The Changing Farm Structure in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Policy Implications

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Outline

1. Document changes in farm structure in six African countries
2. Characteristics of MS farms
3. Causes
4. Consequences
5. Implications

Data

- Nationally representative data sets conducted in multiple years by National Statistical Offices in coordination with the World Bank
  - Ghana, General Living Standards Surveys (GLSS)
  - Zambia, Crop Forecast Surveys (CFS)
  - Uganda
  - Rwanda
  - Nigeria
  - Tanzania
- Surveys of MS farms drawn from population listings in selected districts/regions (Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya)

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Comparison of farmland owned and land under cultivation in Tanzania:

2008 Agricultural Sample Census Survey vs. 2008 LSMS/NPS Survey

	Farm land controlled			Land under operation		
	LSMS	Ag Sample Census Survey	% difference	LSMS	Ag Sample Census Survey	% difference
By holdings of:	Million hectares			Million hectares		
0-5 ha	8.246	8.595	+4.2	8.117	8.130	+0.002
5-100 ha	3.872	5.861	+51.4	3.816	5.181	+35.8
Over 100 ha	0.809	1.294	+60.0	0.809	0.942	+16.5

Changes in farm structure in Zambia (2001-2012)

Farm size category	Number of farms		% growth in number of farms	% of total cultivated area	
	2001	2012		2001	2012
0 – 2 ha	638,118	748,771	17.3	34.1	16.2
2 – 5 ha	159,039	418,544	163.2	45	31.7
5 – 10 ha	20,832	165,129	692.6	14.3	25.0
10 – 20 ha	2,352	53,454	2272.7	6.6	15.0
20 – 100 ha	--	13,839	na	--	12.1
Total	**820,341**	**1,399,737**		**100**	**100**

-39%

+91%

Source: Zambia MAL Crop Forecast Surveys, 2001 and 2012

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Total	**820,341**	**1,399,737**		**100**	**100**

17%

52%

Source: Zambia MAL Crop Forecast Surveys, 2001 and 2012

Changes in farm structure in Tanzania (2008-2012), LSMS/National Panel Surveys

Farm size	Number of farms (% of total)		% growth in number of farms between initial and latest year	% of total operated land on farms between 0-100 ha		
	2008	2012		2008	2012	
0 – 5 ha	5,454,961 (92.8)	6,151,035 (91.4)	12.8	62.4	56.3	- 6.1%
5 – 10 ha	300,511 (5.1)	406,947 (6.0)	35.4	15.9	18.0	
10 – 20 ha	77,668 (1.3)	109,960 (1.6)	41.6	7.9	9.7	+ 6.1%
20 – 100 ha	45,700 (0.7)	64,588 (0.9)	41.3	13.8	16.0	
Total	5,878,840 (100%)	6,732,530 (100%)	14.5	100.0	100.0	

Changes in farm structure in Ghana (1992-2013)

Ghana	Number of farms		% growth in number of farms	% of total cultivated area	
	1992	2013		1992	2013
0-2 ha	1,458,540	1,582,034	8.5	25.1	14.2
2-5 ha	578,890	998,651	72.5	35.6	31.3
5-10 ha	116,800	320,411	174.3	17.2	22.8
10-20 ha	38,690	117,722	204.3	11.0	16.1
20-100 ha	18,980	37,421	97.2	11.1	12.2
>100 ha	--	1,740	-	--	3.5
Total	2,211,900	3,057,978	38.3	100	100

16%

51%

Source: Ghana GLSS Surveys, 1992, 2013

% Share of total value of national marketed crop output: Ghana

Survey year	Farm size category					
	0-5 ha	5-10 ha	10-20 ha	20-100 ha	> 100 ha	All farms
1992	74.8	12.5	6.8	5.1	0.7	100
1998	65.4	16.9	9.5	8.1	0.1	100
2006	59.5	15.5	10.4	10.2	4.5	100
2013	56.6	22.9	13.1	7.0	0.4	100

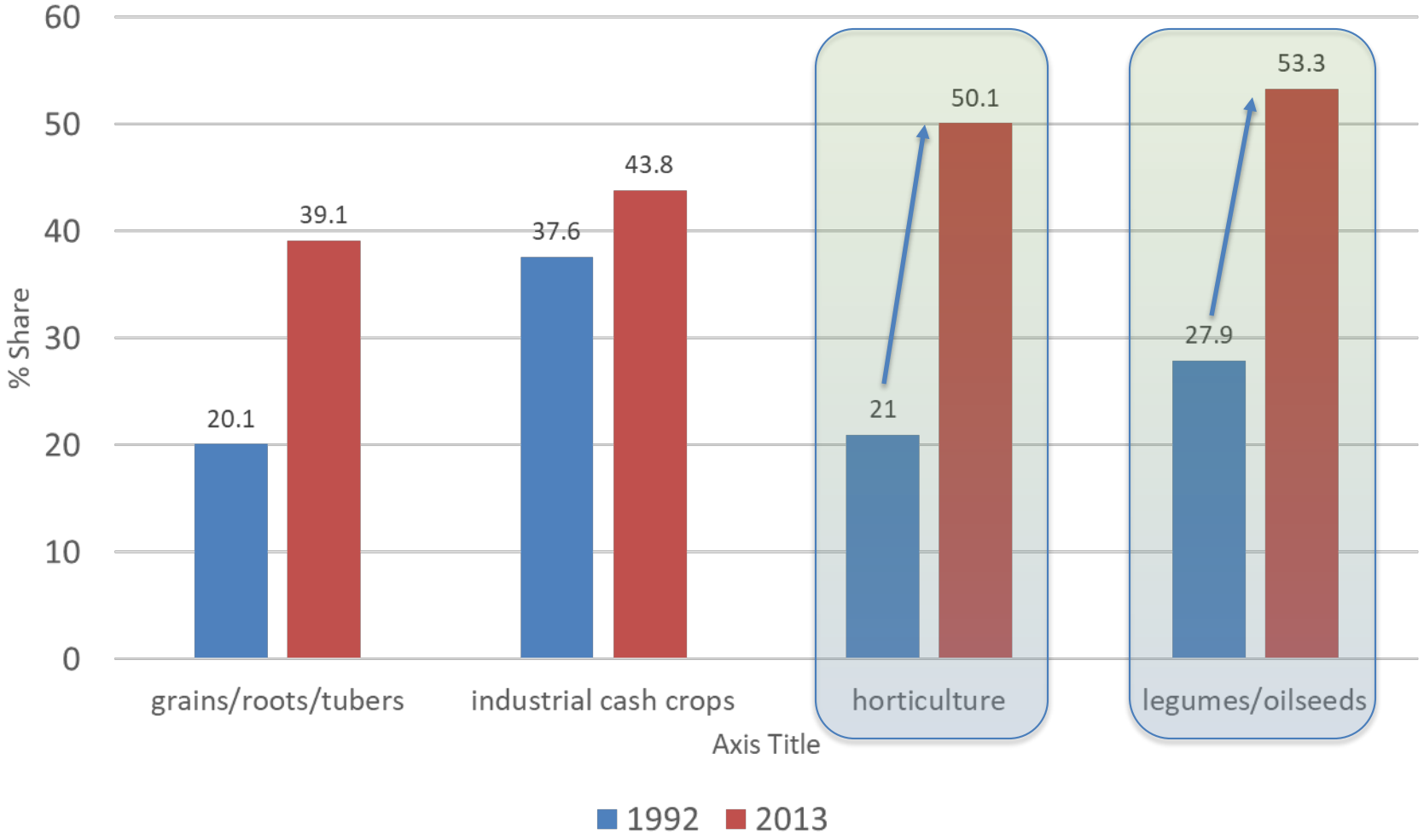
Source: Ghana Living Standards Surveys

% Share of total value of national marketed crop output: Ghana

Survey year	Farm size category					
	0-5 ha	5-10 ha	10-20 ha	20-100 ha	> 100 ha	All farms
1992	74.8	12.5	6.8	5.1	0.7	100
		75%		24%		
2006		57%		43%		
2013	56.6	22.9	13.1	7.0	0.4	100

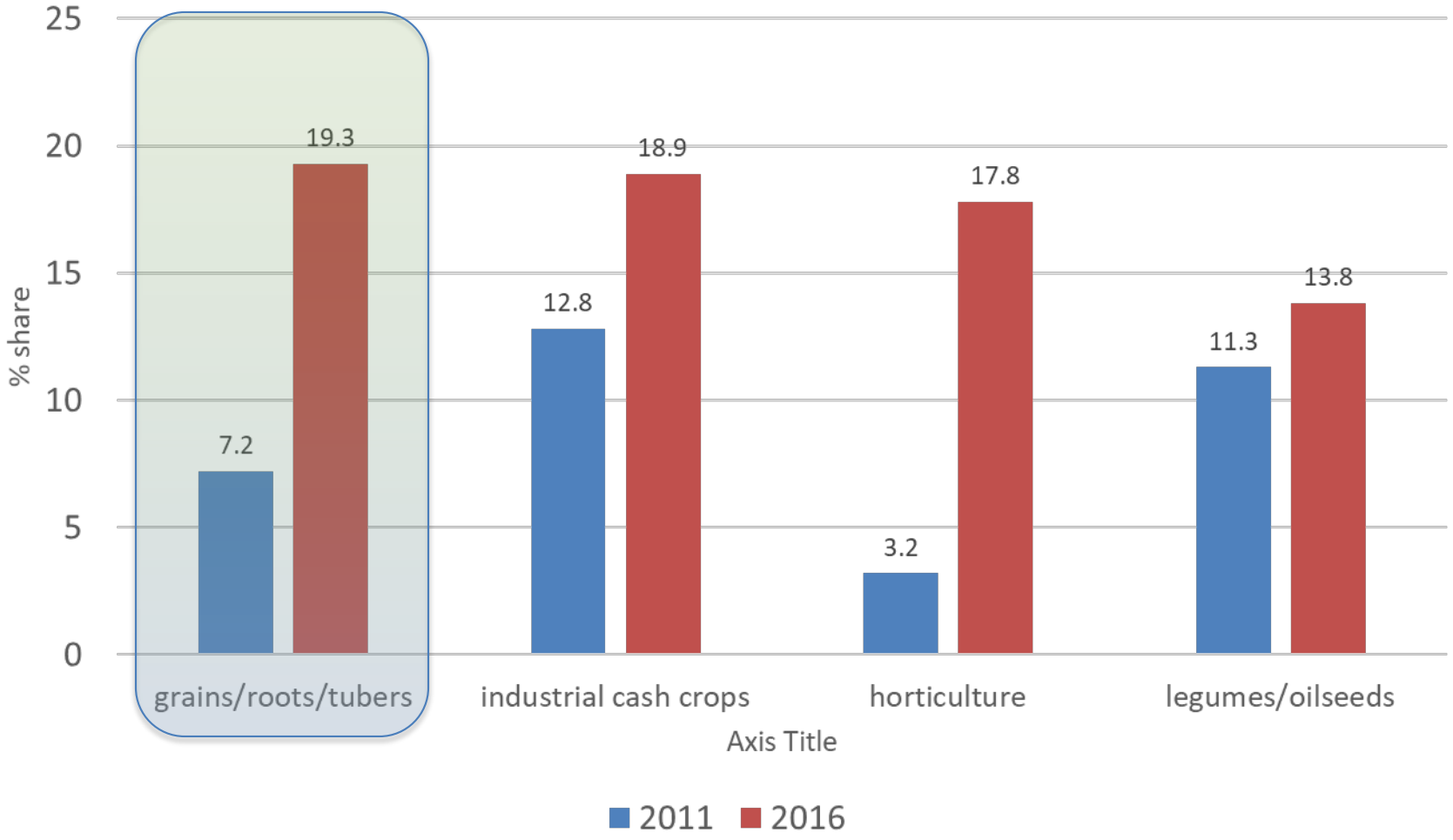
Source: Ghana Living Standards Surveys

Medium-scale (5-100 ha) share of national value marketed crop output, Ghana



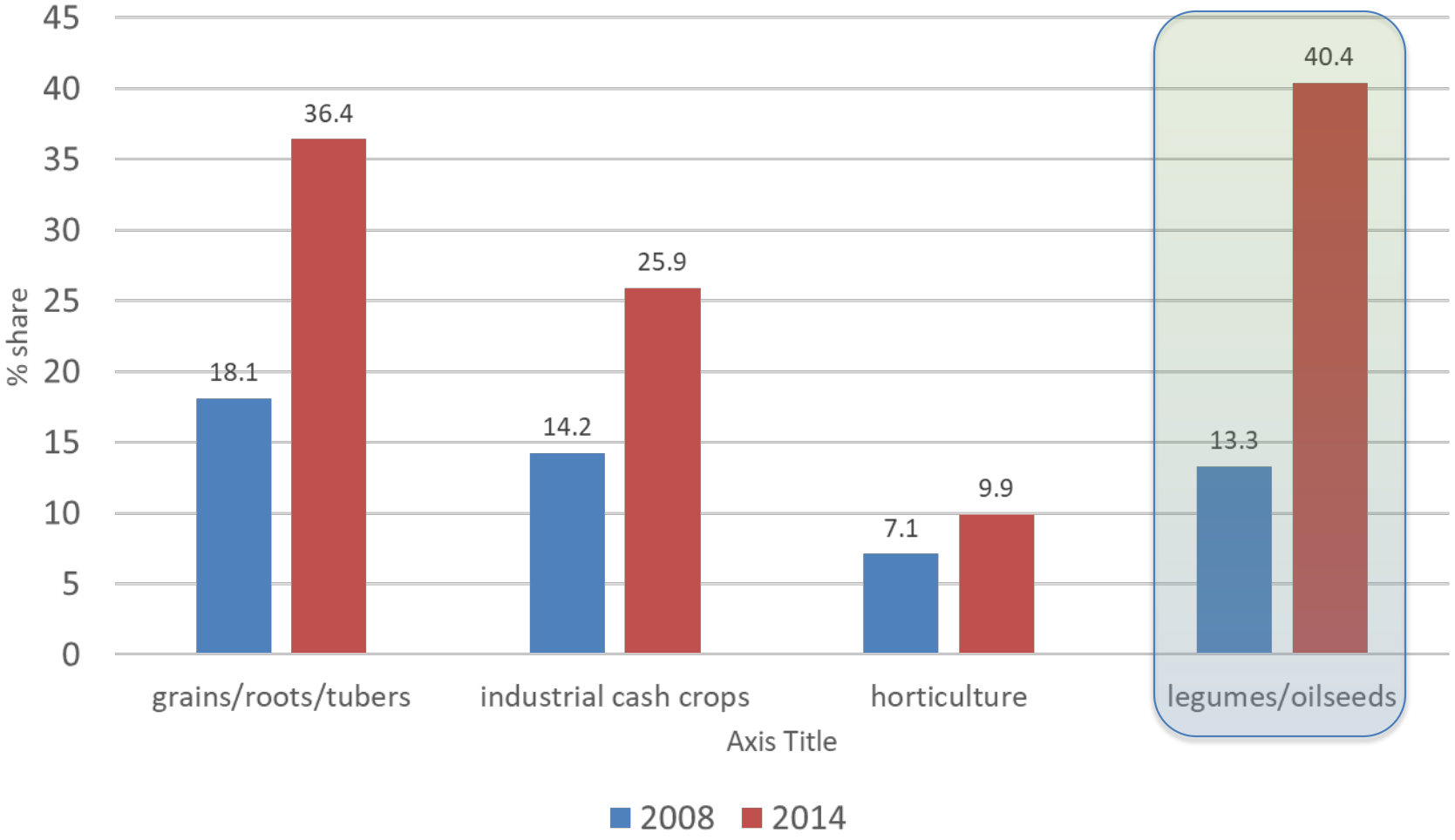
Source: Ghana Living Standards Surveys

Medium-scale (5-100 ha) share of national value marketed crop output, Nigeria



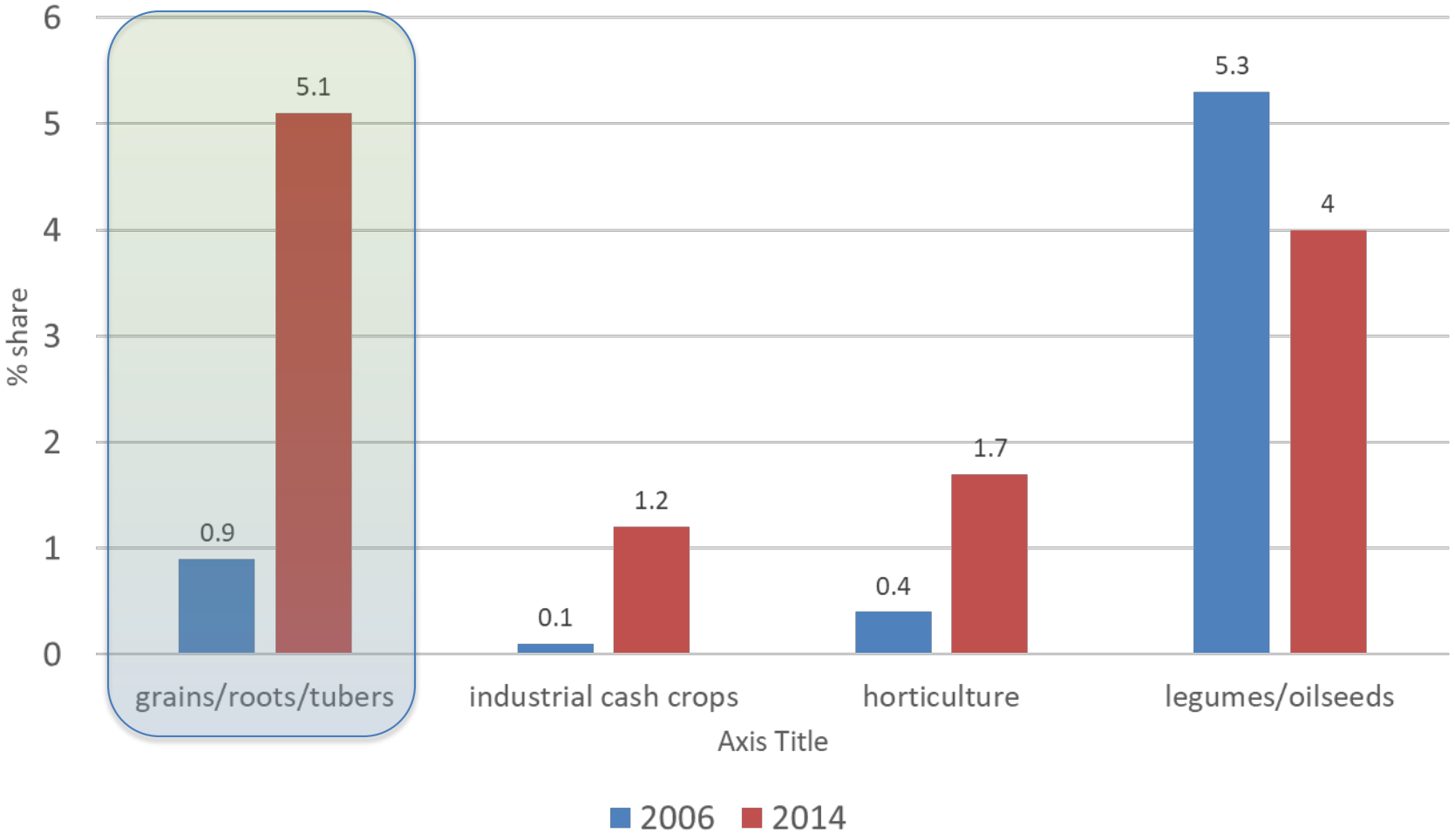
Source: Nigeria General Household Surveys

Medium-scale (5-100 ha) share of national value marketed crop output, Tanzania



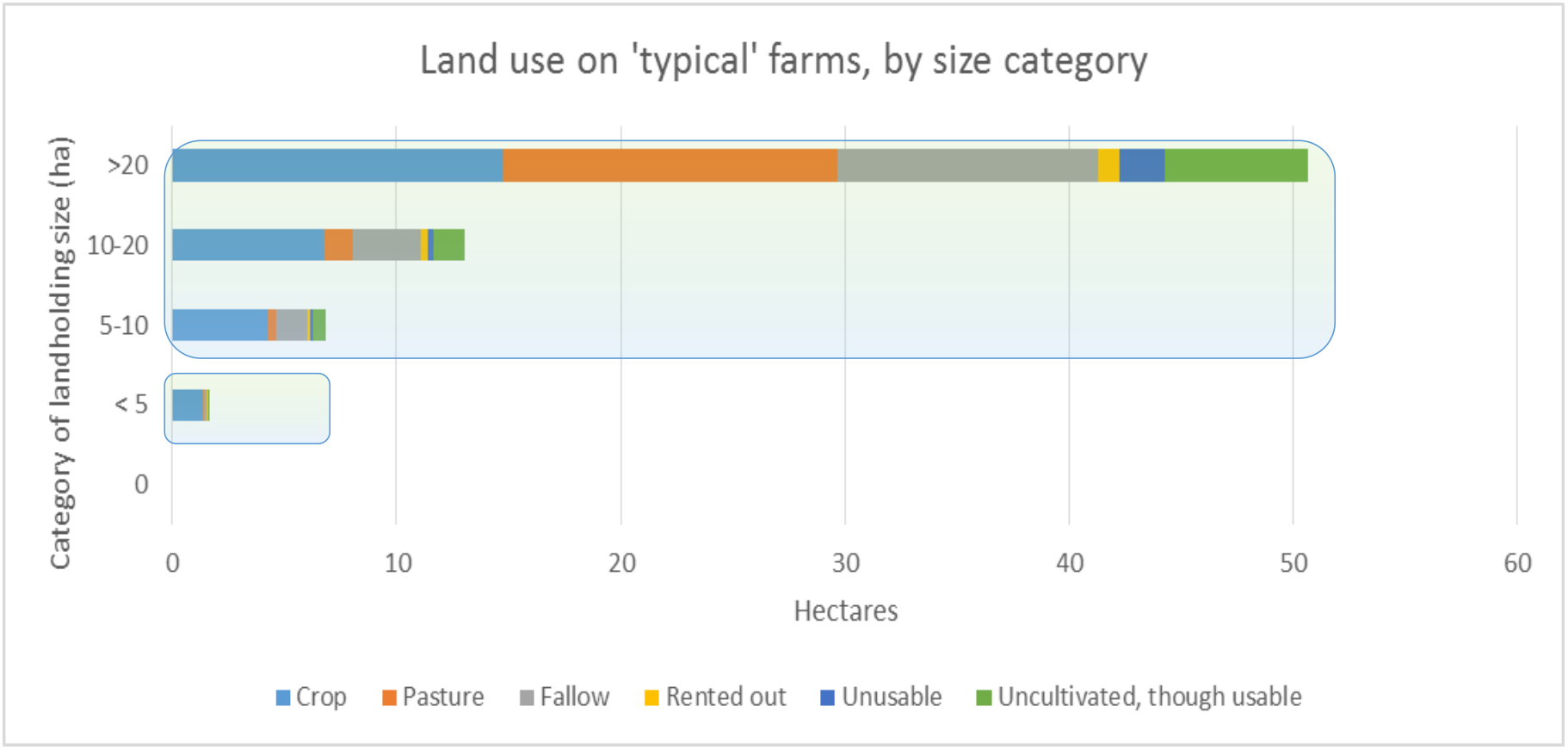
Source: Tanzania LSMS Surveys

Medium-scale (5-100 ha) share of national value marketed crop output, Rwanda



Source: Rwanda Integrated Household Living Condition Surveys

Average land area allocated to each land use, by category of landholding size – Tanzania



Source: Agricultural Sample Census, 2008

Changes in farm size distributions: Summary

1. Number of small farms growing slowly
2. Number of medium-scale farms growing rapidly
3. Share of total area and marketed output under small farms declining
4. Share of area under medium-scale and marketed output growing
5. Growth of MS farms mainly in areas where unutilized land remains for expansion. Very little MS farm growth in densely populated areas

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3. Causes
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Characteristics of medium-scale farmers:

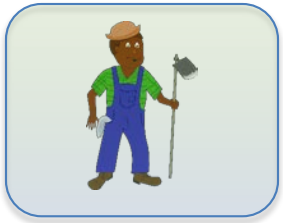
A diverse set of characteristics –

3 general categories

3 Categories of MS farmers

Category 1: Formerly small-scale farmers who successfully expanded their operations –

- Now typically operate 5-20 ha
- About 10-40%% of total MS farms

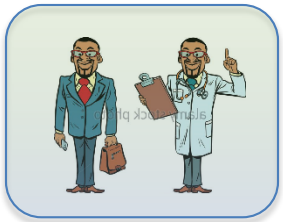


Category 2: Rural people who were primarily in non-farm jobs, then invested in farming

- Much more likely to be related to rural power structures – chiefs, headmen, state govt, religious leaders
- Now typically operating 5-20 ha
- About 40%-50% of MS farms

Category 3: People formerly or currently residing in urban areas

- Formerly or currently salaried jobs, public sector
- Many retirees in this category
- Typically operating 20-50 ha
- Often “telephone farmers”
- 15-25% of total MS farms



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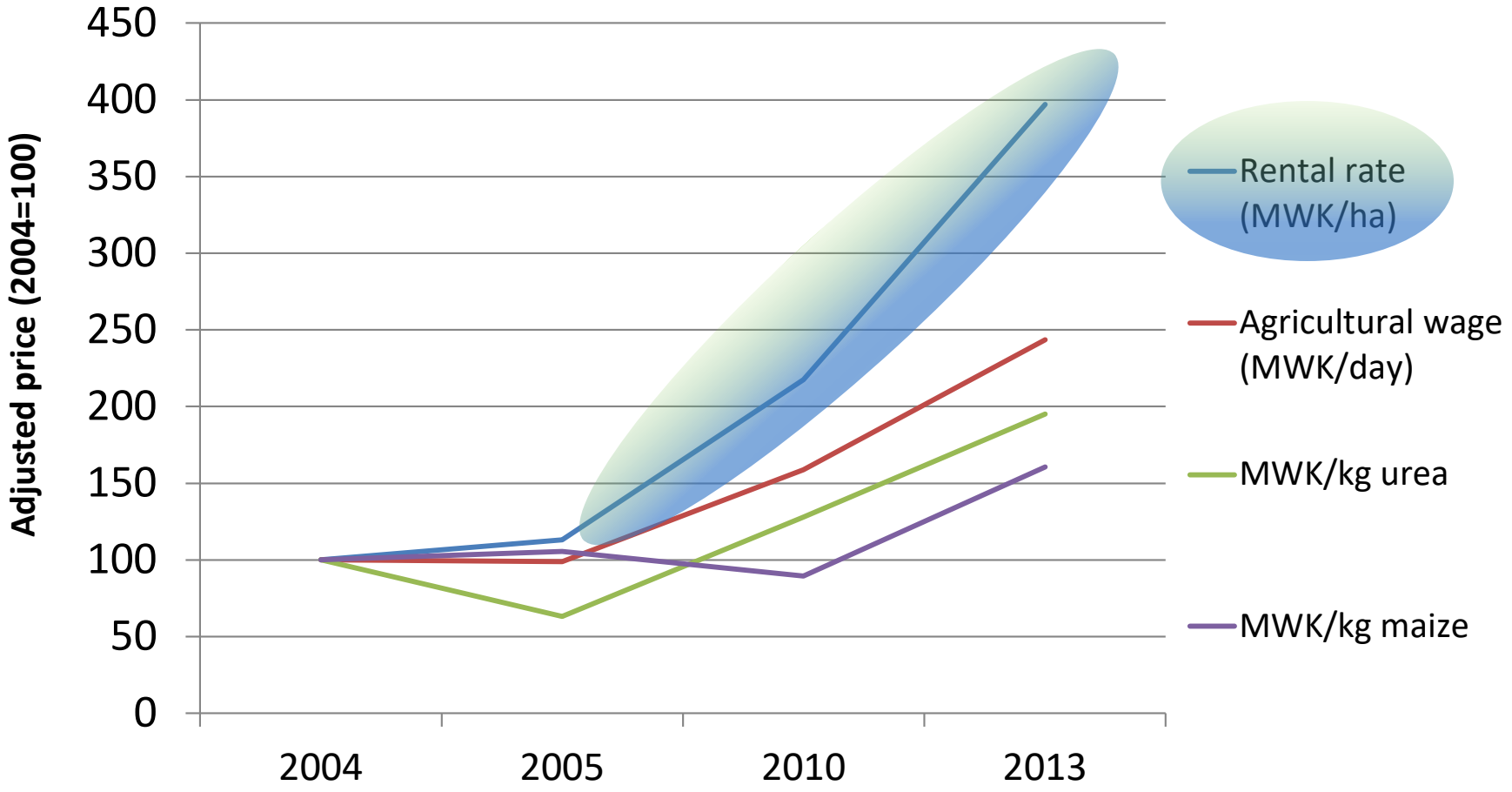
Causes of changing farm size distributions

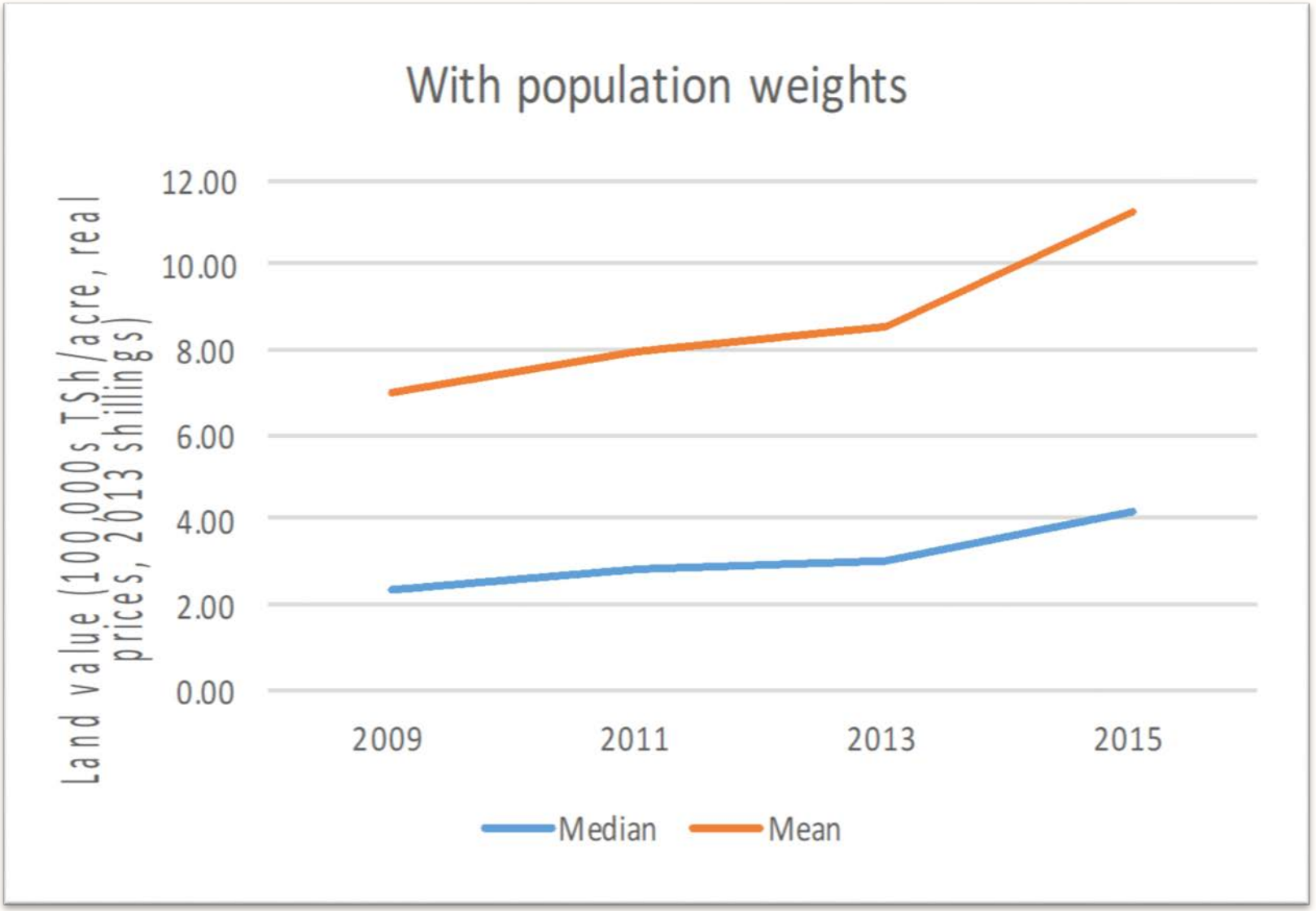
1. Rise in world food prices – heightened investor interest in farmland
2. Urban elite capture of land policy / farm lobbies → *de facto* land laws have become more favorable to MS interests
3. Rise of land markets for purchase/sale – often considered illegal only 20 years ago
4. Increasing land scarcity and economic transformation are encouraging youth out-migration and exit from farming
    - Land inheritance declining
    - Rising demand for land → rising land prices
    - Rising challenges of youth access to land → migration
    - Relatively slow growth in numbers of small-scale farms

Output and factor price indices, rural Malawi, 2004-2013



Sources: IHS for land and wages; FEWSNET for urea and maize

Mean land prices in Tanzania: +53.9% in real terms in 6 years



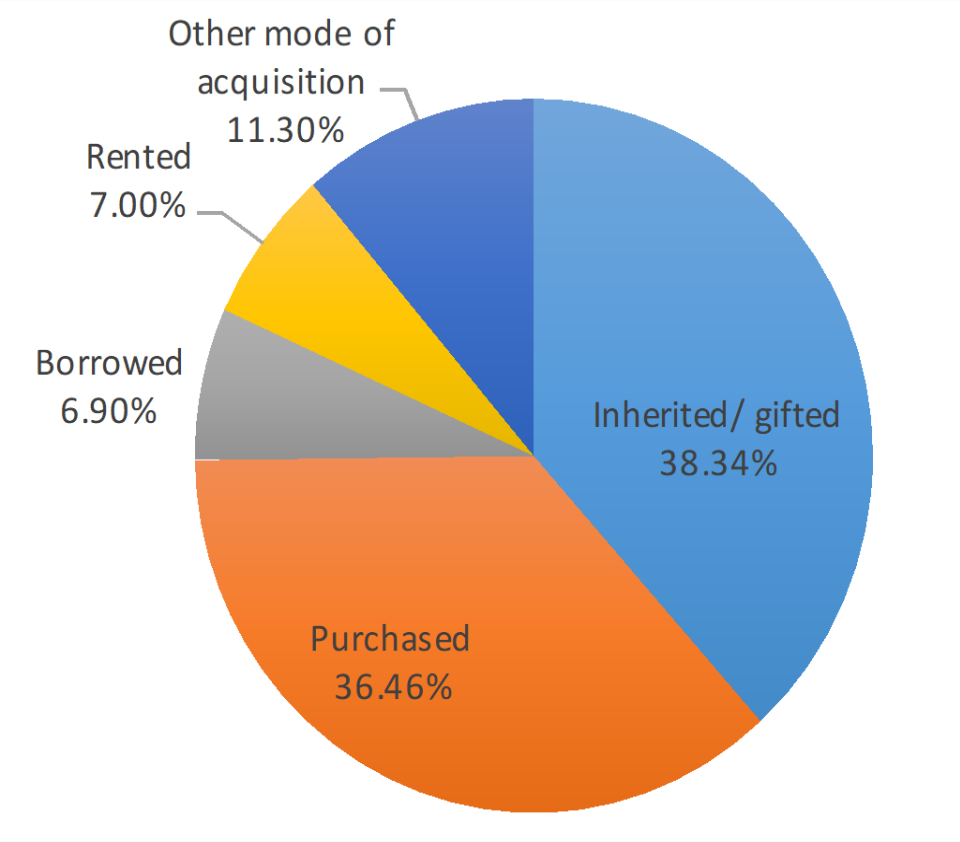
Source: NPS 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015

Mode of acquisition of all farm plots in Tanzania

Percent of plots

Inherited	33.17%
Gifted	10.33%
Purchased	29.63%
Borrowed	11.09%
Rented	9.63%
Other (squatting / cleared land/ allocated)	6.16%
Observations	4,291

Percent of total farmland area



Source: NPS 2014/15

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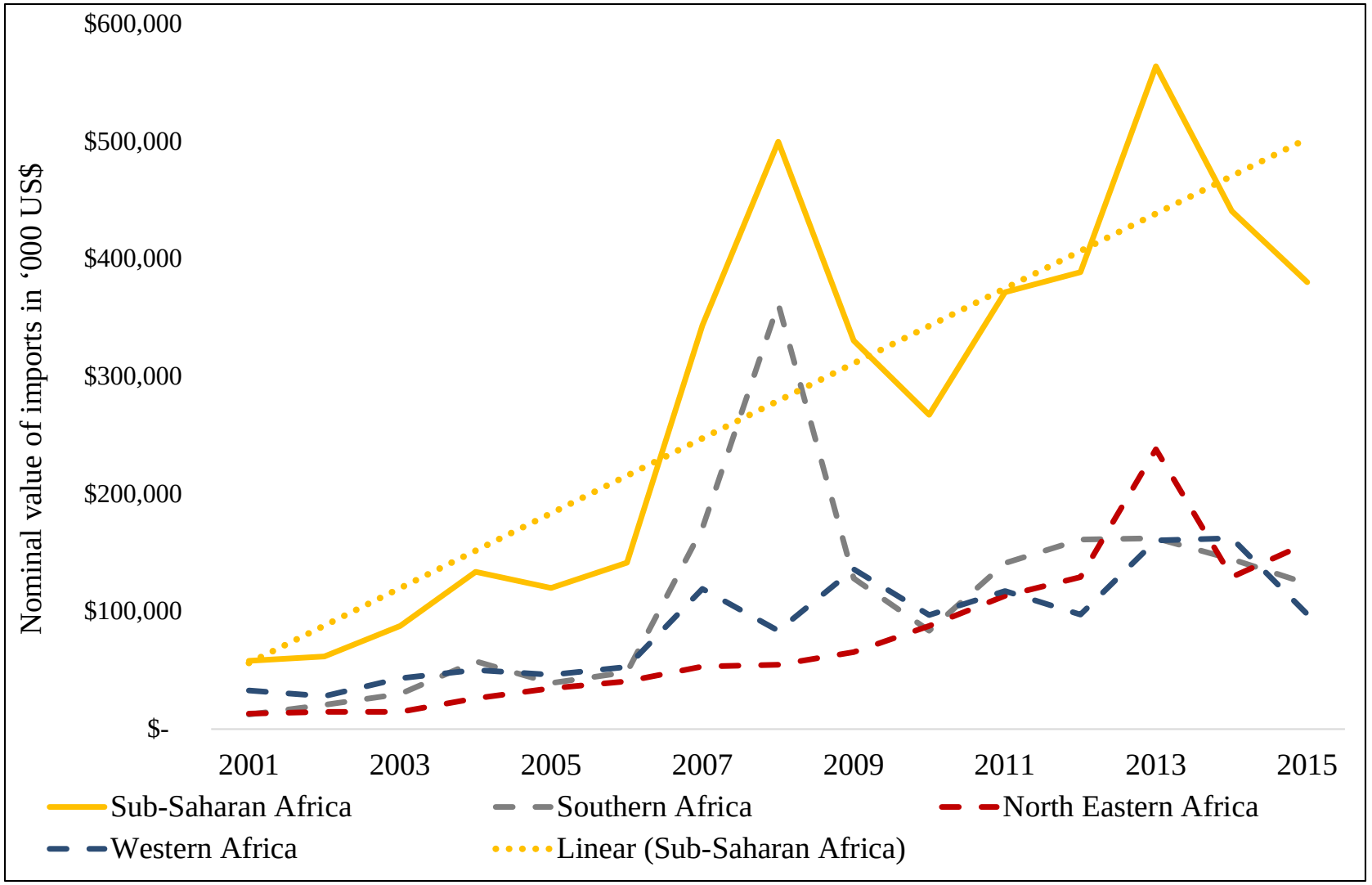
Consequences of changing farm size distributions

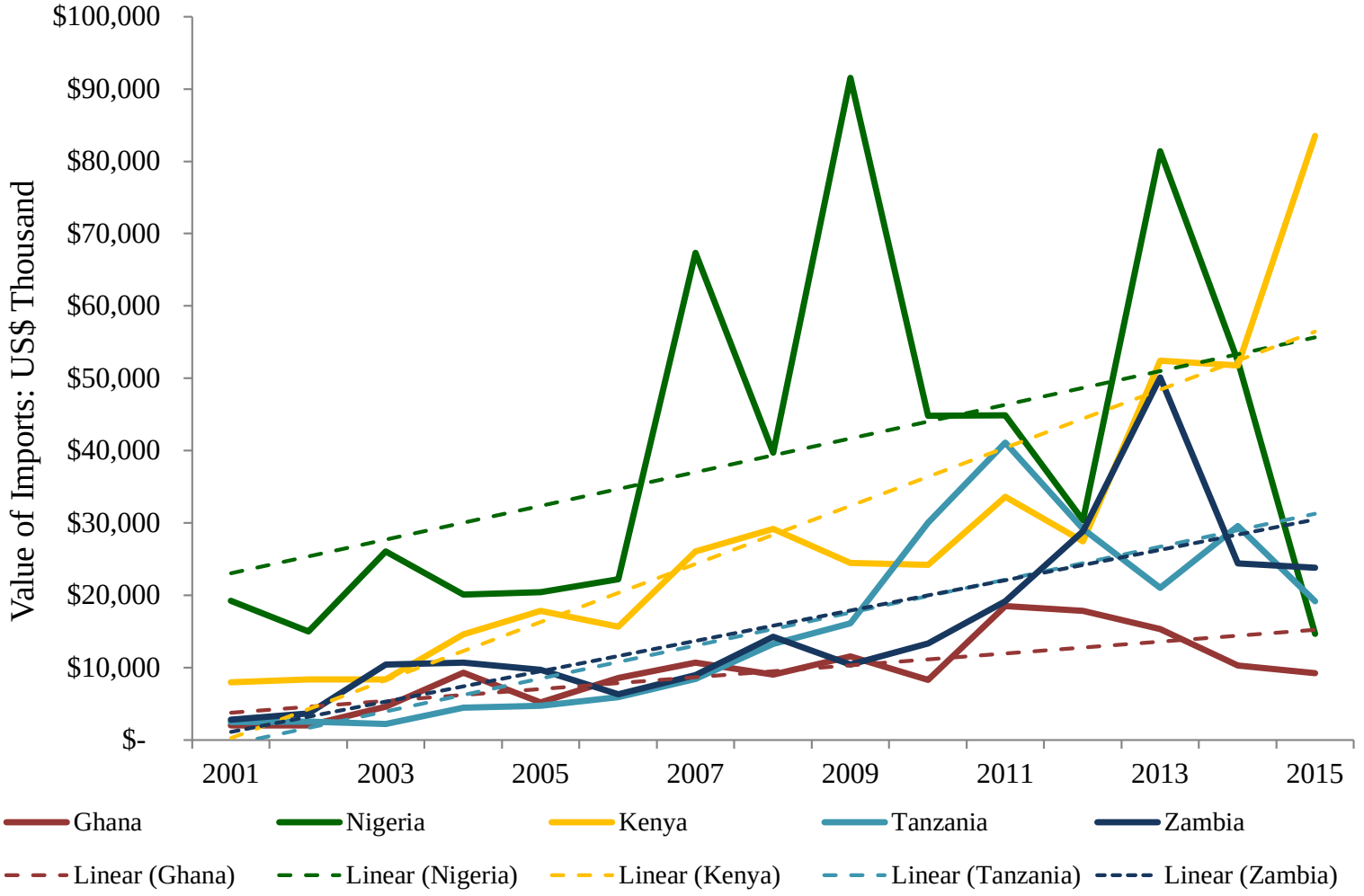
1. Rising use of mechanization rental markets utilized by small-scale farms
2. Pulling in large-scale commodity traders
3. Greater inequality of farmland distribution
4. Some displacement
5. Rising land prices → straining youth access to land

Nominal value of tractor imports to Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa), 2001-2015



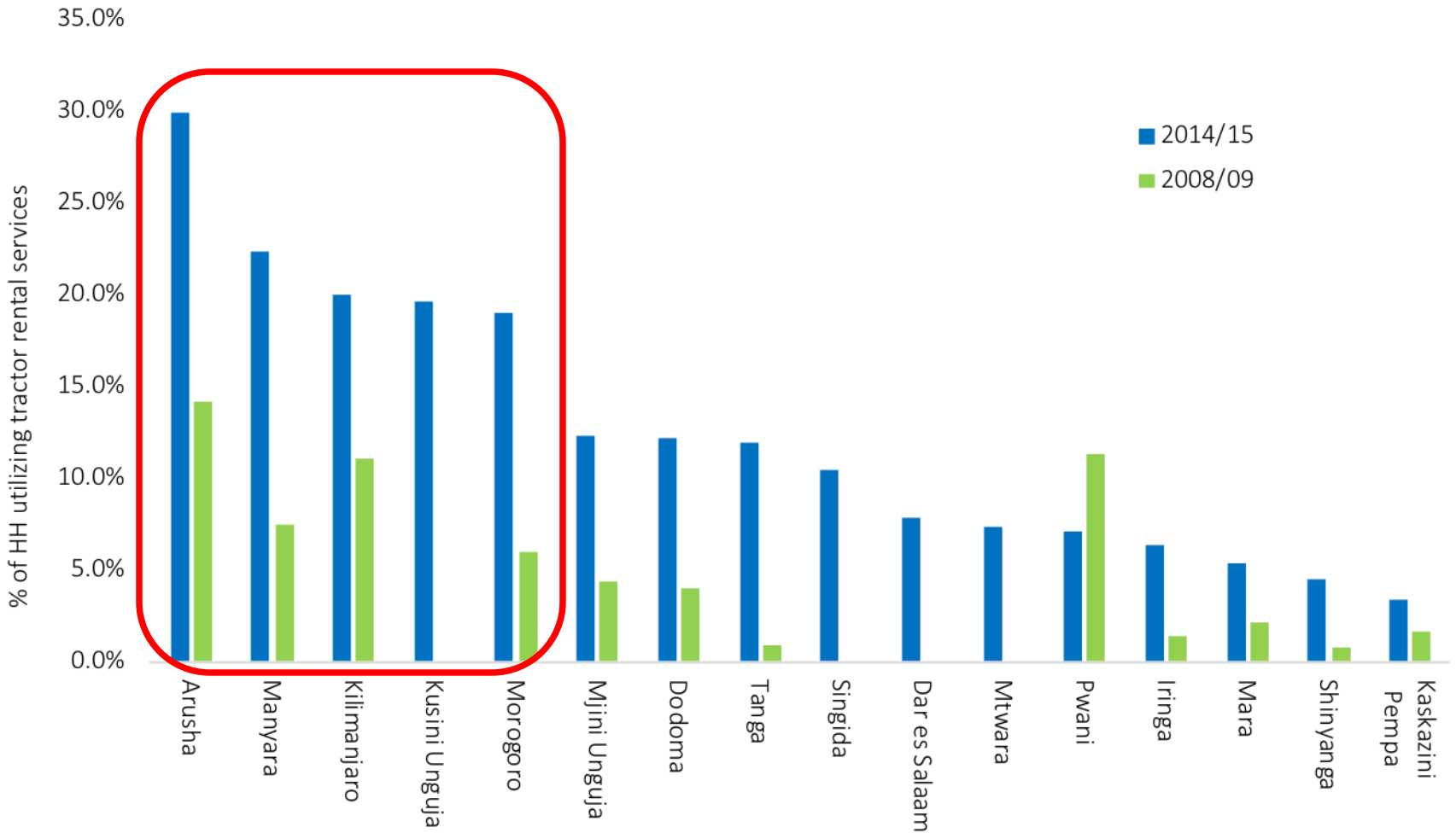
Source: vanderWesthuisen, forthcoming

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



Source: vanderWesthuisen, forthcoming

% of farm households renting tractor services in Tanzania 2009 vs 2015



Source: Van der Westhuisen, 2018, based on LSMS/NPS surveys

GINI coefficients in farm landholding

	Period	Movement in Gini coefficient:
Ghana (cult. area) (GLSS)	1992 → 2013	0.54 → 0.70
Kenya (cult. area) (KIHBS)	1994 → 2006	0.51 → 0.55
Tanzania (landholdings) (LSMS)	2008 → 2012	0.63 → 0.69
Tanzania (area controlled) (ASCS)	2008	0.89
Zambia (landholding) (CFS)	2001 → 2012	0.42 → 0.49

Source: Jayne et al. 2014 (JIA)

Outline

1. Document how rapidly farm structure is changing
2. Characteristics
3. Causes
4. Consequences
5. Implications for policy and research

Have MS farms contributed to agricultural transformation in Africa???

- 4.84% real annual agricultural growth in sub-Saharan Africa between 2001-2015
- 70% of agricultural growth has been attributed to area expansion
- Farms 5-100 hectares, while accounting for 5-10% of farms, have accounted for about 30-50% of the growth in total national value of production (small sample caveat! – drawing from TZ, Ug, Zm, Ng, Rw, Gh only)
- MS farms appear to have contributed significantly to SSA's agricultural growth – mainly in countries where major potential for area expansion

Implications for policy

1. The greater share of land under commercialized MS farms is likely to positively influence agricultural productivity and structural transformation – though evidence is not conclusive yet

2. Ag sector policies must anticipate and respond to
   - rising land prices
   - decline of land inheritance
   - land markets as increasingly important means of acquiring land
   - Need to invest in better statistics on MS and LS farms

Major research issues to guide agricultural policy:

1. Productivity differences between small and medium-scale farms – limited evidence
   - but reasons to believe that capitalized and educated MS farms may increasingly become more productive
2. Are there positive or negative 'spillover' effects?

Summary of main findings:

1. Important changes in the distribution of farm sizes
   - Decline in share of farmland under 5 hectare farms
   - Rise of medium-scale farms
2. Rising inequality of farmland distribution
3. Rising land prices driven by relatively wealthy people seeking to acquire land – not just for farming
   - speculation, housing/properties, farming
   - Rise of new towns converting formerly remote land into valued property
4. Results derived during a decade of very high food prices


Thank You