesting practices, enhancing good grading methods and enhancing a substantial link between producers and the markets. Moreover, an increase in extension services would be facilitated through the training of more officers to ensure the training of producers and other major agricultural actors on the value chain of production. Agro-processing would be better facilitated through gender sensitization. This would largely
include women and the youth due to the fact that they play a significant role in agro-processing.\textsuperscript{32}

Early warning systems and emergency preparedness in relation to food insecurity is the ability to distribute food to affected people in times of natural disasters. In Ghana, droughts and flood are the major challenges to food insecurity in terms of natural disasters. This is also sometimes a major cause of disease outbreaks in crops. The METASIP identifies that the ability to effectively address these major issues is dependent on accurate and early forecasts and preparedness for harsh weather conditions and natural disasters. In this regard, the policy seeks to institute the monitoring of pest and diseases.\textsuperscript{33} Also, weather forecasting would be thoroughly facilitated and communicated timely to farmers through better coordination between the Ghana Meteorological Agency and the Directorate of Agricultural Extension Services. Essentially a national buffer stock is also set to be established to enhance and safeguard crops from climatic variability.\textsuperscript{34}

Emphasis is also placed on establishment of proper irrigation and water management since it is essential to eradicating climate uncertainty. This is because climate variability hampers agricultural production as well as productivity. This also means ensuring that areas vulnerable to flooding are provided with good drainage systems. In Ghana, irrigation constitutes 0.5 percent of the country’s agricultural production. In effect, 11,000 acres of land are under formal irrigation management, whereas 17,636 acres are under the informal. Large-scale irrigation is faced with major management issues which are already addressed. Thus, priority is placed on small scale irrigation systems. The government thus, would ensure irrigated agricultural infrastructure in recognition of the fact that effective irrigation in agriculture is also better
facilitated by proper infrastructure, adequate input and effective research as well as agro-marketing and processing.35

Finally, GoG ascertains that mechanization is very essential to agricultural production. About 40 percent of farmers practice mechanization on their farms, but is limited to land preparation. This can however be expanded to the various farm activities such as planting, cultivation, harvesting and primary processing such as threshing, shelling and milling. Limited access and low efficiency of these machineries in Ghana must be improved. Areas which are more prone to bush fires must receive mechanization services enhance land preparation before bushfires.36

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that Ghana’s national agricultural policies are in line with the ECOWAP; this has been clearly corroborated by a policy evaluation and analysis officer at the Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Unit of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (PPMED). According to her,

Ghana revised the sectors agricultural policy based on the principles outlined in the ECOWAP. The ECOWAP requires that each country develops its own program pertaining to the specific issues at the county level. The policy outlines visions and set objectives through a framework in order to achieve agricultural growth and food security in the sub-region.37

She adds that “it is a more narrow approach to the use of the continental pillars from the CAADP which in turn takes to the peculiar food security challenges existing in Ghana.”38

The main objective of these initiatives is to accelerate growth and reduce mass poverty, food insecurity and hunger among African countries. Furthermore, Dr. Dorothy Effah who is a policy evaluation and planning officer at the PPMED asserts that,

The policy-plan reflects the major challenging factors facing agriculture in ensuring food security. Ghana is faced with issues such as poverty, drought and flooding as a result of climatic variability, lack of mechanization, constraint in irrigation and water management and inadequate use of science and technology in the agricultural sector.39

Thus, careful consideration from above reveals a logical interaction between the components of the METASIP with the framework of the ECOWAP. All the programs outlined
seek to modernize agriculture, structurally transform the economy, ensure food security, generate employment and reduce poverty as stated in the policy-plan document. There is also an explicit set target on the small-scale farmer who is the major key to ensure agricultural development and for that matter food security. Issues identified to be addressed also point out the major challenges of the small-scale farmer. And in the case of gender sensitivity in policy making, the policy-plan also explicitly puts into consideration ways of improving on gender sensitization which is essential to address a key issue such as food security. This is because in Ghana, women play a major role in ensuring food security across the world particularly in developing countries. This agrees with the findings of Abayomi that women play a major role in addressing food insecurity in the sub region. Inference can therefore be made that Ghana has to a large extent, aligned its agricultural policy and programs to reflect the regional policy which is the ECOWAP. Moreover the constraints and component strategies outlined show a link between addressing food insecurity in Ghana and in the sub-region as a whole.

### 3.3 Challenges of implementing the ECOWAP in Ghana

It has been observed that there are series of challenges confronting the implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana. These include lack of adequate funding, inadequate stakeholder coordination, among others.

#### 3.3.1 Lack adequate of funding

The agricultural sector is one of the major sectors to ensure food security in Ghana. MoFA is the key implementer of the ECOWAP at the national level in Ghana. Ensuring food security is also important to address both developmental and poverty issues. However, observations made in a
report from the agricultural sector shows that governments tend to prioritize public expenditure on other ventures other than agriculture. Agricultural expenditure decreased from 12 percent in 1980 to 4 percent in 1990. The sector’s expenditure has not been more than 2 percent since 1990 to date. According to a MoFA report the expenditure on cocoa, when added raises total expenditure on agriculture to 5 percent, revealing the authorities’ preference for cash crops in the country. This notwithstanding, indeed governments of Ghana attempts to make financial commitments to the implementation of the policy. However, this commitment has not been advanced to a sufficient and sustainable level. For example, government’s financial commitment towards the implementation of program one: food security and emergency preparedness, shows a gap of 68.4 million cedis and a total gap in implementing all six programs of an amount of 437.2 million cedis in between 2011-2013. Furthermore, commitments to the Maputo declaration to allocate 10 percent of government expenditure is also very low; Ghana has made efforts to raise internal funds and in 2009 Ghana was able to secure 9 percent expenditure in the sector which has further declined to 6.4 percent in 2013. According to one official at PPMED, the 10 percent allocation is said to capture the payment of workers in the agricultural sector as well as other needed input, which is barely adequate for the several activities undertaken in the sector. Thus according to the respondent, government cannot invest without the help of the private sector and other partners. He adds that, “…the 10 percent budget allocation is also what is used to pay the various workers under the sector. Thus, clearly this is not enough to also provide agro-inputs to farmers on the field.” In effect, Ghana is over reliant on several donors who often make financial pledges which are usually short-term and highly volatile in nature. In 2010, funding from respective technical and financial partners declined to 52 percent from 63 percent in 2008. The sector still relies heavily on these donors for support to enable implementation
due to the lack of adequate financial resources. For instance in Ghana a round table session to discuss the METASIP after its inception revealed that the country would need approximately 2.4 billion USD to roll out the program; however, and this has not been materialized.48

3.3.2 Inadequate of stakeholder coordination

The national approach to implementing the ECOWAP is through the NAIP. According to an Oxfam report Ghana has made concrete commitments to their national plan in the METASIP.49 The plan of the METASIP is to widen the umbrella of major stakeholders in the agriculture sector to involve their participation. However, there is the absence of stakeholder coordination among these set of actors.50 For example, although the METASIP explicitly tries to bring on board the private sector especially for investment, in practice it does not facilitate private sector involvement. Also, according to Nana Osei Bonsu, who is the president of the Private Enterprise Federation, “the METASIP is missing private sector engagement”.51 He explains that,

The GoG does not create enabling environments to influence the private sector for instance to operate in the agricultural sector. Yet the 6 percent agricultural growth can only be achieved with the active involvement of the private sector. This is because the private sector serves as a domestic coordinating institution and can best facilitate investments into the agricultural sector.52

Moreover the implementation of the policy-plan is basically project and program based; the implementation of the plan takes place when donors or investors come up with programs that align with the national plan, in terms of its objectives. The challenge here, however, is that most participants often come up with diverse projects that serve their best interest. Thus the projects while they may be presented to reflect the objectives of the national plan, they are geared to serve the self-interest of the individual donors.53 The policy is implemented under diverse number of projects by respective agencies whose visions and objects usually contradict that of the sector which also goes a long way to affect the effective response to the goals of the
agricultural sector in securing food for the country. The practice has been that each stakeholder embarks on its own approach towards contributing to food security using their respective projects. For example, this can be evident in the disparity in support for farmers in the various regions. A focus group discussion with small-scale farmers indicated that farmers are largely selected based on variables such as the type of crop, financial standing and so on before they become beneficiaries of most projects undertaken by partners.\textsuperscript{54} One farmer laments that “we do not hear of anything from government yet we sometimes hear that NGOs have come around to distribute inputs to some farmers and we do not get any.”\textsuperscript{55} A follow up to this shows that most beneficiaries from some of these NGOs are farmers who do not default the terms of agreement on these inputs offered (usually financial). Thus it can be clearly inferred that some projects are towards the aims of these donor stakeholders. Furthermore, the various stakeholders tend to have a myriad of performance indicators used to track progress of actions undertaken under the implementation process and even in reports. Yet there is the need for coherence in especially the core indicators and matrix for implementation of the policy to better facilitate consistency and good performance. This could help improve on gaps identified.

3.3.3 Political Challenges

The nature of relationship between Ghana and some of their donor partner has created a certain political challenge for the implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana. One of such challenges is created by Ghana’s relationship with its European partners, and the agreement embedded in the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the European Union and the ECOWAS at large. The agreement in the EPA proposes that the region must cut off its common eternal tariff protection in place of securing free access to EU markets with its agricultural produce.\textsuperscript{56} This
goes counter to the subsidization of farmers in member states including Ghana. In Ghana, small-scale farmers in particular are without subsidies for farming, neither do they have access to good infrastructure. Also, farmers do not have access to favorable credit facilities. Farmers have to rely on market women creditors or even some development banks in Ghana for loans who in turn charge high interest rates making these farmers produce at very high costs. The European farmer on the other hand has adequate access to these facilities. The challenge also reestablishes Panhausen’s query on the feasibility of the ECOWAP in the presence of such an agreement, while reiterating Konning’s assertion on the tendencies of the sub region including Ghana in accepting blindly, conditions that may not be favorable to agricultural productivity. Thus, the mandate for Ghana to open up its markets would lead to the “dumping” of cheaply produced agricultural products from EU countries to the detriment of small-scale farmers in Ghana. Furthermore, Osei-Bonsu asserts that in Ghana policies are usually implemented by the “top-down” approach. He further states that,

In light to this, implementation of a policy such as the ECOWAP in Ghana is not being influenced by the real issues on the ground. Governments do not make sure that a particular project or strategy would indeed solve the issue on the ground before introducing them to their respective zone. Policy makers have not thoroughly investigated pertinent matters the ground before outlining policy strategies for implementation. This can be attributed to political reasons even at the regional level. I would wish issues such as food security could be addressed without political attachments.

3.3.4 Lack of Public Awareness

There exists a profound lack of knowledge of most agricultural policies in Ghana by farmers as well as the key state officials in the agricultural sector. For instance, a public relations officer of the Ministry of Agriculture did not know about the policy when enquiries were being made to collect data for this study. Furthermore, extension officers who are the key mediators between the government and the farmers also have no knowledge of the policy. The issue is due to lack of dissemination of these policies to the key stakeholders. The inception of such policies are often
discussed and proposed at round table meetings where a selected few are made to participate. Moreover, government officials are only taken up to attend workshops on these policies yet they end up not having in depth knowledge about these policies. Interactions with farmers in the field revealed that farmers did not even know the main national policy, the METASIP. Farmers are mostly aware of programs and projects which are often brought up by private individuals, institutions and or organizations who are the key participators in their farming activities. Also even most government officials in the agricultural sector do not have adequate knowledge about the program. Observation made is that, most officials get to know about relevant policies at workshops and meetings but are not thoroughly being educated on them. One other reason is that at the district level a policy plan such as the METASIP is given to the head district officials who would then have to roll out activities through to be implemented by the relevant officers such extension officers.

Moreover, the issue of inadequate private sector investment may also be attributed to lack of awareness. This is because the environment for investment by the private sector can better be facilitated if governments provide adequate information on the policy. In that according to Mr. Daniel Oberko, the coordinator for Food Security Advocacy Network (FOODSPAN), “private sector drives on information”, since they may hardly invest in seeking for agricultural development avenues, it is the duty of governments to disseminate these issues however; this is not done efficiently by the government causing a challenge to implementing the intervention with the policy.”

59
3.3.5 The Challenge Associated with Nature of Implementation

It is the responsibility of the GoG to implement the national investment plan (METASIP) towards achieving the food security under the ECOWAP policy. However, the government of Ghana has not been able to implement the strategies within the plan. This is largely due to lack of resources particularly financial and other inputs needed to successfully implement the plan. Therefore, it has brought other stakeholders onboard – such as NGOs, international organizations, multinational corporations etc. Such partners must align their objectives to the objectives of the policy to be partners under the policy in order to be able to roll out their goals. But the challenge is that the external partners may come with their own goals and objectives. This brings about a multitude of strategies and interventions within these projects. Moreover, in the end, successes (if any) attained would not be directly hinged linked to governments but rather to these partners. Moreover, key and active stakeholders do not have platforms to be able to contribute their quota to the policy. For example, agencies such as the Civil Society Organization (CSO) do not have the platform at discussion and dialogue fora to be able to effectively implement their advocacy roles.60

3.4 Implications of the implementation of the ECOWAP for Food Security in Ghana

3.4.1 The nature of implementation of the ECOWAP

At the regional level, the main approach to the intervention strategies stipulated in the ECOWAP is to implement a wide sector system for all major and interested stakeholders to participate in the efforts. The policy covers a broad spectrum of activities incorporating several sectors outside and sub-sectors within the agricultural sector. The policy brings on board state actors such as the Ministries, Departmental Agencies (DA), as well as non-state actors such development partners
(DP), NGOs technical and financial partners (TFP) at the regional level. These organizations must invest with their respective capacities such as research, donor support, technical expertise, and advocacy and so on. Thus, at the regional level the mechanism for implementation is through, peer reviews and dialogue. Representatives from the secretariat and directorate of planning from respective member states come together to share performances and learn from each other towards to enhance performance. Furthermore, the leadership of the RECs and their representatives from the private sector, farmers' organizations, and development agencies are to track program progress and performance at the regional level and align development assistance and country policies and strategies with the ECOWAP targets and principles. This does not differ much from the national level implementation in Ghana.

In Ghana, GoG seeks to bring on board several stakeholders for effective and efficient implementation of the policy. The main state implementers are MoFA and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP). Also due to the cross-cutting nature of strategies departments such as the transport, environment and so on are also state implementers. In Ghana active non-state actors of the policy include primarily the private sector responsible for investment in one way or the other. These include institutions such as Food Security and Advocacy Network (FOODSPAN), Ghana Agricultural Workers’ Union (GAWU), Farmer Based Organisations (FBOs), & Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF) others include Agriculture Sector Development Partners, financial institutions and members from research/academia. According to the deputy director of the Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate (PPMED),

The national level implementation calls for a transparent, broad, and inclusive dialogue and review process to facilitate policies and programs such as budgetary policies and development assistance, are coherent with the sector policy and investment plan and are on track to secure policy objectives. He adds that, “GoG anticipates a sustainable partnership between the agricultural sector and these respective stakeholders.” This is also underpinned both at the regional and national level,
by the concept of mutual accountability of peers. Also in Ghana for instance a steering committee of stakeholders come together to review their respective roles and actions undertaken in support and implementation of the policy towards food security. This is through a platform known as the Joint Sector Review (JSR).\(^{64}\)

Against this backdrop and due to one of the major challenges of implementation such as inadequate funding, the GoG implements intervention strategies of addressing food security in Ghana is through projects from all stakeholders. Thus, according to a respondent at PPMED, “all projects that seek to operate in Ghana must align itself with the main objectives of the METASIP.”\(^{65}\) In effect, there are several projects being undertaken nationwide. An interview with Mrs Anku-Okrah, the deputy director of Extension Directorate about the nature of oversight of these projects shows that, the nature of oversight by MoFA in these projects and programs is “a day to day administration of projects and activities to ensure that they are in sync with the main objectives of the policy. MoFA is the administrative agency for all projects and plans within the sector.”\(^{66}\) She adds that MoFA is also the financial administrator to projects agencies to ensure that financial inputs are made on time. Again “there is the monitoring and evaluation system which tracks all performance indicators to show progress or otherwise in these projects. This is facilitated through mid-term reviews and evaluations on goals achieved followed by an annual report dissemination.”\(^{67}\)

As indicated, there are several projects in Ghana which are operative. One of such projects is the West African Productivity Program (WAPP). At the regional level the WAPP involves other countries. It is implemented as a result of the ECOWAP initiative towards meeting food security in the sub-region and on the globe. MoFA coordinates working activities as well as fund releases for implementation. Also the ministry is the key implementer of the sub-
components of the project. At the regional level each country has its own coordination mechanism.\textsuperscript{68}

3.4.1.1 The West African Productivity Program

The peculiar nature of implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana is such that many programs and projects operate under the METASIP. Such programs and projects operate in many farming communities in Ghana. In the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, the area chosen for the study, one of the major programs operating under the METASIP is the West African Productivity Program (WAPP). The WAPP is a special initiative funded by the World Bank to support the agricultural sector. It is an intervention approved by the agricultural sector to achieve its objective of enhancing food security through improved levels of food productivity, food storage, distribution and nutrition. WAPP pursues this goal through its main objective to use adequate education and introduction of the use of improved technologies among key stakeholders of the agricultural sector towards addressing food insecurity.\textsuperscript{69}

The program sets to enhance research and extension of agricultural technologies by focusing on the major priorities of Ghana’s agriculture and West Africa at large. This particularly leads to the main focus on the major roots and tubers as well as cereals in the crops sector. The program operates on mechanisms for sharing technology, establishing national centers of specialization (NCOS) and funding of technology generation and adoption in the top priority areas of staple crops. And in Ghana these priority areas include cassava and rice which are prioritized in the FASSEP. Thus on the whole program aligns itself with the METASIP strategy of attaining food security through improved levels of productivity, food storage, distribution and nutrition.\textsuperscript{70} This is also in line with the stipulated regional axes of intervention
indicated as ensuring strategies to increase productivity and competitiveness of West African agriculture. This is the first principle outlined in the ECOWAP. WAPP undertakes this goal by modernizing and developing agriculture through technology to achieve food security in Ghana. The first phase of the program was through research into the production of good varieties of crops especially. In subsequent activities it funds agricultural inputs through the provision of viable seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and adequate extension services to the small scale farmer. The project is also to multiply the improved variety of seed to be distributed in entirety to farmers in Ghana and West Africa. In this regard, the guiding indicators in assessing the WAPP program would be through activities towards productivity, food storage, distribution and nutrition in crops to ensure food security.\(^7\)

### 3.4.1.2 The outcome of the implementation of the WAPP

The study’s focus is limited to the Greater Accra region of Ghana. More specifically, the chosen communities are in the Adentan and Ningo Prampram Municipalities. Farmers who have benefitted from the WAPP are in Oyibi whose agro-ecological system is good for cassava farming and Ningo Prampram best known for rice farming.

A focus group discussion with farmers was undertaken to investigate the practical activities of the initiative stipulated by the WAPP project. Farmers under the “Cassava Program” and “Rice Program” are given a highly improved agronomy of cassava sticks and rice seeds to be able to plant. This is a fully funded activity from planting to harvesting by the World Bank.

At the planting stage extension services are giving to farmers through education and supervision on the best farming practices for planting the crops. This is corroborated by Prosper an extension officer to Oyibi cassava farmers who states that, “we take them through everything
from planting to harvesting. They are then provided with the necessary fertilizers for application to improve the yield of the crops. Also, labor for cultivation is taken care of by the funding of the program through to harvesting. The farmers in this case first of all acknowledged that to the best of their experiences the varieties of the crop seed are of very good quality. Cassava farmers at Oyibi add that the cassava sticks *otuhia*, is of very good quality. It does not yield sticks and by far with the help of the WAPP with other farming activities and the quality of production our yields have increased. The rice farmers of Prampram ascertained the above by adding that the rice seed they were provided with are able to resist all harsh conditions including climate, pest and weed infestations. Bernice of Oyibi narrated the extension service provided for planting. She narrates that “the cassava for instance was planted in rows as directed by the extension officers and this in turn helps to form canopies which are able to shield the crops from all bad conditions.” Rice farmers in this project also practice block farming a farming practice where lands are ploughed and shared in blocks for farmers. This system of farming makes mechanization easier for farmers. Farmers in focus discussion have further ascertained that indeed the block farming has reduced the high cost production whiles increasing yields on the farms. At the harvest season the cassava sticks are given to the WAPP officials who then distribute to other farmers. The main rationale underpinning the collection of the sticks is to reproduce the plant in other zones. This is also the case for rice farmers to produce grains for consumption and seeds for reproduction. To the farmer yields from previous cultivation without the WAPP intervention and yields obtain under the program has increased. Also the WAPP reduced significantly the financial burden of the production of the crops. Again, the crops have been tested to be of higher quality compared to previous crops which in turn reduces post-harvest lost. The crops given particularly the cassava do not rot to reduce yield.
The WAPP project also acknowledges the need for the inclusion of women in the value chain of agricultural production thus in collaboration with the Women In Agriculture Development (WAID) women processors were sensitized on good processing methods including fortification of processed products such as “gari” with other nutritional products such as sorghum. Most processors were of the view that it is also of good variety for processing after harvest and also acknowledged that it is better for the markets for generating income.77

On the whole productivity in these areas has increased. Farmers in the study areas acknowledged that as compared to the previous years when they were not under the WAPP they have had an increase in crop yield due to the high quality of variety of seeds planted.78 This also stems as a result of the WAPP program placing crops under its research initiative to provide good varieties. The increment of the yields in crops at the study area indicated the availability and access to food. The farmers admitted that they are able to produce for their household consumption as well as for marketing purposes. Furthermore, the yields have been designed to resist post-harvest loss tendencies. The farmers in this case also admitted that, now they are able to keep the food storage well enough. And in spite of the bad roads and inadequate storage facilities they do not have much of their produce rotting in the case of the cassava and in the case of the rice there a less infestations by pest.79

Most farmers also ascertain that indeed now their livelihoods have been improve as a result of the WAPP project. They were of the assertion that in light of the project they now have funds that support their farming. Also they claim that the inputs received have relived them of most of their burdens. They do not have to rely on their usual market women, creditors, banks and other loan facilities which rather tend to do them more harm than good due to payments of high rated interest on loans. The president of the WIAD of the Oyibi agricultural zone
acknowledged that indeed now her processed ‘gari’ sells more and she is able to use her processing activities to complement her farming.

As a matter of approach, the WAPP project uses and disseminates technology to improve and increase productivity. This goes in line with the general framework (FASDEP II) of the agricultural sector of which is to modernize agriculture which will contribute to structurally transforming the economy and will be evident in food security, employment opportunities and reduction of poverty. The WAPP operates within the components of the investment plan of Ghana to work towards achieving food security. It also underlines the policy implications captured under increasing productivity in terms improving variety yields, increasing nutrients in staple foods, agricultural mechanization and the use of technology, improvement of livelihoods of small-scale farming and reduction in post-harvest loss as well as increase in distribution systems.

However, the challenge of implementing this program is that first of all it is a project whose beneficiaries are few, selected from few zones. Some farmers are not stakeholders of this project as well as any government initiative. And even in zones where these projects are covered there a selected few to cover this project.

3.5 Conclusion

To help address food security in the sub-region, Ghana under ECOWAS signed on to the ECOWAP as a regional plan to help eradicate the problem. Under the regional plan, states in principle are mandated to adopt an approach of food sovereignty. That is states are to adopt strategies to increase agricultural productivity and competitiveness in their respective countries
depending on their comparative advantage. More specifically, an agricultural investment program is mandatory to better facilitate the implementation of the policy among member states.

Ghana in this regard has increased its commitments by undergoing several processes leading to the adoption of the METASIP. This is the national investment plan to help implement the principles and strategies of the national framework also in line with the regional. However, the first challenge to implementation of the policy is the lack of funding to operationalize the policy. Moreover, the needed coordination to better facilitate the programs and strategies are very weak which in turn does not significantly impact on agricultural development. Although agricultural development continues to be one of the major priorities of the country, a lot more needs to be done to enhance the sector to add to the aim of ensuring food security in Ghana and West Africa on the whole.

Again looking at the approach to implementation, the use of projects and programs could be coupled with several repercussions. The use of projects can give effective implementation of the project since several studies have shown that the use private sectors to managed public institutions are such better. For instance WAPP from the forgoing seems to be operationalising the policy implications of the METASIP as stipulated in the policy statements. Furthermore, a respondent admitted that “the WAPP project for example is much more effective than most government programs and initiatives that have been operationalized in in past years.” This is the more reason why the policies in themselves explicitly admitted their participation although they are not actively involved in the implementation strategies in Ghana. On the other hand, this approach also comes with negative effects. Its project approach presents a diverse nature of initiatives and interventions. These individuals and organizations bring up a large number of projects with various timeframes and procedures towards operation. This engenders coherence
and the feasibility of participation and coordination in the sector. Moreover it does not create a
sense of ownership of the projects by governments since most of the projects are managed by the
respective bodies of organizations and individuals.
Endnotes

2 Ibid, p. 17.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid, p.18.
7 Ministry of Food and Agriculture, “ECOWAP/CAADP Compact”, October 2009.
8 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid, p. 25.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
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26 Ibid.
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28 Ibid.
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33 Ibid.
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35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Interview with Mrs. Josephine Quagraine (Deputy Director) PPME Unit at the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, , Accra, 23/06/2015.
38 Ibid.
39 Interview with Dr. Dorothy Effah (Deputy Director) PPME Unit at the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, , Accra, 23/06/2015.
40 Ministry of Food and Agriculture, “Medium Term Agricultural Sector Investment Plan,” September 2010.
41 Ibid.
43 METASIP, op.cit.
44 Interview with respondent B by Barbara K. Asamoah at the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, PPME Unit, Accra, July 13,2015.
45 Ibid.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction
The study sought to assess the implementation of the ECOWAP in Ghana. The regime theory was utilized to guide the study. The goal of this study was to identify the national agricultural policy and plan of Ghana under the implementation of the ECOWAP and to analyze the level of harmonization between the national policy and that of the regional. The study also examined the challenges of implementing the ECOWAP and the implications of implementing the policy for food security in Ghana. This chapter seeks to summarize the findings of the study, make a conclusion and suggest recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings
The study revealed that West Africa has adopted an agricultural policy in response to the challenges of food insecurity in the sub-region. Under the ECOWAP, member states were required to harmonize their national agricultural policies with the ECOWAP. Upon the adoption of the ECOWAP, Ghana has reviewed its agricultural policy known as FASDEP I and consequently adopted FASDEP II, which is the framework of the agricultural sector, to reflect the objectives of the ECOWAP. Ghana as a member state of ECOWAS was also required to adopt a national agricultural investment plan which is in line with the regional agricultural plan. In this regard, Ghana adopted the METASIP as a policy plan. Besides, Ghana as a country is also expected through this policy to allocate government expenditure towards implementing the plan. However, the implementation of the policy is faced with challenges such as inadequate of
funding, weak stake holder coordination and lack of stakeholder ownership as well as low public awareness.

The study further revealed that Ghana implements the METASIP using a project approach where METASIP serves as a bigger umbrella roping individual projects and programs in so far as they align their objectives with the METASIP. This is particularly due to inadequate financial resources on the part of the national government. Notwithstanding, in Ghana a lot of projects and programs are operating under the METASIP. The study revealed that WAPP is one of the major programs under the METASIP. With respect to policy objectives, the project is consistent with the METASIP and it employs the use of technology to improve productivity, food storage and distribution as well as nutrition in crops to enhance food security. The project offers a myriad of services to farmers to ensure effectiveness. These include financial support, provision of agricultural inputs such as good varieties of seeds, fertilizer and adequate extension services. It was observed that farmers under the project are receiving adequate inputs. These inputs include good varieties of seed, adequate extension services, and financial resources and, among others. The aim of the project is in line with the major component of Ghana’s agricultural plan that seeks to ensure secure food security in the country. In the Greater Accra region, the project is helping rice and cassava farmers improve food security in Ghana. On the whole Ghana is making considerable efforts towards the implementation of the ECOWAP.

4.2 Conclusion

Generally, the main objective of the ECOWAP is to achieve food security in the sub region. This is stated in the first objective of the policy document. In light of this objective the axes of intervention are to increase agricultural productivity and competitiveness among member states.
Ghana has also committed to this objective by outlining food security as its first objective in the policy framework of FASDEP II as well as the investment plan in the METASIP. Both the policy framework and plan captures food security and emergency preparedness. An assessment of the various components in the policy-plan shows an outline of strategies explicitly reflecting the need for agricultural modernization to increase the level of yields in agricultural out. Thus this study concludes that Ghana’s agricultural policies are consistent with the ECOWAP at the regional level.

However, there are several challenges associated with the implementation of the agricultural policy in Ghana. These include the lack of adequate funding, inadequate stakeholder coordination, political challenges, and the lack of public awareness as well as challenges associated with the nature of implementation. While the programs operating under the policy are making gains towards achieving food security in the various communities across Ghana, those measures are yet to yield substantial results with regard to food security in Ghana. In this regard, the study accepts the hypothesis that the adoption of the ECOWAP has not yet made any significant improvement on Ghana’s food security. Furthermore, the METASIP was envisaged to achieve food security in Ghana by 2015 however in light of the above it can further be concluded that Ghana has failed in doing so.

With respect to the theoretical framework, the regime theory has been useful to this study by explaining that states need to collaborate in order to solve food security problems that confront the international community. The issue of food insecurity is a global phenomenon and as such, Ghana cannot single handedly solve this menace. This explains why the country joined in the adoption of the ECOWAP 2005 under the auspices of the ECOWAS, and other related multilateral and regional agreements that seek to promote food security through a more
developed agricultural sector. The theory also explains the conditions necessary to ensure effective implementation of the agreements of the various conditions needed to address food security.

4.3 Recommendations

If the Government of Ghana is to effectively address the problem of food insecurity in the country, the following recommendations should be taken into consideration.

The government of Ghana must endeavor to fill the commitment gaps in funding the programs outlined under achieving food security. Moreover, as an investment plan, government must seek to engage its private sector effectively by efficiently safeguarding a conducive environment for them. This would limit the over-reliance on donor support which is not always guaranteed.

Furthermore, the involvement of the civil society organizations in the promotion of food security can be improved. To do this, the government of Ghana should endeavor to strengthen and give room for their participation of civil society to ensure that the needed action towards food security is materialized by their advocacy role. Individuals as well as NGOs can also be provided the needed platform to play these roles as well.

Public awareness can be created through the media. Governments must take advantage of the social media to broadcast investment opportunities to the private sector to facilitate implementation. Furthermore, the major stakeholder that is the small-scale farmers should be the major focus of the awareness creation. This should be done in all major languages spoken in Ghana through mediums such the radio, television, social media, and the print media since majority of these farmers are so to speak illiterates.
The implementation approach of policies in Ghana has highly been ascertained as top-down. Governments should ensure that this approach is revised to ensure that every issue concerning food security is adequately identified to ensure a more pragmatic solution to the problem.
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