Can Smallholders Farm Themselves out of smallholder farming and poverty?

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Introduction

- Smallholder farms constitute over 70% of farms in Africa, and majority of them are poor and food insecure
- Based on evidence from Asia, it has been generally accepted that a smallholder-led strategy holds the best prospects for achieving structural transformation and mass poverty reduction in Africa

Standard version of the structural transformation model (Mellor, 1976; Johnston and Kilby, 1975)



- 1. Small-scale farming in Africa has historically provided very LOW RETURNS to labor
- 2. Mounting POPULATION pressure and shrinking FARM SIZES
- 3. UNSUSTAINABLE forms of agricultural intensification with population growth
- 4. Changing FARM STRUCTURE-- rising proportion of land among medium-scale farms

Examining the viability of smallholder farming take on even greater policy importance in light of recent studies questioning the viability and even the objectives of promoting small-scale agriculture in Africa **"Favoring small farmers is romantic but unhelpful"** [Collier and Dercon, 2014]

- 1. Small-scale farming in Africa has historically provided very LOW RETURNS to labor
 - Most rural households now appear to be seeking ways to improve their livelihoods away from farming
 - Most rural households attempt to diversify into higherreturn non-farm employment or getting out of farming entirely

- 2. Mounting POPULATION pressure and shrinking FARM SIZES
 - Rising rural population densities leading to declining land sizes
 - Most African farms have little control over water, are prone to frequent droughts, and have only one growing season per year

Sub-Saharan Africa: only region of world where rural population continues to rise past 2050



Source: UN 2013

Population densities in 10 topmost densely populated districts in Kenya

Province	District	Rural population	Density	Rural area prop.
Western	Emuhaya	135,723	1,011	0.77
Western	Hamisi	148,259	948	I.00
Western	Vihiga	96,535	931	0.52
Nyanza	Kisii Central	283,117	844	0.93
Nyanza	Gucha	364,460	821	0.96
Nyanza	Manga	87,859	789	I.00
Nyanza	Nyamira	263,201	779	0.85
Central	Githunguri	128,643	772	0.96
Nyanza	Gucha South	146,307	760	0.94

- 3. UNSUSTAINABLE forms of agricultural intensification with population growth
 - Declining land sizes leading to degraded soils
 - Reduced fallows leading to decline in soil organic matter
 - Micro-nutrient deficiencies
 - Soil acidification due to continued use of inorganic fertilizers
 - LEADING to soil-induced poverty traps





Agricultural intensification- Kenya







Intensification tends to plateau at about 500-600 persons/km²





Source: Tegemeo Institute Panel Data, Kenya

Declining arable land per household in agriculture





Source: Tegemeo Institute Panel Data, Kenya

Proportion of population facing unsustainable agricultural intensification in Kenya

Population density	% of population
(persons/km2 of arable land)	(excluding urban areas)
0 <den<=200< th=""><th>36%</th></den<=200<>	36%
200 <den<=400< td=""><td>26%</td></den<=400<>	26%
400 <den<=600< td=""><td>16%</td></den<=600<>	16%
600 <den<=800< th=""><th>8%</th></den<=800<>	8%
800 <den< td=""><td>14%</td></den<>	14%
total	100%

4. Changing FARM STRUCTURE-- rising proportion of land among medium-scale farms

Farm structure in Kenya

Land under	Number of	Share of	Share of	Share of net	Share of net	Share of
cultivation	farms '000	farms (%)	landholding	crop	farm	crop
category			(%)	production	production	production
				(%)	(%)	sales (%)
1 ha and below	3,735.10	71.80	34.39	40.83	38.67	33.42
above 1 to 5 ha	1,388.34	26.69	56.36	52.68	54.44	53.89
above 5 to 20 ha	74.09	1.42	8.36	5.83	6.17	11.03
above 20 ha	4.64	0.09	0.89	0.66	0.72	1.66
Total	5,202.17	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Republic of Kenya. 2005. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) 2004/05 survey data

Rise of the medium-scale farmers

Three sub-categories of medium scale farmers (Kenya, Zambia, Ghana)



expansion

Rise of the medium-scale farmers

Three sub-categories of medium scale farmers: Kenya, Zambia, Ghana



Rise of the medium-scale farmers

Three sub-categories of medium scale farmers: Kenya, Zambia, Ghana



Type 1: Urban-based investor farmer

	Mode of entry to medium-scale farming status: acquire farm using non-farm income		
	Zambia	Kenya	
	(n=164)	(n=180)	
% of cases	58	60	
% men	91.4	80	
Year of birth	1960	1947	
Years of education of head	11	12.7	
Have held a job other than farmer (%)	100	83.3	
Formerly /currently employed by the public sector (%)	59.6	56.7	
Current landholding size (ha)	74.9	50.1	
% of land currently under cultivation	24.7	46.6	
Decade when land was acquired			
1969 or earlier	1.1	6	
1970-79	5.1	18	
1980-89	7.4	20	
1990-99	23.8	32	
2000 or later	63.4	25	

Source: MSU, UP, and ReNAPRI Retrospective Life History Surveys, 2015

% of National Landholdings held by Urban Households



Source: Demographic and Health Surveys, various years between 2004-2014.

- 4. Changing FARM STRUCTURE-- CAUSES
 - a) Rise in world food prices heightened investor interest in farmland
- b) Urban elite capture of land policy / farm lobbies
 - Access to capital, management expertise, ability to navigate complex traditional and/or statutory land institutions
- c) Elite capture of government input and output policies
- d) Rise of new towns converting remote land into valued property
- e) One-way direction flow of migration from farm to off-farm sectors may not generally apply in Kenya

- 4. Changing FARM STRUCTURE-CONSEQUENCES [+++]
- a) More capital and labor-saving technologies use-
 - Example: rising use of mechanization
- b) Medium farms more productive than small-scale farms
 - Reasons to believe that capitalized and educated MS farms are more productive
- c) Vent-for-surplus
 - Medium-scale farm contributing a large share of marketed surplus
 - Selling to large grain traders, get higher prices due to reduced transaction costs

- 4. Changing FARM STRUCTURE-CONSEQUENCES [---]
- a) Growing land scarcity
- b) Rising inequality of farmland distribution
 - Some displacement of smallholders
- c) Is mechanization displacing agricultural employment?

Nominal value of tractor imports in selective Sub-Saharan African countries (2001-2015)



Source: vanderWesthuisen, forthcoming

Conclusion

- 1. Smallholder farming is under siege- only a few can FARM themselves out of smallholder farming
 - Most smallholder farms have become "too small" to generate meaningful production surpluses and participate in broad-based inclusive agricultural growth processes given existing technologies
- 2. Continued concentration of arable land may have profound consequences for both the pace and the nature of growth within rural economies
 - Relatively egalitarian land distribution patterns have tended to generate more broadly based growth

Implications for policy

- 1. The "transition" issue still alive
 - How to transform Kenyan economy from current situation to more diversified and productive economy
- 2. Agricultural productivity growth will STILL be the cornerstone of any inclusive economic development and improved livelihoods:
 - Multiplier effects: ag productivity will influence the pace of growth in non-farm jobs
 - Pace of labor force exit out of farming
 - Labor productivity in broader economy
- 3. Multiplier effects may be much weaker when the source of agricultural growth is concentrated

3 categories of activities that promote structural transformation

- Actions that the private sector will undertake on its own
 Example: distribution of inputs to areas where demand is strong
- Actions that the private sector will undertake if governments create a favorable 'enabling environment'
 - Example: distribution of inputs to areas where demand would be strong with improved road, port, communications infrastructure
- 3. Actions that the private sector will not do under most circumstances and that governments must do
 - Example: Infrastructure, education, R&D, extension services

Tomorrow belongs to people who prepare for it today --African Proverb--

Thank You