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Can Sub-Saharan Africa Feed Itself?

Martin K. van Ittersum

Wageningen Agricultural University, martin.vanittersum@wur.nl

Lenny G. J. van Bussel

Wageningen Agricultural University

Joost Wolf

Wageningen Agricultural University

Patricio Grassini

University of Nebraska-Lincoln, pgrassini2@unl.edu

Justin van Wart

University of Nebraska-Lincoln, justin.vanwart@huskers.unl.edu

See next page for additional authors

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Authors

Martin K. van Ittersum, Lenny G. J. van Bussel, Joost Wolf, Patricio Grassini, Justin van Wart, Nicolas Guilpart, Lieven Claessens, Hugo de Groot, Keith Wiebe, Daniel Mason-D'Croz, Haishun Yang, Hendrik Boogard, Pepijn A. J. van Oort, Marloes P. van Loon, Kazuki Saito, Ochieng Adimo, Samuel Adjei-Nsiah, Alhassane Agali, Abdullahi Bala, Regis Chikowo, Kayuki Kaizzi, Mamoutou Kouressy, Joachim H. J. R. Makoi, Korodjouma Ouattara, Kindie Tesfaye, and Kenneth G. Cassman

Can sub-Saharan Africa feed itself?

Martin K. van Ittersum^{a,1}, Lenny G. J. van Bussel^a, Joost Wolf^a, Patricio Grassini^b, Justin van Wart^b, Nicolas Guilpart^b, Lieven Claessens^c, Hugo de Groot^d, Keith Wiebe^e, Daniel Mason-D'Croz^e, Haishun Yang^b, Hendrik Boogaard^d, Pepijn A. J. van Oort^{f,g}, Marloes P. van Loon^a, Kazuki Saito^f, Ochieng Adimo^h, Samuel Adjei-Nsiahⁱ, Alhassane Agali^j, Abdullahi Bala^k, Regis Chikowo^l, Kayuki Kaizzi^m, Mamoutou Kouressyⁿ, Joachim H. J. R. Makoi^o, Korodjouma Ouattara^p, Kindie Tesfaye^q, and Kenneth G. Cassman^b

^aPlant Production Systems Group, Wageningen University, 6700 AK Wageningen, The Netherlands; ^bDepartment of Agronomy and Horticulture, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68583-0915; ^cInternational Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, 00623 Nairobi, Kenya; ^dWageningen Environmental Research, Wageningen University & Research, 6700 AA, Wageningen, The Netherlands; ^eEnvironment and Production Technology Division, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC 20006-1002; ^fAfrica Rice Center, Sustainable Productivity Enhancement Program, 01 BP 2031, Cotonou, Benin; ^gCentre for Crop Systems Analysis, Wageningen University, 6700 AK Wageningen, The Netherlands; ^hJomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, 00200 Nairobi, Kenya; ⁱInternational Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Tamale, Ghana; ^jAGRHYMET Regional Centre, BP 11011 Niamey, Niger; ^kDepartment of Soil Science, Federal University of Technology Minna, P.M.B 65 Gidan-Kwano, Niger State, Nigeria; ^lCrop Science Department, University of Zimbabwe, MP167 Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe; ^mNational Agricultural Research Laboratories, Kampala Nabweru 7065, Uganda; ⁿInstitut d'Economie Rurale, BP 258 Bamako, Mali; ^oNational Irrigation Commission, Ministry of Water and Irrigation, 14473 Dar es Salaam, The United Republic of Tanzania; ^pInstitut de l'Environnement et de Recherches Agricoles, 04 BP: 8645 Ouagadougou 04, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso; and ^qInternational Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Although global food demand is expected to increase 60% by 2050 compared with 2005/2007, the rise will be much greater in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Indeed, SSA is the region at greatest food security risk because by 2050 its population will increase 2.5-fold and demand for cereals approximately triple, whereas current levels of cereal consumption already depend on substantial imports. At issue is whether SSA can meet this vast increase in cereal demand without greater reliance on cereal imports or major expansion of agricultural area and associated biodiversity loss and greenhouse gas emissions. Recent studies indicate that the global increase in food demand by 2050 can be met through closing the gap between current farm yield and yield potential on existing cropland. Here, however, we estimate it will not be feasible to meet future SSA cereal demand on existing production area by yield gap closure alone. Our agronomically robust yield gap analysis for 10 countries in SSA using location-specific data and a spatial upscaling approach reveals that, in addition to yield gap closure, other more complex and uncertain components of intensification are also needed, i.e., increasing cropping intensity (the number of crops grown per 12 mo on the same field) and sustainable expansion of irrigated production area. If intensification is not successful and massive cropland land expansion is to be avoided, SSA will depend much more on imports of cereals than it does today.

yield gaps | food self-sufficiency | food security | food availability | cereals

Producing adequate food to meet global demand by 2050 is widely recognized as a major challenge (1, 2). Increased price volatility of major food crops (3, 4) and an abrupt surge in land area devoted to crop production since approximately 2002 (5) reflect the powerful forces underpinning this challenge. A number of studies argue it is possible to meet projected global food demand on existing agricultural land by narrowing gaps between actual farm yields and yield potential (3, 6–11). Yield potential assumes unconstrained crop growth and perfect management that avoids limitations from nutrient deficiencies and water stress, and reductions from weeds, pests, and diseases (12, 13). Yield potential is therefore location-specific and depends on solar radiation, temperature, and water supply during the crop growing season and can be calculated for both rainfed (water-limited yield potential) and irrigated conditions (12, 13). The difference between the yield potential and actual farm yield is called the yield gap.

Although meeting the increased global demand may be possible, a more pressing question is whether and how different regions of the world can meet their respective demands for staple food crops. More specifically, although sub-Saharan Africa's current self-sufficiency ratio in staple cereals is just above 0.8 (Fig. 1*A*), it is among the (sub)

continents with the lowest cereal self-sufficiency ratio while it has the greatest projected increase in population (14, 15). Self-sufficiency is defined here as the ratio between domestic production and total consumption (or demand); the latter is assumed to be equal to the domestic production plus net imports. While recognizing that food self-sufficiency is not an essential precondition for food security, self-sufficiency for low-income developing countries is of great concern because many lack adequate foreign exchange reserves to pay for food imports and infrastructure to store and distribute it efficiently. Substantial reliance on food imports is only possible if economic development is sufficient to afford them, and economic development of low-income countries to support such imports does not occur without strong agricultural development (16, 17). Apart from city states such as Singapore, there are no examples of low income countries that successfully industrialized in the second half of the 20th century while importing major shares of their food supply. Essentially, all success stories started with an economic revolution in the agricultural sector. Indeed, the African Development Bank explicitly highlights self-sufficiency in food production as a principal

Significance

The question whether sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) can be self-sufficient in cereals by 2050 is of global relevance. Currently, SSA is amongst the (sub)continents with the largest gap between cereal consumption and production, whereas its projected tripling demand between 2010 and 2050 is much greater than in other continents. We show that nearly complete closure of the gap between current farm yields and yield potential is needed to maintain the current level of cereal self-sufficiency (approximately 80%) by 2050. For all countries, such yield gap closure requires a large, abrupt acceleration in rate of yield increase. If this acceleration is not achieved, massive cropland expansion with attendant biodiversity loss and greenhouse gas emissions or vast import dependency are to be expected.

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¹To whom correspondence should be addressed. Email: martin.vanittersum@wur.nl.

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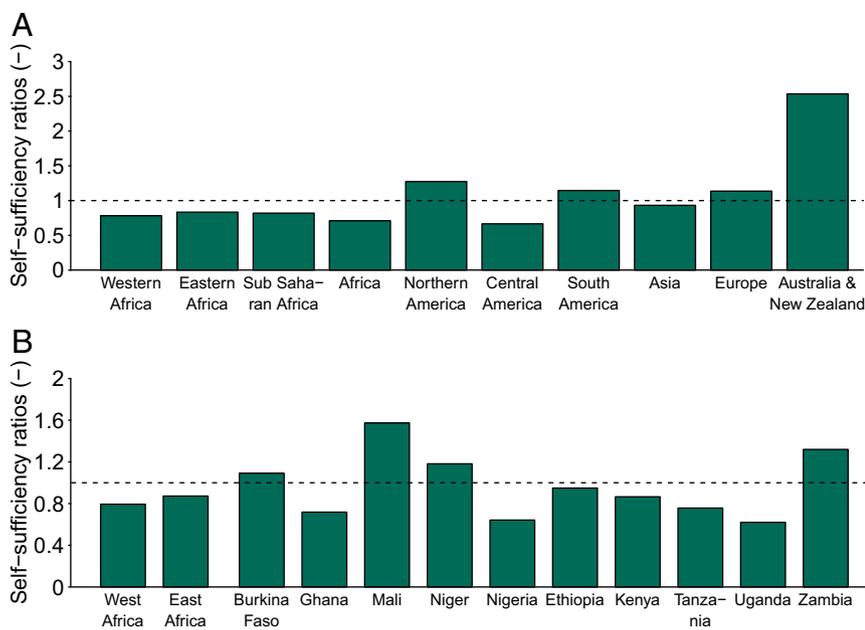


Fig. 1. Current (2010) self-sufficiency ratios for the five main cereals jointly. Major regions of the world based on FAO food balances (23) (A), and 10 sub-Saharan-African countries and the averages for the five countries in west and east SSA based on food demand calculated by IMPACT (22), actual yields taken from www.yieldgap.org, and crop areas from FAOSTAT (23) (B).

goal of its Action Plan for an African agricultural transformation (18). Hence, a key question is whether Africa, and in particular sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), can be food self-sufficient by 2050—and whether this can be achieved on existing agricultural land through yield increase or will rely on continued crop area expansion as has occurred in the past four decades (19). Although growth in total factor productivity has become the most important source of growth in global agricultural production in the past two decades, in SSA this metric grew by less than 1% per year over that period, even while it faces the world's highest population growth rates (20). A recent global study (11), based on the use of gridded spatial analysis and coarse global datasets, suggests it will be challenging for Africa to feed itself, whereas other global and continental analyses (15, 21) project that cereal imports will increase in SSA in the coming decades.

In this paper, we focus on 10 countries in SSA and use local, agronomically relevant data and a spatial upscaling protocol to estimate food production capacity with greater (compared with global and continental studies mentioned above) spatial resolution. We assess whether Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia can achieve self-sufficiency in the five main cereals (maize, millet, rice, sorghum, and wheat) by 2050, and whether this can be realized on existing cropland area or, instead, will require cropland expansion and food imports. The focus on cereals recognizes their central food security role, accounting for approximately 50% of caloric intake and total crop area in SSA (22, 23). The 10 countries jointly account for 54% of the 2010 population and 58% of the 2010 arable land area in SSA. Details of our analytical approach and sources of data are described in *SI Materials and Methods*. Briefly, 2050 cereal demand is estimated from projected population increase (medium fertility variant of the United Nations (UN) population projections; ref. 14), and per capita consumption as influenced by the projected income growth resulting in additional cereal demand for use as livestock feed and other purposes, using the partial equilibrium model for the agricultural sector IMPACT (15, 22). All five cereals are expressed in maize equivalents by conversion of each grain's specific caloric content. Then we estimate cereal production capacity on existing crop land through various degrees of yield gap closure, based on recently completed yield gap analyses for the 10 countries as published in the Global Yield Gap Atlas (www.yieldgap.org; Fig. 2 and refs. 24–26). Several 2050 supply-demand scenarios are evaluated based on degree of yield gap

closure and other strategic options (e.g., expanded irrigation area, increased cropping intensity, and crop area expansion). Self-sufficiency is calculated as the ratio between cereal production and cereal demand, and we evaluate self-sufficiency ratios of each country and also for quasiregional zones that include five countries each for west and east Africa. The regional analysis indicates cereal self-sufficiency potential assuming open trade within these zones.

Results and Discussion

Current Cereal Self-Sufficiency and Trends. Today (2010), the self-sufficiency ratio for the five main cereals (maize, millet, rice, sorghum, and wheat) is 0.82 for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (Fig. 1A), which is similar to the average value (0.83; Fig. 1B) for the 10 SSA countries evaluated in detail in this paper. Population in these countries is projected to increase two- to more than fourfold between 2010 and 2050 (Table 1). Trends show that all countries except Ethiopia and Zambia (23, 27) have cereal yields growing more slowly than population and demand (Fig. S1), whereas total cropland area has increased 14% in just the past 10 years (Table 1). Much of the increase in area took place in Ethiopia and Tanzania. National statistics in these two countries (28, 29) indicate that the additional crop land came from deforestation, conversion of marginal grazing land, and recultivation, using better technologies, of crop land that had previously been abandoned.

Future Cereal Self-Sufficiency. Estimated cereal demand by 2050 for the 10 countries is 335% of that in 2010 under the medium population projections and projected per capita demand from IMPACT (Table 1). Population growth alone accounts for approximately three-quarters of this increase and is thus much more important than per capita increase in demand due to dietary changes (Table 1 and Fig. S2). Demand increases vary substantially among countries in response to demographic trends and dietary shifts.

Actual rainfed maize yields (the dominant crop in SSA) during the period 2003–2012 range from 1.2 to 2.2 t/ha (Table 1 and ref. 24), which represents only 15–27% of the water-limited yield potential (Fig. 2). Rainfed maize has the greatest yield potential and largest yield gaps, whereas millet has the smallest potential and gaps (www.yieldgap.org). There is a similar spatial pattern for all rainfed crops with largest gaps in more favorable (higher rainfall) regions of the savannahs and cooler highlands of Ethiopia and the northern Zambia plain (Fig. 2).

41 and 42 and Fig. S1) hold promise, for some of these countries, yield improvements follow a period of stagnant to sluggish yield increase in the 1980s and 1990s (43). However, it is clear that with improved cultivars, hybrids, and seed, coupled with increased use of fertilizers, modern pest management practices, and good agronomy, it is possible to achieve accelerated rates of yield gain (27, 42). It is also generally agreed that accelerated intensification will require greater investment in research and development (R & D) in both public and private sectors (44–46). This investment is needed now, and even more so under future climate change (27–29).

We emphasize that our study addresses only the biophysical opportunities and limitations to increase production, whereas many socio-economic and institutional factors need to be attuned to allow for production increases. R & D investments in agriculture must be matched by supportive policies and public finance for improved transport and communication, market infrastructure, credit, insurance, and improved land entitlements (21, 45–47). Targeted measures to stabilize markets (which may imply some degree of import tariffs) for smallholder farming seem essential (3, 48). Because smallholder farming is so prominent in SSA relative to commercial scale farming, creating off-farm employment opportunities is probably equally important as targeting agricultural productivity and yield gap closure to allow for upscaling of farming (33). Finally, anticipating and avoiding negative environmental impacts of intensification will be important, and especially a period of excess use of nutrients and pesticides such as in Europe and China. Indeed, a direct transition from an agriculture that mines the soil to one based on high resource use efficiency and conservation of natural resources is necessary (49, 50), requiring anticipatory R & D focused on the dual goals of increasing yields and protecting environmental quality.

Conclusions

This study provides insight about the challenge in meeting the projected tripled cereal demand by 2050 due to expected population growth and modest changes in diets in 10 SSA countries, through scenarios of yield gap closure. Together these 10 countries represent 54% of total population and 58% of the arable land area in SSA, making it unlikely that the situation is more optimistic for the rest of the region. Results reveal that although yield gap closure on existing cropland and a large acceleration in yield growth rates are essential to achieve cereal self-sufficiency, they are most likely not sufficient. For instance, increasing maize yields from the approximately 20% of yield potential in 2010 to 50% by 2050 implies a doubling of annual yield increases compared with the past decades. Even then, cereal areas must increase by more than 80% to realize self-sufficiency in the 10 countries. Therefore, the path to self-sufficiency will likely require, in addition to yield gap closure, increased cropping intensity and expansion of irrigated production area in regions that can support these options in a sustainable manner. Failure to achieve these intensification options will result in increasing dependence on cereal imports and vast expansion of rainfed cropland area, especially because population in SSA is projected to further increase between 2050 and 2100 by a factor 1.9 and anticipated climate change will make the situation even more challenging. In highlighting the need for intensification through accelerated yield growth, greater cropping intensity, and increased irrigated area, we emphasize the importance of adequate R & D investments by the public and private sectors, accompanied by facilitating government policies to meet this challenge and to ensure intensification without negative environmental consequences.

Materials and Methods

We first computed current (2010) national demand (assumed equal to the 2010 consumption) and the 2010 production of the five main cereal crops (i.e., maize, millet, rice, sorghum, and wheat) to estimate 2010 self-sufficiency ratios in the 10 countries included in this study. Most of these countries have a large number of rural poor farmers living in high density rural areas, combined with large and growing market potential, making them a priority for private and

public sector investments in SSA. Current total cereal demands per country were calculated as the product of current population size (Table 1; from UN population prospects, see ref. 14; see <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp>) and cereal demand per capita based on IMPACT (22, 23) (Table S2). The annual per capita demand for the five cereals was next expressed in maize yield equivalents by using the crop-specific grain caloric contents (with caloric contents based on FAO food balances, see faostat3.fao.org/home/E). Current (approximately year 2010) domestic grain production per cereal crop per country was calculated as mean actual crop yield (2003–2012) as estimated in the Global Yield Gap Atlas (Table 1; www.yieldgap.org; refs. 24 and 25) times the 2010 harvested area per crop (FAOSTAT; ref. 23: (faostat3.fao.org/home/E) (Table S1)). Note, we expressed production and demand data at standard moisture content (15.5% for maize; 14% for rice, sorghum, and millet; 13.5% for wheat).

Total future (2050) annual cereal demand per capita, for each of the five cereals and each country, was retrieved from IMPACT modeling results (22). For this purpose, the Shared Socioeconomic Pathway (SSP2, no climate change; ref. 51) from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) fifth assessment was used. Total cereal demand per country in 2050 was calculated based on projected 2050 population (medium fertility variant of UN population prospects (14), see <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp>; see Table 1 for medium fertility population projection) multiplied by the per capita cereal demand in 2050 from the SSP2 scenario.

Opportunities to increase cereal production by 2050 on current cereal land were estimated through extrapolation of 1991–2014 increases in actual yields and different levels (50% and 80%) of yield gap closure derived from the Global Yield Gap Atlas (GYGA) (www.yieldgap.org; refs. 24 and 25). The yield gap is calculated by the difference between current farm yield and yield potential when the crop is grown by using competent management that avoids yield loss from insect pests, disease, weeds, and nutrient deficiencies (26, 30). With much coarser data, we also estimated the possibilities of increasing cropping intensity (i.e., the number of crops grown in the same piece of land within a 12-mo time period), and expansion of irrigated area (*SI Materials and Methods*). These future cereal production data were compared against projections for the 2050 demand for cereals. We first calculated self-sufficiency ratios for year 2050 assuming the above-mentioned yield gap closures and with no expansion of rainfed cropland and no change in areas for each of the cereals. If the food self-sufficiency ratio by 2050 was <1, we calculated how much additional arable land area would be needed to reach self-sufficiency. For example, a self-sufficiency ratio of 0.5 would require the cropland area to be doubled assuming that the new land brought into crop production has the same productivity as current land (which is an optimistic assumption). Maximum land areas suitable for high-input rainfed cereal production (Table S1) were taken from a recent study (34) that concluded that the potential for profitable smallholder-based cropland expansion in many African countries is likely to be smaller than previous estimations (52, 53). We assumed the share of cereal land in total cropland will remain the same as today (Table S1) and corrected potentially available cropland for cereals accordingly (shown in Fig. 3C by dashed lines).

Note, that although the IMPACT model simulates both the supply and demand side of agricultural commodities, it was used in this analysis only for the per capita demand side. IMPACT includes the livestock and feed demand and incorporates interactions between agricultural sectors, but not with nonagricultural sectors. We opted to assess future supply based on different degrees of yield gap closure as derived from GYGA. Yield gap analysis, i.e., assessing the difference between yield potential and actual farm yield in a given location, is now widely used in literature to assess opportunities for sustainable intensification (6, 9, 11, 26, 30, 54, 55). The advantage of using yield gap analysis is that ultimate opportunities and limitations of technological progress are revealed, whereas in economic models, technological progress is simulated with economic feedbacks and at much lower temporal and spatial resolution. Our analysis thus provides the biophysical limits to become self-sufficient in cereals. GYGA uses a global protocol that relies on location-specific data on climate, soils, and cropping systems combined with a robust spatial framework to aggregate results to a national scale, and well-validated crop growth models to estimate potential yields (24–26). The database includes a unique collection of measured weather data, a recently completed map for SSA on Root Zone Plant Available Water Holding Capacity (www.isric.org/content/afsis-gyga-functional-soil-information-sub-saharan-africa-rz-pawhc-ssa) and location-specific information on cropping systems from country agronomists. Crop models were calibrated and evaluated by using the best available experiments. Simulations therefore provide estimations of yield gaps with agronomic rigor and a finer level of spatial resolution than previous studies. Cereal production in SSA is largely rainfed; hence, we use the water-limited yield potential as a benchmark for estimating yield gaps except for irrigated areas (mainly rice growing areas) where yield potential is unconstrained by water limitation (26).

Our analysis covers the 2010–2050 time period, and we note that year 2050 is often used as the target in evaluations of future food supply-demand

projections. This 40-y period is long enough to envision the possibility of closing the current, large yield gaps given what has occurred in 30–40 y in many other parts of the world (e.g., Asia and Europe; ref. 31). It is a compromise between a timeframe that is long enough for changes in policies, investments, and technologies to have substantial impact, yet not so long that uncertainties overwhelm the analysis. As explained in *Results and Discussion*, we opted not to include climate change in our assessment.

Details of estimating current and future cereal demand and production (including sensitivity analysis for future cereal demand) are provided in *SI Materials and Methods*.

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