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**Do Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development
Program (CAADP) Processes Make a Difference to
Country Commitments to Develop Agriculture?**

The Case of Ghana

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ABSTRACT

The CAADP is a commitment of African countries to pursue economic growth through agriculture-led development to reduce poverty and hunger on the continent. It stems from the failure of previous interventions on the continent largely attributed to their weak ownership. CAADP is expected to serve as a framework that adds value to national and regional strategies for the development of agriculture. Some of its key principles that are expected to add value are the building of partnerships, dialogue, peer review, and mutual accountability at all levels as well as exploitation of regional complementarities. CAADP countries are expected to achieve 6 percent growth in the agricultural sector and allocate at least 10 percent of the national budget to agriculture.

The objective of this paper is primarily to understand how continental initiatives such as CAADP can and do influence country commitment to seek agriculture-led development. This paper employs Ghana as a case study to examine whether CAADP processes leading up to and including the country roundtable process enhance the visibility of the role of agriculture as a means of reducing poverty. The study explores whether countries take the leadership in adopting the CAADP framework. First, the paper provides perspective on the agricultural sector in Ghana and the role of agriculture in development strategies. Further, it reviews how the processes for implementation of CAADP have evolved and how they have influenced implementation in Ghana. It evaluates what impact CAADP may have on the content of agricultural policies in Ghana. Finally, the paper makes some suggestions for improving CAADP implementation.

Keywords: CAADP, participation, NEPAD, values, agriculture, Africa

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAGDS	Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Development Strategy
AgGDP	Agricultural gross domestic product
AgSSIP	Agricultural Services Subsector Investment Program
APF	African Partnership Forum
APR	African Peer Review
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
BIPP	Bankable investment project profile
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program
COCOBOD	Cocoa Board (Ghana)
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DFID	Department for International Development
EBPM	Evidence-based policymaking
ECOWAP	ECOWAS Common Agricultural Policy
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FASDEP	Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy
FOODSPAN	Food Security Advocacy Network
GDP	Gross domestic product
GPRS	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
I-PRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MDAs	Ministries, departments, and agencies
MDG1	Millennium Development Goal of poverty reduction
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MTADP	Medium Term Agricultural Development Program
NAIP	National Agricultural Investment Program
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NMTIP	National medium-term investment program
PAMSCAD	Program to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PPMED	Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSIA	Poverty and social impact analysis
REC	Regional economic community
ReSAKSS	Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support Systems
RIP	Regional implementation planning
SWAp	Sectorwide approach

1. INTRODUCTION

Recognizing the importance of agriculture to the economies of its member states and the many challenges faced in reducing poverty and enhancing food security on the continent, the African Union (AU), together with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), created an agricultural initiative called the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) in 2003. The main goal of CAADP is to help African countries reach a higher path of economic growth through agriculture-led development that eliminates hunger, reduces poverty and food insecurity, and enables expansion of exports (NEPAD 2005a). Around the same time, AU and NEPAD developed another continental initiative, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), to address governance issues. The implementation of both of these initiatives at the country level has been underway for several years now, although to varying degrees in different countries.

The failure of previous development interventions on the continent motivated Africa to seek this new strategy. The emphasis on African ownership and leadership distinguishes NEPAD and CAADP from past African development initiatives. The recent guide to implementation (NEPAD 2008) suggests that the creation of CAADP clearly demonstrates Africa's stepping up to take full responsibility for its own development agenda. Although the CAADP initiative is continental in scope, it is not an independent program. Rather, it is expected to serve as a framework that adds value to national and regional strategies for the development of agriculture.

CAADP pursues the following principles and targets:

1. Agriculture-led growth as a main strategy to achieve the Millennium Development Goal of poverty reduction (MDG1)
2. Pursuit of a 6 percent average annual agricultural growth rate at the national level
3. Allocation of 10 percent of national budgets to the agricultural sector
4. Exploitation of regional complementarities and cooperation to boost growth
5. Policy efficiency, dialogue, review, and accountability, shared by all NEPAD programs
6. Building partnerships and alliances to include farmers, agribusiness, and civil society communities
7. Implementation principles, including program implementation by countries, coordination by regional economic bodies, and facilitation by the NEPAD Secretariat (NEPAD 2005a)

Although growth rate and budget share are the two targets most often associated with CAADP, the value-addition to countries from adoption of the framework is expected to come from absorbing its values and principles. According to NEPAD (2008, 4), the "litmus test for success of the CAADP framework and agenda will be its influence on how development and economic investment plans are developed and implemented." One of the key objectives will be to improve the quality of planning and investments, with quality underpinned by the extent of consultations involved in their development. Additionally, NEPAD (2008) notes that an important aspect of CAADP's value-added in terms of increasing the quality of agricultural investment programs will come from fundamental institutional and policy changes in the implementation mechanisms. This emphasis on implementation, however, was absent in earlier documents on CAADP (see AU/NEPAD 2003).

CAADP was first endorsed by the African ministers of agriculture at a special NEPAD-focused session of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Regional Conference for Africa in Rome in June 2002. The session identified four aspects of strategies, which later emerged as pillars of CAADP, to strengthen agriculture and improve food security:

Pillar 1: Extending the area under sustainable land management and reliable water control systems

Pillar 2: Improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for market access

Pillar 3: Increasing food supply and reducing hunger

Pillar 4: Increasing investments in agricultural research and technology dissemination and adoption

Additionally, two cross-cutting areas thought to be essential to implement the pillars were identified: (1) academic and professional training in agriculture and (2) knowledge systems, peer review, and policy dialogue (NEPAD 2005b).

CAADP was approved by the first Conference of Ministers of Agriculture of the AU, which was convened on July 2, 2003, in Maputo. A fifth pillar, sometimes referred to as CAADP 2, which addressed the development of livestock, fisheries, and forestry resources, was added on the recommendation of the AU heads of state during a pre-adoption discussion of the program in Maputo in July 2003 (FAO 2005). The heads of state and government, at a later meeting on July 11–12, 2003, in the same place, endorsed CAADP with a declaration, the Maputo Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security in Africa (AU 2003). All members of the AU are expected to implement this declaration.

The commitments outlined in CAADP have subsequently been reaffirmed with numerous declarations: the Sirte Declaration on the Challenges of Implementing Integrated and Sustainable Development on Agriculture and Water in Africa (AU 2004), the Abuja Declaration on Food Security (AU 2006b), and the Abuja Declaration on Fertilizer for the African Green Revolution (AU 2006a). In addition to reiterating support for CAADP, these declarations added new directives requiring member country compliance. The Sirte Declaration, for example, called for the establishment of a common market, while the Declaration on Fertilizer set a target of increasing fertilizer use from an average of 8 kilograms per hectare to 50 kilograms per hectare by 2015. The Food Security Declaration designated specific crops as strategic commodities needing special attention, including rice, maize, legumes, cotton, oil palm, beef, dairy, poultry, and fisheries products at the continental level and cassava, sorghum, and millet at the subregional level; the commodities were identified to be the basis of a continental free trade area.

This paper has two objectives:

1. To understand how continental initiatives such as CAADP can and do influence country commitment to seek agriculture-led development; specifically, to examine whether Ghana has taken initiative and leadership in implementing the suggested CAADP process in the country and whether the processes have yielded the expected outcomes in terms of influencing the emphasis the country places on agriculture in its national development policies or allocation of resources to the sector by various stakeholders
2. To examine whether the processes required for CAADP implementation in countries add value by fundamentally transforming the way policies are made and implemented in Ghana through the adoption of key values and principles emphasized in NEPAD programs

Methodology

The research approach presented in this paper involved two concurrent steps, broadly defined as *benchmarking* and *observation*. First, policies, particularly those related to agricultural and rural sectors, were reviewed: Historically, how much emphasis has been placed on agriculture? What share of the budget has gone into the sector? Similarly, policy development processes in Ghana prior to CAADP were examined to assess the extent to which the values and principles of NEPAD were already practiced in the country. This review served as a benchmark from which to analyze the influence that CAADP implementation may have had on Ghana's development strategies and policymaking processes and also the potential for change.

Second, we observed and analyzed the way CAADP is implemented in Ghana, to note in particular the nature and level of participation in decisionmaking, the extent to which evidence is brought into policymaking, and the consequent ownership of the process. This study utilized a variety of qualitative methods, including key informant interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of primary documents. For the process analysis, events were analyzed according to a standard framework to

capture details on the purpose of the event, who was involved, what transpired during the event, the role of technical evidence, and outcomes. Some of the content analysis employed a qualitative analysis software program. In the case of APRM, the process involved review of documents and interviews with some individuals who were involved in the process. This review was followed by a focus group discussion with individuals familiar with the APRM process in Ghana to examine whether governance issues in agriculture were addressed by the process, and why.

The next two sections present benchmarking: Section 2 provides an overview of agriculture in the economy; the role accorded to agriculture in the country's development plans; and the efforts made to develop the sector, including the share of budget going into the sector. Section 3 examines the extent to which policy processes in Ghana embodied the key principles and values of CAADP even before its implementation. In Section 4, we describe the CAADP implementation processes and how it was implemented in Ghana. Finally, in Section 5, we examine the short-run impact of CAADP implementation and offer some suggestions to make CAADP a truly owned program.

2. AGRICULTURE IN GHANA'S DEVELOPMENT

Agriculture has always been the dominant sector in the Ghana economy. Its share in the economy declined marginally from 39.6 to 35.8 percent between 2000 and 2006; the shares of the other two sectors, service and industry, were 30.1 and 25.4 percent respectively in 2006. The sector employs 60 percent of the economically active population and contributes about two-thirds of foreign exchange earnings. An estimated 2.74 million households operate a farm or keep livestock. According to the 2000 census, the most recently available population census, 50.6 percent of the labor force, or 4.2 million people, are directly engaged in agriculture (GSS 2002).

Staple crops—roots and tubers—contribute about two-thirds of agricultural gross domestic product (AgGDP). Cocoa, the largest foreign exchange earner in the sector, contributes 12–13 percent (MOFA 2007a). The country has made major efforts since the mid-1980s to diversify into and develop nontraditional exports, horticulture in particular. As a result, a significant nontraditional agricultural export subsector has emerged, with considerable foreign exchange earned from horticulture crops such as pineapple, yam, bananas, cashew nuts, shea nuts, cottonseed, and kola nuts. Additionally, fish products and cocoa have seen their exports growing.

The agricultural sector is characterized by smallholdings and traditional practices. Around three-fourths of farm holdings are less than 3 hectares in size (Chamberlin 2008). Maize and cassava are the most common smallholder crops. Production systems and technology are mainly traditional, based on intercropping and use of simple implements and hand tools, with little use of modern inputs such as improved varieties and fertilizers and other agrochemicals. Crop production is largely rainfed, with less than 1 percent of the cultivated area irrigated. Favorable weather conditions and world market prices for cocoa have contributed to recent rapid growth in agriculture, with the bulk of the growth coming from area expansion. Agricultural performance has not been uniform within subsectors and in different regions. Forestry and cocoa subsectors grew at double digit rates while crops other than cocoa grew at rates ranging from 1.5 to 4.5 percent between 1991 and 2005.

Agriculture in Ghana's Development Strategies

Agricultural policies have played a key role in determining the performance of the Ghanaian economy. Agricultural price distortions in particular were a primary cause of the decline of the economy after independence (Stryker et al. 1990). Macroeconomic instability, inflation, currency overvaluation, state controls, and poorly targeted and implemented state interventions distorted agricultural prices. The price distortions caused by inflation and inflexible exchange rates were too large to be offset by increased producer prices or subsidization of agricultural inputs. There were deliberate price settings in cocoa, but in the case of food crops, domestic prices were influenced by import restrictions rather than pricing policy. Several administrations intervened through projects, public investments, input subsidies, and cheap credit. The pre-Economic Recovery Program (ERP) era, prior to 1983, was characterized by price controls; input and credit subsidies; credit allocations; and heavy state involvement in production, distribution, and marketing. These distortions that affected the agricultural sector prior to 1983–84 have since been removed for the most part (Brooks, Croppenstedt, and Aggrey-Fynn 2007).

Although considerable emphasis has always been placed on agricultural policies, particularly to achieve food security and self-sufficiency, it is only since the ERP that agricultural strategies have been articulated. The policies since 1983 have been characterized by privatization of state farms, removal of price controls, and reduced subsidies on inputs, leading finally to the removal of guaranteed prices and abolishment of input subsidies altogether—at least until the reintroduction of fertilizer subsidies in 2008. A key element of the ERP was the exchange rate policy: Overvaluation of the currency was eliminated by the 1990s. In addition, the government increased the share of the world price received by cocoa farmers. In the nontraditional export sector, the government pursued a policy of duty drawback and graduated increase of the rate of export retention. A few distortions still remain, however. The Ghana Cocoa Board

(COCOBOD) has increased its share of export earnings since the 1990s, and rice and maize are still heavily protected (Brooks, Croppenstedt, and Aggrey-Fynn 2007).

The first post-ERP agricultural strategy was the Medium Term Agricultural Development Program (MTADP) (Ghana, Ministry of Agriculture 1990), which was initiated in 1988 jointly by the government of Ghana and the World Bank to consolidate the gains made in agriculture under the ERP. The key objective was to establish and support market-led growth in agriculture. Accordingly, the government reduced interventions in input and output markets to provide an enabling environment and increased investments in public goods and services, including feeder roads, marketing infrastructure, irrigation, research, and extension. The MTADP projected annual agricultural growth of 4 percent.

In addition to the general agricultural policy reforms, various projects were implemented in different areas: agricultural research, agricultural extension, livestock services, agricultural services investment, agricultural diversification, fisheries subsector capacity building, village infrastructure, smallholder credit, input supply, marketing, land conservation, smallholder rehabilitation, regional agricultural development, roots and tubers improvement, and small-scale irrigation development.

In 1995, during the implementation of MTADP, the government developed Vision 2020, a national policy document that aimed at moving Ghana to a middle-income status by the year 2020 (Republic of Ghana 1995). Agriculture, as the lead sector, featured prominently in the Vision 2020 document. The sector was expected to ensure food security and adequate nutrition for all Ghanaians, to supply raw materials and other inputs to other sectors of the economy, to contribute to an improvement in balance of payments, and to provide producers with farm incomes comparable to earnings outside agriculture.

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 (MOFA 2001). The objective was to increase agricultural growth from the 4 percent achieved in the previous decade to 6 percent over the medium term, 2001–10, the rate necessary to achieve the goals of Vision 2020. The AAGDS had two key objectives: (1) to promote agricultural intensification in high-potential areas, using small-scale irrigation, modern inputs, and mechanization; and (2) to shift toward high-value crops, expansion in livestock products, trade-led policies, and export diversification.

The AAGDS had five elements: promotion of selected products through improved access to markets, development and improved access to technology for sustainable natural resource management, enhanced human resource and institutional capacity, improved access to agricultural financial services, and improved rural infrastructure. The Agricultural Services Subsector Investment Program (AgSSIP) was later designed and implemented by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) to address the first three elements. The Rural Financial Services Project and the Village Infrastructure Project addressed the rest.

Following a change in government in January 2001, the country opted to participate in the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) program. The country's Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) subsequently became the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS), 2003–2005. It was felt that post-ERP policies had failed to address poverty. Agricultural modernization was the focus of the GPRS. Agroprocessing enterprises were to be supported to enhance value-addition, and farmer organizations were also to be developed to enhance their commercial capacity to access and deliver services to their members.

The Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy (FASDEP) was developed in 2002 as a framework for modernizing agriculture. The strategic thrusts under FASDEP were similar to those of AAGDS, but the specific strategies under each of the five elements differed significantly. FASDEP also did not diverge significantly from the MTADP. Most of the interventions proposed in FASDEP to support farmers to access services and inputs like credit, storage, mechanization, and improved varieties were also proposed in the MTADP.

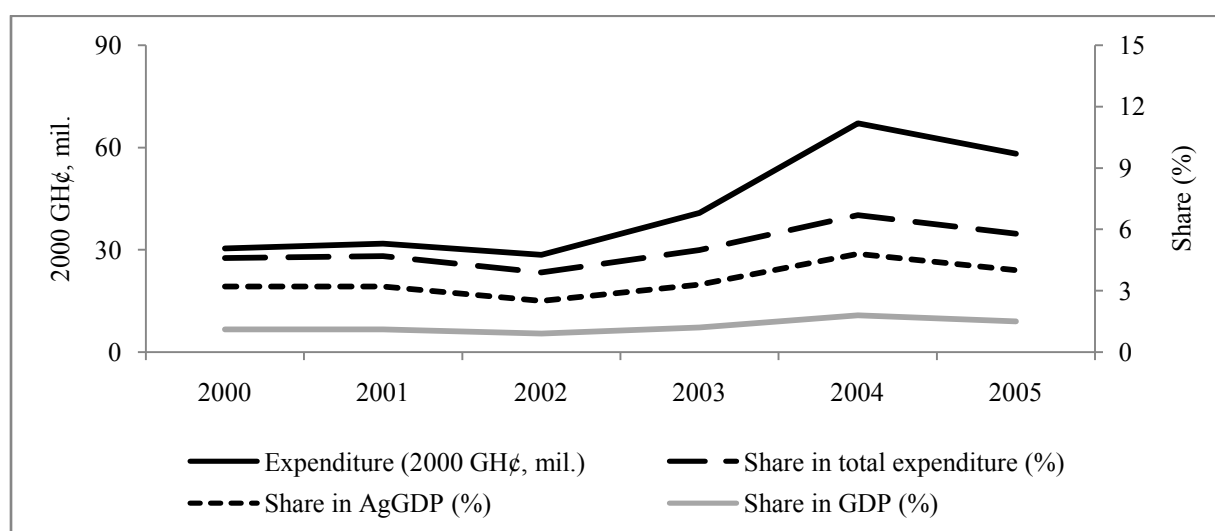
In 2004, a poverty and social impact analysis (PSIA) concluded that FASDEP did not adequately target the poor. In response, it was revised in 2007 with substantial participation of various stakeholders. The objectives of FASDEP II include (1) food security and emergency preparedness, (2) improved

growth in incomes, (3) increased competitiveness and enhanced integration into domestic and international markets, (4) sustainable management of land and environment, (5) application of science and technology in food and agriculture development, and (6) enhanced institutional coordination.

Expenditures in Agricultural Sector

The recent public expenditure and institutional review of MOFA shows that government expenditures in agriculture¹ have risen steadily by about 9.1 percent per year on average in real terms, increasing from Ghanaian cedi (GHS) 30.4 million in 2000 to GHS58.2 million in 2005 (Kolavalli et al. 2008). As Figure 1 shows, the government's spending on the sector accounted for about 6 percent of total government spending on average over the period 2000–2005. In terms of its size relative to the economy, which is a better measure by international standards, spending on the sector accounted for about 4.1 percent of AgGDP and 1.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP).

Figure 1. Ghanaian government expenditure on the agricultural sector, 2000–2005



Sources: Data from various issues of Government Financial Statistics (Office of the Accountant General); Ghana Cocoa Board; World Bank 2007.

The steady increase in real government agricultural expenditure relative to several macroeconomic indicators (Table 1) shows an increasing and steady commitment by the government to investing in the sector. However, government spending on agriculture ranks third after spending on education and health sectors. Although real expenditures have increased significantly, the share of the total budget spent on the sector has increased only slightly.

¹ Consistent with the guide developed by AU/NEPAD for the CAADP initiative (AU/NEPAD 2005a), agriculture is defined as comprising, in addition to the usual crops and livestock, fisheries, forestry, and natural resource management; agricultural research; agricultural extension services and training; agricultural marketing; agricultural inputs (such as seeds, fertilizers, and chemicals); irrigation; and rural infrastructure (such as marketing information systems and postharvest facilities).

Table 1. Ghanaian government agricultural expenditures, 2000–2005

Indicator	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total agricultural expenditure (MOFA, FD, CSIR, COCOBOD; 2000 GHS, million)	30.4	31.8	28.5	40.8	67.1	58.2
Percent of total expenditure	4.6	4.7	3.9	5.0	6.7	5.8
Percent of discretionary expenditure	7.0	10.1	7.1	7.8	9.6	7.8
Percent of AgGDP	3.2	3.2	2.5	3.3	4.8	4.0
Percent of GDP	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.8	1.5
Agricultural budget performance (ratio of expenditure to budget)	--	0.7	0.9	1.3	2.4	1.6
Real expenditure per capita, agricultural population (2000 GHS, million)	2.7	2.8	2.5	3.5	5.6	4.8

Sources: *Government Financial Statistics Yearbook*; Ghana Cocoa Board; World Bank 2007.

Notes: FD is the Forestry Division and CSIR is the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

The shares of agricultural expenditures going into different activities and ministries are also important indicators of government commitment to various aspects of agriculture. Looking at spending across ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) in the sector, MOFA, which is responsible for crops and livestock, accounted for less than 25 percent of the total amount spent by the government on the sector, with the bulk of expenditures being accounted for by COCOBOD, that is, between 55 percent and 70 percent during the period 2001–2005. The agricultural sector expenditure review carried out in 1999 showed MOFA spending the highest share of the government funds allocated to the sector, accounting for between 48 percent and 57 percent of the total government expenditure on the sector (MOFA 2007a). Thus, there has been a shift away from MOFA to other MDAs in the allocation of resources. Also, the steady rise in government spending on the sector is mostly reflected by growth in MOFA and COCOBOD expenditures, especially between 2001 and 2005. There was no substantial growth in real government expenditures via the Forestry Department of the Ministry of Lands and Forestry nor via the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

The bulk of the government's expenditure on the sector goes into recurrent activities, but the share of development expenditure has been rising rapidly over the years, albeit from a very low base in 2000 of about 1.5 percent, to about 15.0 percent by 2005. The imbalance between development and recurrent expenditure is more serious in some agencies than in others. For example, the government's development expenditure share in CSIR fell from 7.5 percent in 2000 to less than 1.5 percent in subsequent years. With respect to the Forestry Department, the share was zero or less than 1 percent, except for an unusual spike in 2004. MOFA's inability to make use of available investment funds continues to be a challenge. In 2006, it used less than 40 percent of the available investment funds.

Though growing, the expenditure shares are short of the CAADP targets. The allocations also suggest that the agricultural sector does not receive funds commensurate with the importance accorded to it in national plans. Modernization of agriculture is included under the broad objective of strengthening private sector competitiveness, one of the three pillars in GPRS II (2006–2009). Wolter (2008) suggests that in 2006, for example, the agricultural component may have been neglected in comparison to others. The share of agricultural sector in the national budget, however, is estimated to have risen to 10 percent in 2008 (Fan, Omiola, and Lambert 2009).

It is interesting to note that the share of expenditures on agriculture exceeded 10 percent in several years prior to the ERP. Greater direct involvement of the state in production through state farms prior to the ERP may have been a reason. An analysis of a longer-term trend in agricultural expenditure is somewhat difficult because information on expenditures—as opposed to budgets—is not easily available. Without a systematic analysis of trends in expenditures associated with different activities, the reasons for changes in expenditures do not become clear.

3. VALUE-ADDING BY CAADP

The revised implementation guide (NEPAD 2008) notes that the introduction of the CAADP agenda in a country is not the introduction of a new intervention but a reminder to the government and partners of NEPAD and CAADP of objectives to which they are already committed by having signed the agreement. Implementation of the agenda should therefore be based on relevant government and partner institutions' fully understanding and pursuing CAADP principles and values in their own strategies and programs. The CAADP process promotes consistency and continuity in that it defines a concrete and limited set of shared long-term growth and financial targets, eases access to greater technical expertise, and emphasizes the practice of evidence- and outcome-based planning and implementation. Some of the principles and values of CAADP that come through in its documents are ownership, participation, evidence-based policymaking (EBPM), and alignment or harmonization.

When the CAADP program is implemented in Ghana and other countries in which policymaking processes are likely to have been established to various degrees, to what extent would the CAADP principles and values be inherent in the country's policymaking processes, and does CAADP implementation strengthen them? We define the meaning of these principles and values in a policy development context and examine the extent to which they are a part of policy development processes in Ghana.

Ownership

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), an organization for which country ownership of the policies it recommends is a delicate matter, defines "ownership as a willing assumption of responsibility for an agreed program of policies by officials in a borrowing country who have the responsibility to formulate and carry out those policies, based on an understanding that the program is achievable and is in the country's own interest" (Boughton and Mourmouras 2002, 3). Ownership by this definition implies believing that a policy is achievable and implementable and taking responsibility for implementing the policy. Lack of ownership, however, may be only one of many reasons that a country could fail to implement the policies.

As ownership is built through processes of interaction and negotiations among various stakeholders, Boughton and Mourmouras recommend that organizations such as IMF enhance countries' ownership of reforms by allowing countries to come up with plans of their own, by providing lots of options and by being flexible in negotiations (2002). According to the Paris Declaration in 2005, countries display ownership through leadership in developing and implementing their national development strategies through a broad consultative process (OECD 2005). Nonetheless, from the point of view of implementation alone, who needs to own policies would depend on the nature of the policies. As we will see later, macroeconomic policies may have a good chance of being implemented even if owned by a small set of technocrats and political leaders, while sectoral policies may require a wider buy-in for successful implementation.

Who initiates a policy process, whether policymakers themselves or donors as part of "conditionalities" or quid pro quo for support, is often considered to be an indicator of ownership. Also, as the Paris Declaration suggests, expenditures in medium-term frameworks and in annual budgets that are consistent with policies are a clear indication of ownership. Reviewing the development of key strategies in Ghana, we find that strategy development can be attributed to both internal and external factors. Changes in government often result in new policies, as was the case with GPRS, although the new policies may not differ considerably from the older ones. Policies may also be constitutionally required, as is the case with Vision 2020. Policies may also be articulated to fashion aid relationships, which are often perceived as being imposed. In 2001, the government decided to move away from a project orientation to a sectorwide approach (SWAp) in agriculture by developing FASDEP as a vehicle for achieving the SWAp. Similarly, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and GPRS were developed to allow Ghana to participate in the debt relief program.

Policies that countries have no choice but to accept are often perceived as being imposed. The ERP was developed and implemented when the country was in a dire condition because of the financial crisis and exogenous shocks: foreign exchange reserves were barely enough to cover two months of imports, external creditors had downgraded creditworthiness, most donors had halted flows, the country faced a major drought in 1981, bush fires had ravaged cocoa, and Nigeria forced more than a million Ghanaians to return to their country. Furthermore, there was no support forthcoming from friendly socialist countries. Ghana may have had little choice about going into the ERP.

Though generally perceived to be imposed from outside, the ERP may have benefited from high Ghanaian ownership, if ownership is characterized strictly as the government's conviction that it has an interest in the policy outcome (Tsikata 2001a). Macroeconomic reforms that do not directly affect particular interest groups are more likely to engender broad ownership even with limited participation in their creation (Tsikata 2001b). Ghanaian technocrats, both in the country and in multilateral organizations, were heavily involved in designing the ERP programs (Agyeman-Duah 2008). Because the country demonstrated commitment to reform, the multilateral organizations also provided considerable leeway in designing the reforms. The government was also able to use the perception that the ERP was imposed to push through many of the reforms in the country.

On the other hand, more complex institutional reforms that upset existing interests, such as privatization and civil service reform, require greater participation to develop the ownership required for effective implementation. The government may have faced difficulties in implementing major institutional reforms along with the ERP largely because the consultations were not broad enough to include the private sector, civil society, academics, and trade unions.

Does aid dependency result in lack of ownership? Tsikata (2001b) argues that after successful adjustment, ownership may in fact have diminished in the country with increased influx of aid and the country's transition to a multiparty democracy in which divergent interests needed to be balanced. Aid dependency came up in the APRM discussions, but the Ghanaians felt that possessing domestic capacity to design and implement sound programs was important for ownership and that aid dependency did not necessarily undermine it (APR Secretariat 2005). One distinct possibility is that, although Ghanaians themselves play a greater role in articulating their policies, donor priorities may still have significant influence on the policies (Sarpong 2008).

So policies have been owned to various degrees, particularly when one considers whether Ghanaians themselves were involved in fashioning and implementing them with the belief that they were effective. Yet it is hard to ignore the potential effect donor priorities are likely to have on the development of policies that are the basis for receiving support.

Ownership can be expected to make the CAADP program different from previous programs at two levels or stages. Initially, ownership can come about through the commitment to focus on agriculture based on belief that it is in the best interest of one's country. The implication is that countries who commit on this basis will not be implementing agricultural programs half-heartedly. Later, ownership can derive from following policy and strategy development processes that further strengthen ownership of policies developed for the sector. We now look at other dimensions that contribute to ownership.

Participation

Participation, in a development context, is people's acting in groups to influence the direction and outcome of development programs that affect them (Paul 1987). It involves mutual adjustment and orientation of behavior among participants—not one doing what the other wants (Leaf 1988); and sharing of information, negotiations, and owning or having some rights over processes (Picciotto 1995). Participation may be viewed as the process that leads to ownership as the outcome.

It is useful to note that whether and how intensively stakeholders participate in policy processes is a reflection not only of the opportunities provided but also of incentives derived from their belief that the policies are of consequence to them. The further removed they perceive the policies to be from real changes that are likely to affect them, the less likely they are to participate. "Consultations" in

government often engage only bureaucrats from relevant organizations, with minimal representation by people who are likely to be affected by policies. Technical staff and administrators may participate largely for professional reasons, without really having a significant stake in the outcomes of the processes, even though policy changes may have implications for how they perform their functions. Also in this context, from the perspective of incentives to participate in processes, it is useful to distinguish between, on the one hand, policies and strategies that are statements of objectives and broad directions and, on the other, policies that entail specific actions that have consequences. The former may not elicit much participation, while the latter might.

Participation can potentially benefit policymaking by enhancing relevance and ownership if those who are likely to be affected by the policy and those who could contribute to designing an effective policy are given the opportunity to participate. The two participant groups identified need not always be mutually exclusive. The first may include the entire population, as in the case of the ERP, for example, or a subset of the population, primarily farmers and extension workers if it is a policy related to extension, for example. The latter group may often include “experts” such as administrators who have the understanding necessary to design effective policies, policymakers, researchers, and consultants.

The nature of participation may be assessed along two dimensions: depth, suggesting the extent of involvement of stakeholders going all the way to primary beneficiaries such as producers, and breadth, indicating involvement of interests across sectors. Depth may be more important for developing appropriate priorities, while breadth is needed to obtain ownership of strategies across sectors. In the suggested CAADP processes, the depth of participation achieved is limited because stocktaking and strategy development are treated as strictly technical processes left to experts. However, this is an aspect of participation that is challenging to develop. How could farmers influence the policies that affect them? Should they have a say in how the programs are designed, or should their participation be limited to offering information on their priorities, while technical experts decide how best to meet them? Or should they participate through political processes?

On the whole, participation in policymaking in Ghana has increased with the introduction of democratic rule (Leite et al. 2000). Under the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government in the 1980s, major policies such as the ERP were not subject to public consultation (Gyimah-Boadi 1990). The situation began to change with the transition to democracy in Ghana. For example, in 1989, the government set up the Program to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) in a participatory manner by allowing villages to decide local funding priorities (Leite et al. 2000). The 1992 constitution guaranteed participatory decisionmaking by stating that “the state shall make democracy a reality ... affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decisionmaking at every level in national life and in government” (*The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana* 1992).

Participation is now an important aspect of established policymaking processes in the country. For developing medium-term plans, for example, the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) recommends setting up a sector planning team consisting of key staff from the lead ministry (for example, MOFA for agriculture), other MDAs, gender officers, and a cross-section of the public, including representatives of civil society organizations and umbrella organizations of the private sector, among others (NDPC 2006). Various institutions have been developed to generate broad-based participation in national policymaking, including the national economic dialogue, homecoming summits, stakeholder workshops, memoranda to Parliament, People’s Assembly, and ministers’ “meet the press” (APR Secretariat 2005). The guidelines to prepare policy documents for cabinet approval require a description of all the consultations held and evidence to demonstrate that the final document has been changed in response to comments received.

The scope of participation also has increased gradually from involving planners in MDAs and academics to include a wider range of stakeholders, including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Civil society groups were not consulted during the development of the ERP, which was designed largely by the government, World Bank, and IMF officials (Vordzorgbe and Caiquo 2001). The agricultural strategy under the ERP was also developed by MOFA in consultation with the World Bank but was circulated for comments to organizations such as the agriculture faculties of various universities.

The preparation of Vision 2020 was led by the NDPC and MDAs. Sector MDAs and district authorities were consulted on prioritizing goals. However, civil society organizations were not involved until the preparation of the medium-term development plan under Vision 2020 (a section titled “The First Step: 1996–2000”), which involved a cross-section of stakeholders, including district assemblies, the private sector, NGOs, academics, workers, and traditional authorities (Vordzorgbe and Caiquo 2001). The AAGDS, which was developed to support the implementation of Vision 2020, was initiated with a series of consultations with stakeholders nationwide, culminating in a national stakeholders’ workshop in 1995. Stakeholders discussed their views and made recommendations to the government. The national consultative workshop was followed by a strategic planning and implementation workshop that involved a broad range of stakeholders, including farmers and agribusiness firms, representatives of relevant MDAs, local and foreign experts, and development partners.

The revision of FASDEP to produce the most recent agricultural policy, FASDEP II, began with a review of policies and of strategies relevant to policy formulation for the agricultural sector. Seven thematic groups, which comprised representatives of the ministry and other government organizations, the private sector, and banks, were constituted to review FASDEP. The draft produced in December 2007, before CAADP implementation, was circulated widely for comments among stakeholders and through consultations in the 10 regions of Ghana. The regional consultations covered a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including farmers, researchers, district assemblies, input dealers, traders, and NGOs. Comments from the consultations were incorporated to produce the final draft, which was discussed at a national validation workshop in July 2007. The final draft was presented to the cabinet in September 2007, and approval came in July 2008.

Although frameworks and guidelines exist, the implementation of participatory processes may leave much to be desired. Government officials were responsible for most of GPRS, for example, despite the intention to make its development more participatory than past processes (Killick 2001). Institutional channels may not be flexible enough to accommodate greater participation (Aryeetey 1998). While participation of various MDAs, primarily represented by civil servants, can be easily achieved, who represents the views of the private sector, including smallholders who are not adequately organized, is an issue that may not get the required attention. Ghana’s APRM country review report notes that at lower levels of government the efforts to institutionalize broad stakeholder participation have been inadequate (APR Secretariat 2005). Also, what is done with inputs received from various stakeholders and how to convert those into implemental policies is usually quite challenging (Resnick and Birner 2008).

Evidence-based Policymaking

The term *evidence-based policymaking* (EBPM) refers to “an approach to policy development and implementation which uses rigorous techniques to develop and maintain a robust evidence base from which to develop policy options. All policies are based on evidence—the question is more of whether the evidence itself, and the processes through which this evidence is put to turn it into policy options, are of sufficiently high quality” (Department for Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs 2006).

EBPM facilitates “good” decisions in terms of policy choice, strategy design, and implementation. Types of evidence include research results, economic and statistical modeling results, and analysis of stakeholder opinion and public perceptions, as well as anecdotal evidence and cost–benefit analyses. The quality of evidence also needs to be assessed in terms of the quality of the methods that are used to gather the information. In this sense, participatory processes are a way of generating evidence.

A review of Ghana’s processes suggests that several sources of knowledge may guide policies: (1) widely accepted beliefs that may have been developed from research and experience, such as the belief that regional cooperation is beneficial; (2) experience of individuals who have been involved in related activities, such as that of an extension agent or a banker; (3) knowledge embodied in consultants, who might come with academic credentials or relevant experience; and finally (4) issue-specific research.

Policy processes usually draw on one or more of these sources. Whether the evidence used is adequate is a subjective judgment, just as participation is.

As in participation, Ghana has made advances in EBPM, although availability of data for rigorous assessment of different situations continues to be a problem. A review of EBPM in Ghana found that the government had conducted analyses of complex policy issues that were of use in budget hearings; appreciation had grown of the importance of data and evidence for improving policies and for monitoring and evaluation; and that critical information was demanded by the highest political offices, emphasizing the role of information and analysis (DFID 2006).

The perceptions of adequacy of evidence sometimes depend on whether policies themselves are deemed acceptable and what their outcomes are. The quality of evidence used in designing the ERP has been questioned in the GPRS (Republic of Ghana 2003), which states that the turnaround of the economy after the ERP was due to a combination of policy reforms and the significant aid flows that were triggered by the reforms. The GPRS (Republic of Ghana 2003) also states that growth led by the private sector did not occur as intended under the economic reform programs because not only were public policies misguided but the structural rigidities inherent in the Ghanaian economy were not recognized. Tsikata (2001a) notes that input from Ghanaians helped provide the local context for the ERP but that economic and sector work was not reliable.

In general, the use of evidence in policy development is gaining ground. New policies routinely review past policies for lessons. Poverty-reduction policies such as GPRS and GPRS II are underpinned by strong analysis of poverty patterns and trends, causes and consequences of poverty, and lessons learned from past programs. The development of GPRS was informed by lessons learned from the implementation of Vision 2020 and the ERP before it. Similarly, progress in the implementation of GPRS informed the development of GPRS II. In the agricultural sector, the development of AAGDS was informed in part by lessons learned from the implementation of MTADP, which had been designed to implement agricultural policies under structural adjustment. The revision of FASDEP also drew on evidence contained in existing reports both within and outside the ministry. MOFA also holds annual performance reviews of its activities and of the agricultural sector and frequently contracts studies to inform its planning and policies.

The limited availability of evidence, in particular quantitative data and rigorous analyses, itself may be the greatest limitation to EBPM. In the agricultural sector, for example, the data available on livestock are projections from a census conducted several decades ago. The only information on agricultural households comes from living standard surveys that are conducted once in five years; they are not suitable for research designed to understand the nature of technical change that may be taking place in the sector. Even reasonable estimates of the level of technology adoption are not available. The statistical unit within MOFA does conduct annual surveys, but they are poorly implemented for various institutional reasons, and it is widely accepted that the information generated by them is not reliable.

Improving the capacity for EBPM has been a priority of development partners in the community. The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) has been supported by many donors. Some development partners are now supporting GSS in the development and implementation of the Ghana Statistics Development Program. The previous strategic plan did not meet the sectoral information needs of either research or monitoring and evaluation (M&E). An M&E system that was developed in MOFA with donor support has yet to effectively improve managerial control in the organization. On the whole, the agricultural sector is not supported with adequate data systems nor with the analytical capabilities necessary both for appropriate planning and for strategy development and effective management control.

Alignment

Alignment, in the sense of harmony between two elements, is applicable to a number of situations: between aspects of country strategies and continental priorities, such as pillars; between country and regional policies that enable exploitation of complementarities; and between country strategies and donor priorities. One alignment that is frequently mentioned in the CAADP context is that of country policies'

paying adequate attention to continental priorities that are suggested as pillars: (1) extending the area under sustainable land management and water control systems; (2) improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities; (3) increasing food supplies, reducing hunger, and improving responses to food crises; and (4) improving agricultural research and technology dissemination and adoption. Another alignment often cited is consistency between government and donor programs, also often referred to as harmonization. It entails donors' respecting country priorities, making greater use of countries' systems to deliver aid, and increasing the predictability of aid (*Accra agenda for action 2008*).

Both internal alignment of national and sector policies and external alignment of government and donor priorities have increased over the past decades. Like other countries, Ghana has established a planning organization that has instituted procedures for policy development. The National Development Planning System Act, 1994, entrusts the oversight role for planning to the NDPC. The act also requires that development planning under any ministry or sector agency be consistent with national development goals and that such plans be presented to the NDPC for approval to ensure harmonization of development plans at different levels. Agricultural policies and strategies are therefore designed to respond to the roles assigned to the sector in the national development strategies.

The donors that support the agricultural sector in Ghana have developed mechanisms for coordinating themselves, as donors have done around other developmental issues such as private-sector development and M&E. The donors that support the agricultural sector began coordinating their activities in 2002, much before implementation of CAADP in Ghana. The donors meet once a month to share information on developments in the sector and activities of various donors. Organizations working in the sector are encouraged to join the group and share information on their activities. Donors as a group also interact with the ministry regularly. One of the requirements of the food and agriculture budget support that the ministry receives is to organize these meetings once every three months. In addition to encouraging dialogue between the donors and the ministry, they serve as useful venues for larger dialogue within the ministry itself because they are attended by regional and district managers. This kind of dialogue has now been extended to include joint review of the ministry's activities. The objective is to reduce transaction costs by conducting one review that replaces numerous reviews conducted independently by different donors and also enhance ownership of these reviews.

Beginning in 2003, largely under the leadership of the Canadian International Development Agency, the ministry has received budget support to fill the "gaps" in its budgets. Currently, three donors participate in this budget support. The donors as a group are interested in moving toward sectorwide support and thus are helping the ministry to articulate their policies and sector plans. The donor support to the ministry exceeded 60 percent of the budget in 2008 and 2009.

4. COUNTRY CAADP IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

This section will first review how country CAADP implementation processes have evolved and then describe the way they were implemented in Ghana. We describe the implementation in Ghana beginning with the steps leading up to the Maputo commitment and then describing the actions taken afterward.

Although CAADP is offered just as a framework for countries to adopt in the development and implementation of their own strategies, a process is also suggested for its implementation. The original CAADP document from 2003 did not offer any plans to operationalize the program (AU/NEPAD 2003); it merely outlined the four pillars around which investments and programs could be developed. The document did, however, indicate that the estimated investments are US\$251 billion for the period 2002–15 for all of Africa, or around \$17.9 billion a year—highlighting the fact that, by comparison, Africa spends \$19 billion on agricultural imports per year.

Two months after the endorsement of CAADP by the AU Assembly in July 2003, the collective ministers of agriculture requested that the FAO assist the regional economic communities (RECs) and country governments in preparing national plans to implement CAADP. In response to the fifth resolution of the Maputo Declaration regarding the preparation of bankable projects under CAADP for the mobilization of resources, the ministers of agriculture met with the NEPAD Implementation Committee in Rome in September 2003. This meeting concluded that national medium-term investment programs (NMTIPs) and bankable investment project profiles (BIPPs) would be formulated as vehicles for implementing CAADP². By the end of 2006, FAO had supported 50 countries of the AU, including Ghana, in developing NMTIPs and BIPPs. The NMTIPs reviewed current agricultural constraints and opportunities and set out priorities for investment, while the BIPPs considered specific agricultural development projects that could be offered for financing by donors.

The medium-terms plans and projects identified were not implemented in Ghana or in any other country. In its 2007 report on support to NEPAD, FAO recognized that the NMTIPs and BIPPs had not yet been integrated into national strategies (FAO 2007). Without this integration, donors were reluctant to fund the plans unless governments requested their support directly.

The second phase of CAADP implementation began with a document called The Road Map, which was presented to the African Partnership Forum (APF) at the end of 2004 (AU/NEPAD 2005b). This document set out the process by which CAADP would be implemented, focusing on the role of the RECs and the need for program implementation documents relating to the pillars (NEPAD 2005b). The 2005 country-level implementation plan (NEPAD 2005a, 3) noted that “according to the Road Map, the point has been reached now to engage national level stakeholders more directly on a demand-driven basis and under the leadership of national governments in collaboration with respective RECs.”

The country-level CAADP implementation process is primarily one of aligning national agricultural sector policies, strategies, and investment programs with the above CAADP principles and targets, in particular the 6 percent growth rate and 10 percent public expenditure share for the sector. Furthermore, the CAADP process at the country level is supposed to build on ongoing country efforts and be led by national governments and other stakeholders, with the necessary support from the regional economic communities and the Secretariat. Moreover, in line with the NEPAD principles of ownership and accountability, the country CAADP process is initiated on demand-driven basis, through consultation between RECs and their member countries. (NEPAD 2005a, 4)

CAADP implementation processes to be followed at the national level were not defined until the Implementation Retreat held in Pretoria at the end of October 2005. The resulting concept note set out the two main steps in the country process: (1) stocktaking and (2) the round table (NEPAD 2005a). Stocktaking is meant to review the country’s past agricultural situation, current trends, and future outlook. In addition, it is specifically expected to include a review of the country’s strategies and policies, along

² Information about the NMTIPs and BIPPs is available at www.fao.org/tc/tca/nepad/nmtip_en.asp.

with the level of investments required in the agricultural sector. The exercise is also expected to include modeling to determine the growth and poverty reduction outcomes associated with different strategies. Stocktaking also measures whether a country is on track to achieve CAADP targets and what needs to happen to reach those targets. The final part of the review addresses institutional and capacity needs in the country.

After stocktaking, each country is expected to hold a round table that brings together all CAADP stakeholders, including representatives of the AU, NEPAD, the RECs, the country's ministry of agriculture and ministry of finance, and development partners. Stocktaking results provide the basis for discussion at the round table. The round table ends with the signing of the country compact, which confirms the commitment of the government and the development partners to address the gaps in policies and financing identified in the stocktaking. The country implementation concept note states that CAADP is not meant to replace existing national agricultural strategies (NEPAD 2005a). Rather, the country's current PRSPs or other national development and agricultural strategies should be aligned with the CAADP framework. Also, the timing of the process should take advantage of national processes already in place.

More recently, an additional step has been introduced. A national validation workshop is recommended before the round table to arrive at a consensus on the drivers of growth, priorities, and the levels of investment required. According to updates from the NEPAD Secretariat after a March 2008 meeting in Seychelles (AU/NEPAD 2008, 15), this step will involve identifying priority investment areas, building coalitions, determining interest in investments, and designing investment programs.

CAADP Implementation in Ghana

By the time of the Maputo Declaration in 2003, Ghana had already prepared its national development policy framework, GPRS. At the agricultural sector level, FASDEP had been prepared in 2002. The development priorities of these policies were consistent with those of CAADP: revitalization of agriculture through an enabling environment for private-sector participation.

Even before CAADP was approved by the AU heads of state in Maputo in 2003, a workshop to create awareness was held in Ghana in April 2003, organized by FAO and the NEPAD liaison office in the then–Ministry of NEPAD and Regional Integration. The title of the workshop was “NEPAD and Agricultural Development in Ghana: Strategy for Sustained Performance in Agricultural Intensification, Processing, and Market Access” (MOFA 2003). The objective of the workshop was to draw linkages between the pillars of CAADP and the agricultural priorities in Ghana with the aim of producing a national program of action for implementation under the NEPAD initiative. The keynote address was given by the vice president of Ghana, signifying the importance the government attached to the workshop. The workshop was attended by 149 participants, including representatives from various MDAs of the government, private-sector operations, civil society organizations, and development partners.

The workshop suggested that (1) its outcome should be disseminated widely; (2) the Food Security Advocacy Network (FOODSPAN) initiated by Action Aid should be used to advocate on food security issues; (3) MOFA, FAO, and the NEPAD Secretariat should hold similar workshops at the regional and district levels to create awareness and to build ownership and commitment; (4) MOFA, FAO, the NEPAD Secretariat, the private sector, and NGOs should develop programs and projects from issues that had been raised in the action plans under the various components for adoption and support by the government and development partners; and (5) dialogue should intensify between the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP) and banks to solicit the necessary financial support for the anticipated increased investment in the agricultural sector (MOFA 2003).

A few months later, in July 2003, CAADP was adopted. Two officials from MOFA attended the technical meeting that deliberated on CAADP and drafted the Maputo Declaration. The ministerial meeting was attended by the minister of food and agriculture. Ghana prepared a country paper on agriculture discussing key challenges in agricultural development in Ghana but did not present it formally. It did present an action plan of priorities (earlier identified at the April 2003 workshop) to be

implemented under CAADP and discussed the need to mobilize Africa's own resources for growth and development, in line with the resolutions of the Maputo Declaration.

CAADP was then taken to sub-national levels between July 2003 and August 2004 through a series of workshops in all 10 regional capitals of Ghana, which were organized by the NEPAD focal point in Ghana and the NEPAD Secretariat to create awareness about NEPAD among the population; CAADP was mentioned only as one among other NEPAD programs. Although MOFA at the national level was not involved, representatives of the ministry at the regional and district levels participated.

FAO focused on formulating a medium-term investment program and preparing a portfolio of bankable projects (BIPPs) within priority areas identified in CAADP and in accordance with the specific needs of the country. A team of consultants and officials from the Policy Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate (PPMED) and MOFA drafted the NMTIP report with the assistance of the FAO Investment Centre Division, FAO Ghana, and the FAO regional office. The draft NMTIP was validated at a national stakeholder workshop held in June 2004. Almost 150 participants attended the workshop, including representatives of the MDAs at the central, regional, and district levels; civil society organizations; the private sector; development partners; farmers; farmer associations; researchers; the media; and financial institutions. The workshop was chaired by the minister of fisheries. It was opened by the minister of food and agriculture together with the minister of regional cooperation and NEPAD (MOFA and FAO 2004).

Following the validation of the NMTIP, consultants were recruited under the guidance of MOFA to design the BIPPs. Two BIPP projects were prepared in 2005: a postharvest system and agroprocessing support project and a small- and micro-scale irrigation and drainage project.

FAO submitted the completed BIPPs to the government in 2005 to obtain funds for implementation as government projects. FAO also shared the BIPPs with other development partners in an attempt to secure funding. It is most likely that had FAO succeeded in accessing funding for the projects, they would have been implemented as FAO projects. None of the BIPPs have been funded yet because development agencies wanted the governments to integrate them in the country plans to be funded under the existing multi-donor budgetary support system. This phase of CAADP implementation, which was largely led by FAO, came to an end without any of the proposed projects' being funded explicitly by the government or the donors.

The second phase, in which the regional organizations have a bigger role, began with a series of regional implementation planning (RIP) meetings held by the five RECs, including the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which as a regional body was mandated to coordinate and monitor the implementation of NEPAD and its sectoral programs in West Africa. In March 2005, just a few months after the adoption of the ECOWAS Common Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP), the West Africa RIP meeting was convened in Bamako, Mali, by the NEPAD Secretariat and ECOWAS. The RIP meeting may have motivated the design of the 2006–2010 regional action plan for the implementation of ECOWAP and CAADP to remedy the lack of integration between the two frameworks. The action plan noted that ECOWAS had been tasked as the relevant REC for implementing NEPAD programs and that ECOWAP should serve as an integrated framework for the CAADP initiative and agricultural development in the region. Since then, ECOWAS has facilitated the process of stocktaking and modeling and organized review meetings among West African states.

CAADP activities under ECOWAS were stalled until 2007, when ECOWAS intensified efforts at reviving the implementation processes in its member countries. An official from the ECOWAS Commission visited Ghana to announce the support the commission was providing to member states to enable them to prepare comprehensive country agricultural investment plans. This visit was followed by a regional meeting in Benin in March 2007 to present the framework of ECOWAS support to member states. The framework suggested that the countries needed to take the following steps:

1. Establish a steering committee and a technical team to oversee the planning process
2. Recruit consultants for stocktaking
3. Organize a national retreat

4. Prepare technical proposals for the round table
5. Organize a country round table (ECOWAS 2007)

ECOWAS committed to provide funding, through its bureau in Ghana, to hire consultants to do the analytical work and preparations for the round table. While financing mechanisms were being arranged, the countries were asked to outlay funds to begin preparations for a national retreat to review the results of the stocktaking work.

At the end of the meeting, member states presented time frames for the preparation of the necessary documentation and the national roundtable meetings. Ghana delegates, including a deputy director and a budgetary officer from MOFA, suggested that the process would begin in late March in Ghana and would conclude with a round table in September 2007. The participants noted that while the processes to be followed were clear, some requirements, such as mathematical models that the countries were expected to use in their analysis of investment requirements, were not yet available. The participants were encouraged to make do with whatever information was available.

Earlier in 2007, letters from ECOWAS had indicated that ECOWAS intended to send a mission to Ghana for a national launch of CAADP activities. However, the mission did not arrive until after another capacity-building workshop in August 2007, held in Benin. Ghana received a field mission on ECOWAP and CAADP, headed by the ECOWAS commissioner for agriculture, environment, and water resources on August 16–17, 2007. The commissioner interacted with several ministers whose work affected the agricultural sector in Ghana. The mission visited a number of MDAs—including MOFA; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Ministry of Fisheries; NDPC; the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development, and Environment; and MOFEP—and finally met with the CAADP steering committee.

A multisectoral task force was set up to prepare the sector plan (National Agricultural Investment Program, or NAIP). However, the donors and the private sector, including the farmers, were not represented. The task force, comprising representatives from various ministries and agencies, was useful in putting together information from relevant organizations for the preparation of sector plans and reporting on expenditures in the sector. A national retreat on the ECOWAP/CAADP investment program for Ghana took place in September 2007. A consultant from ECOWAS attended. The purpose of the retreat was to enable stakeholders to share information and data for preparation of the NAIP (MOFA 2007b). Retreat participants drew up the roadmap for Ghana, determined the level of work required, and agreed on the scope of analytical work. The phases of work were to include a country report on the stocktaking exercise and analytical work, internal meetings and hearings, stakeholder consultations, and preparation for the round table.

There were 37 participants drawn from MDAs of government, development partners, research institutions, farmers, NGOs, ECOWAS representatives, and banks. The deputy minister for food and agriculture and the deputy minister for foreign affairs opened the event. They both emphasized the government's commitment to the ECOWAP/CAADP process and expressed the hope that the exercise would be done in time for Ghana's program to be considered at the heads of states' meeting in December 2007. ECOWAS pressured the countries to hold the round tables so that there would be something to report at that meeting. A representative of ECOWAS explained that the retreat was meant to bring together the CAADP steering committee to provide the consultants with the information required to prepare the NAIP. The investment program would be used to negotiate for funding at country roundtable sessions, which would be attended by development partners who had already pledged support to the CAADP initiatives. The perception created was that the round table was largely an opportunity to obtain commitment for additional funding by offering investment plans.

Retreat participants concluded that the NAIP was to be synchronized with development of the sector plan to implement a revised policy for the agricultural sector: FASDEP II. They also recognized that time was not sufficient to complete the CAADP compact by the deadline proposed at the Benin meeting. Areas for follow-up included additional review and inventory analysis of studies and data. The national consultants were required to provide data to the International Food Policy Research Institute

(IFPRI), the organization mandated through ECOWAS to provide modeling support to the country, for further analysis and simulations to inform the investment proposals for the compact.

The process so far had been led by the ministries of both agriculture and foreign affairs. At its meeting in Seychelles in March 2008, NEPAD recommended that countries appoint permanent focal persons dedicated to CAADP. Previously, in 2003–2004, two MOFA senior staff had worked with FAO at the direction of the chief director of MoFA. This time around, the director of the PPMED of MOFA made it the responsibility of the policy unit that was overseeing the review and development of agricultural sector policy and the medium-term plan (usually referred to as the sector plan). The head of this unit became the focal person for ECOWAP/CAADP in MOFA to attend meetings organized by the regional bodies and NEPAD, but the responsibility has now been mainstreamed into existing structures of the ministry.

The consultants hired for stocktaking presented their draft to MOFA in November 2007 and a revised document in April 2008. A report on the modeling exercise led by IFPRI was also presented at the same time. The findings of both reports were presented at various forums organized by MOFA and at workshops for the preparation of the sector plan, or NAIP. On key constraints, the stocktaking report noted that low productivity, low usage of improved seeds, poor access to inputs, and weak access to markets were the key concerns. It also noted that the share of expenditures for agriculture in the national budget is stagnating.

NEPAD and ECOWAS organized several implementation and monitoring meetings during 2008 and 2009 to urge the countries to organize round tables and also inform them of the processes to be followed. The participants from Ghana felt that these meetings were arranged on an ad hoc basis and with short notice to participants. They felt that these meetings significantly disrupted country processes because senior staff had to attend them. They also felt that information was often requested on very short notice, posing a challenge even for a dedicated focal person.

By early 2009, MOFA had developed a draft sector plan, led primarily by the two consultants who had done stocktaking, but it took considerable time to cost the plan. The round table was organized in October 2009. Prior to the round table, the ministry held consultations with different stakeholders. The agricultural donor group that includes the major donors to the sectors met several times to go over the draft compact. Because it entailed making some commitments, many of the donors sought legal opinion. The major donors to the sector attached a memorandum to the compact, stating, “as outlined in the compact, the DPs [development partners] commit collectively to harmonize and align their assistance to the sector with the programmes and components of the agriculture sector plan (2009–2015).” At the insistence of the donors, the compact also noted that it “is a civic document and therefore is neither an international treaty nor a legally binding instrument” (compact) and that they will work toward scaling up assistance in the medium to long term (*ECOWAS agricultural policy (ECOWAP)/Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) compact 2009*).

The process, including the organization of the round table, was led largely by civil servants, the staff of the policy and planning unit of MOFA. The agricultural minister became involved only when it was time to organize the round table. The minister wanted estimates of private investments that should come forth in order for the sector to achieve the stated objectives so that other partners attending the round table would have a clear view of what was expected of them. The round table was attended by the leaders of a range of farmers’ organizations as well as representatives of the private sector and of NGOs. Important sessions were chaired by the chairman of the Parliamentary Subcommittee on Agriculture and Cocoa Affairs and the chief of the House of Paramount Chiefs. Several ministers, including those from finance, trade and industries, and local government, attended the concluding session.

5. IMPACT OF CAADP ON AGRICULTURAL STRATEGIES AND POLICIES IN GHANA

The implicit aim of CAADP country implementation processes, going from the retreat to the round table, is to enhance EBPM and ownership of policies, generate partnerships that might lead to greater investments in the sector, and seek harmonization that ensures donor support for government programs. Recognizing that the process culminating in a round table is only a beginning, we focus on examining the impact of CAADP implementation in Ghana in the short to medium term in terms of: (1) alignment of country policies with regional policies and continental priorities, (2) ownership of and commitment to implement CAADP, and (3) value-added by furthering some of the values and principles espoused by NEPAD/CAADP.

Alignment

Do the policies of Ghana acknowledge the principles of CAADP? Yes, since the endorsement, CAADP is mentioned in the country's agricultural plans and CAADP visions are acknowledged and shared. The commitment to increase the sector's budget share to 10 percent is included as one of the guiding principles in the country's current agricultural strategy, FASDEP II.

Ghana's sector objectives and strategies are also consistent with CAADP objectives. The agricultural growth that the country seeks is in excess of the commitment; the target growth rate of 6–8 percent in FASDEP II is derived from broader goals set for the sector in GPRS II. It is also the rate required to halve the poverty rate and is the minimum needed to enable the country to reach its long-term objective of attaining middle-income status by 2020 (Breisinger et al. 2008).

At a technical level, the CAADP framework seeks alignment of country policies with the pillars. The CAADP pillars suggest that agricultural policies should seek to improve food security without neglecting livestock, fishery, and forestry subsectors; and that policies should enhance productivity through sustainable land and water management, use of improved technologies, increased access to markets, and improved infrastructure. As noted, key aspects of the strategy are consistent with the pillars. Although the six FASDEP objectives were developed independently of CAADP, each of them can be aligned with one or more of the CAADP pillars (see Table A.1) and ECOWAP thematic areas (see Table A.2). This agreement reflects the common understanding between the framers of CAADP, the developers of ECOWAP, and country policymakers of the agricultural development challenges faced in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Some of this alignment was feasible because the CAADP implementation coincided with policy development that Ghana would have undertaken in any case. CAADP implementation began just as Ghana had developed FASDEP II and was preparing to develop the "sector plan" to implement the policy that ultimately became NAIP. In fact, because the thrust of FASDEP II was consistent with that of CAADP, the two processes were merged. Apart from the requirement of increasing the agricultural share of the budget to about 10 percent, however, the broad framework of CAADP would align with most countries' agricultural strategies. While its generic nature allows for flexibility, it also leads governments to question its added-value.

It is also instructive to think about whether these alignments matter significantly to countries in which policies are routinely drafted, often by consultants, to be consistent with all other policies. The decisionmakers may often pay little attention to policies, seeing them merely as broad statements of interests and objectives; budget allocations to different actions may better indicate intent than policy statements do.

Ownership and Commitment

As noted, considerable emphasis has been given to agriculture in all the development plans in Ghana since independence. Still, there may not be one-to-one correspondence between the emphasis placed in

plans and the share of budget that is allocated to the sector, for a number of reasons. CAADP, however, has set a benchmark to judge the country's commitment to develop agriculture. The monitoring by AU/NEPAD of budget share going into agriculture makes the countries at least pay attention to how much is being spent. Ghana has had to respond to two requests from NEPAD to report on the share of agriculture in the country's budget. This monitoring is expected to be strengthened as the Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support Systems (ReSAKSS) nodes track key indicators and as AU/NEPAD, the RECs, the CAADP Partnership Platform, and the APF also monitor CAADP progress and provide forums for discussion of CAADP issues.

Although African presidents committed to implement CAADP, the Office of the President in Ghana, for example, has not sought to follow up; the commitment made by being a signatory to the agreement in itself has not led to ownership in terms of carrying out the suggested processes without prodding and support from outside organizations. Ghana has also depended on the regional organization to financially support the process, complaining often about the amount and timeliness of resources received from regional bodies. The share of the budget going into agriculture in Ghana has been growing in recent years. To what extent, if any, this increase can be attributed to CAADP is not clear. However, this does not suggest an absence of political commitment to agriculture. There is considerable political commitment to objectives such as achieving self-sufficiency and avoiding food shortages.

Practice of Principles and Values

Did CAADP implementation in Ghana further CAADP principles and values? Participation, for example, was quite limited, except for the opportunity given to various stakeholders at the round table to discuss and endorse the NAIP. As discussed, the suggested processes would have left stocktaking and strategy development to consultants and the technical team, but because of policy processes established in Ghana, FASDEP II and the NAIP were developed with substantial consultations. In reaching across sectors, that is, in achieving breadth of participation, the CAADP implementation may have enhanced participation. Breadth of participation may be particularly important to obtain buy-in for the sector strategy. The round table brought other ministries, the finance ministry in particular, to the table. It is not clear to what extent it added value, since cabinet members in Ghana are often taken to retreats to discuss budgets. These difficulties demonstrate the challenges that NEPAD faces in going beyond the rhetoric to suggest processes that may deepen participation and ownership of agricultural policies and strategies.

Did CAADP further EBPM? The NAIP, which was the basis for the bulk of the material that was discussed at the round table, was developed on the basis of internal reviews at MOFA, and its development may also have benefitted from a few studies that MOFA commissioned with support from the World Bank. But was there adequate evidence to make NAIP of superior quality compared to investments proposed earlier? For example, stocktaking concludes that increasing agricultural productivity is the key challenge for Ghana. The modeling exercises also suggest that if the country is to meet the sector objectives, the targets for closing the yield gaps must be met. The NAIP proposes a number of interventions to reduce the productivity gaps: review of technologies, development of new varieties, improved dissemination, and so on. Was there adequate evidence to suggest that these are the appropriate investments in the absence of rigorous understanding of why farmers are not adopting improved technologies in Ghana?

The evidence and expertise that the CAADP process brings to policymaking—support to hire consultants for stocktaking and modeling support from a research organization—while useful, are not designed to improve the quality of investments. Models provide the tools for better targeting of investments but do not improve the quality of investments per se. The examination of returns on investments that can help guide priorities for investment is constrained by the absence of detailed information on expenditures. Both analyses and data limitations severely constrain EBPM. Building information systems to enhance EBPM is one of the objectives of CAADP, but in the short run, planning has to be done with limited information.

CAADP implementation up to the round table in Ghana is not likely to have contributed to greater alignment in terms of donors' supporting the government's agenda and moving toward supporting the government budget rather than channeling aid through projects. The donors were guarded in committing to scale up their support to the country. Alignment is likely to be influenced by donor perceptions about the effectiveness of proposed interventions and their confidence in country systems' effective use of resources. CAADP implementation did not do much to allay these donor concerns.

CAADP implementation up to the round table has only marginally improved the way policies are developed and implemented in Ghana. As noted, CAADP principles and values are practiced in the country to various degrees. Value can be added only by strengthening or "deepening" these practices. Strengthening will require developing innovative ways to capture smallholder priorities and knowledge to improve agricultural policies, strengthening statistical systems, and improving institutional capacities for implementation. Apart from promising to support country knowledge systems, CAADP appears to pay marginal attention to institutional and governance issues.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The country CAADP implementation processes are investment-oriented in the sense that they are expected to generate additional investments in the agricultural sector. However, they may be generating unreasonable expectations of enhanced donor support at the end of a short process without adequately addressing the reasons for inadequate investments in agriculture. The assumption in the current CAADP implementation processes is that a supply of appropriate investment opportunities through the NAIP will generate demand for investments from private-sector and other stakeholders, donors in particular. Does the process generate investment plans that are superior to those already available in the country? Are they any better than the bankable projects that were identified during the earlier FAO-led process? Second, are investments, public expenditure on agriculture, and aid flows constrained by the supply of such investment plans? The answer to the first question appears to be no for the reasons explained earlier. We focus on the second.

What factors might influence the share of public expenditures and investments in the sector? A number of reasons, which are likely to differ from country to country, might account for low investments:

- Key decisionmakers, finance ministries and presidents' offices in particular, may perceive that the benefits from investing in agriculture, particularly by increasing expenditures through the ministries, are not high or at least not as high as in other sectors such as education and health, which usually attract significantly greater shares.
- The governments may have little financial flexibility to significantly increase allocation to any sector; internal funds may be just adequate to meet salary and administrative expenditures. Donor priorities and their support for different sectors through budget support may have a greater bearing on the relative shares of different sectors than do the priorities of governments. The donor contribution to the MOFA budget, for example, was in excess of 60 percent in 2008 and 2009 (Crola 2009).
- Agriculture expenditure shares may be closely related to governments' level of activism in the sector, with agriculture expenditures declining following structural reforms. And the agricultural sector may not be politically strong enough to attract funds.

The reasons cited above pertain largely to perceived and actual returns on expenditures as well as to political processes that may influence budgetary processes in the country. Expert surveys in Uganda and Ghana suggest that some of the factors that contribute to agricultural sectors' receiving little support include weak leadership, lack of technical capacity and absence of business culture in agricultural ministries, problems with budgetary processes, and weak M&E systems (Heady, Benson, and Kolavalli 2008). If perceptions of expenditures' effectiveness have a bearing on the extent of expenditures, the capacities of agricultural ministries to use resources effectively become very important. Building state capacity and facilitating private-sector development then become two critical issues in enhancing expenditure effectiveness. The terms of reference for stocktaking do suggest that institutional limitations need to be identified, but in the case of Ghana the report dealt more with technical rather than institutional issues.

The *World Development Report* recognizes that governance is often the reason programs have failed in the past. Defining governance, the document draws attention to the role that the state needs to play in cases where the private sector is not developed (World Bank 2007). Although state capacity is a limitation, CAADP places its focus on superior information and planning, combined with partnerships, leading to increased investments. CAADP is somewhat silent about governance or the need to improve governance.

It is also not clear what aspects of the CAADP processes will lead countries to imbibe the values and principles that CAADP espouses to bring about fundamental institutional and policy changes in the implementation mechanisms. Is it the short process leading up to the round table? As the discussion suggests, this short process may contribute only marginally, if at all. The prevailing understanding of the

processes and the expectations are that donors will commit through a compact at the round table to significantly increase their investments in the sector. If the round table is only the first significant step in implementation and there is more to be done to implement CAADP beyond the round table (besides monitoring), this needs to be articulated, and in the case of Ghana, it was not articulated until nearly four months after the round table was organized. The underlying reasons for low expenditures in the sector are not addressed by CAADP, although signing of a compact alone as an indicator of government ownership might provide incentives for many donors to increase their support, particularly in an environment of increased interest in supporting agriculture.

Suggestions

The crux of CAADP is ownership, the idea that African leaders have accepted that agricultural development needs to be at the heart of their development strategies. The key principles and values of CAADP—participation, EBPM, and dialogue with partners—are expected to strengthen ownership of this commitment to develop agriculture among stakeholders. The current processes do not appear to build ownership for the following reasons:

- In countries like Ghana in which fairly rigorous policy development processes are already in place, the externally driven nature of the process strengthens the feeling that CAADP is a requirement by NEPAD or the RECs rather than a program the countries have committed to implement, although the prospect of increased donor support offers an incentive to go through implementation.
- Ambiguity about the roles of various supporting organizations, which lasted all the way up to the round table, gave the impression that leadership in this process lay outside the country in a regional or a continental organization.
- The focus on alignment, particularly in terms of concurrence with pillars and targeted growth rates, is not very helpful. As noted, such alignments are not difficult to make, and there is a tendency to feel that the country is already “compliant” and to avoid any deeper analysis of opportunities forgone in the sector.

A process more like that of APRM, in which the governments volunteer to participate and bear the costs of implementation, may be more effective in encouraging ownership. In such a process, a head of state would sign up to undertake CAADP and commit some of the country’s own funds. The process would include both a self-assessment and an outside panel assessment that would validate the findings. The head of state would then be required to report on the country’s status in meeting the CAADP goals. Given that the CAADP process has already advanced in many countries, such an overhaul is infeasible at this stage.

Governance needs to be addressed much more forcefully in CAADP itself. A pillar organization (perhaps a unit within NEPAD) that can assist countries with institutional analysis would be useful. While it may be argued that all matters relating to state capacity would be dealt with under APRM, state capacity may be the major limitation in the agricultural sector. Along with investment plans, post-round table processes need to pay attention to the following:

- expenditure reviews to understand the factors that determine the level of expenditures in the country, the returns on these expenditures, perceptions about returns from various sectors, and opportunities to improve the effectiveness of spending;
- a more in-depth institutional review to examine the capacity to plan and implement policies in the sector, the role of the private sector and of civil society, structures for participation, and accountability for service delivery in general; and

- a knowledge system review to examine the adequacy of data and research capabilities to support EBPM (this would be essential to establish the planned country Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System (SAKSS nodes).

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table A.1. Alignment of FASDEP II objectives with CAADP pillars

CAADP Pillar	Relevant FASDEP II Objective
1. Sustainable land development and reliable water control systems	Objective 4: Sustainable management of land and environment
2. Improvement of rural infrastructure and trade- related capacities for improved market access	Objective 3: Increased competitiveness and enhanced integration into domestic and international markets
3. Enhancement of food supply and reduction of hunger (support to productivity-enhancing activities among small farmers)	Objective 1: Food security and emergency preparedness Objective 2: Increased growth in farm incomes
4. Development of agricultural research and technology dissemination and adoption	Objective 5: Science and technology applied in food and agriculture development
5. Sustainable development of livestock, fisheries, and forestry resources	Objective 1: Food security and emergency preparedness Objective 2: Increased growth in farm incomes Objective 4: Sustainable management of land and environment
Cross-cutting	Objective 6: Enhanced institutional coordination

Table A.2. Alignment of FASDEP II objectives with ECOWAP themes

ECOWAP Theme	Relevant FASDEP II Objective
1. Improving water management, including the following: a. Irrigation promotion b. Integrated water resource management	Objective 4: Sustainable management of land and environment Objective 5: Science and technology applied in food and agriculture development
2. Sustainable farm development, including the following: a. Integrated soil fertility management b. Capacity building of farmer support services c. Dissemination of improved technologies	Objective 4: Sustainable management of land and environment Objective 5: Science and technology applied in food and agriculture development
3. Improved management of shared natural resources, including the following: a. Organization of transhumance rangeland management b. Sustainable forest resource management c. Sustainable fisheries resource management	Objective 4: Sustainable management of land and environment Objective 2: Increased growth in farm incomes
4. Development of agricultural value chains and market promotion, including promotion of national, regional, and international trade	Objective 2: Increased growth in farm incomes Objective 3: Increased competitiveness and enhanced integration into domestic and international markets
5. Prevention and management of food crises and other natural disasters, including development of crisis management systems	Objective 1: Food security and emergency preparedness
6. Institutional building, including the following: a. Support in building capacity to map out agricultural and rural policies and strategies b. Capacity building for steering and coordination c. Capacity building for monitoring and evaluation	Objective 6: Enhanced institutional coordination

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