Inter-réseaux Développement rural

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY BRIEF

No. 12. December 2013

# Social Protection Policies to Fight Food Insecurity: What Stakes for Farmers?

*The idea of fighting hunger in the least developed countries by setting up social welfare systems could have seemed extravagant just a few short years ago yet its feasibility is the subject of a growing number of studies and it is increasingly being discussed and encouraged within official development assistance circles, as witnessed by the recent adoption of the 'Social Protection for Food Security' report by the FAO Committee on World Food Security. For example, 'cash transfer' programmes distributing money to food insecure people are springing up in sub-Saharan Africa. In Ethiopia, a large-scale social welfare programme to fight food insecurity has been in place since 2005, with visible results. The idea is not new, of course, but social protection now appears to be an 'innovative' and radical solution to persistent hunger. This movement could potentially overthrow habits and ways of thinking about rural development and agricultural policies in least developed countries. This brief examines the current affirmation of this social strategy for food security, some of its causes and some of its possible consequences on rural development stakeholders and policies, especially in the Sahel.*

## I. What Exactly Is It?

**What is social protection?** Social protection is above all a national solidarity policy effort, a society's efforts to organize so that no one is left without support in the face of tragedies such as unemployment, poor health or poverty (with hunger understood as one of its ultimate manifestations). Social protection schemes vary from country to country in scope and format. 'Social insurance' (in which everyone pays dues to obtain rights) and 'social assistance' (aid for the poor, without preconditions; also called 'welfare', 'social aid' or 'safety nets') are the elements found most often in social protection systems. Mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, social protection's emergence in the history of many countries has always triggered sharp debate. Even in countries where it has been established, it is consistently questioned because financing it is regularly a problem. While some see it as the cement that holds a nation together, others believe that it leads to unjustified public spending and fear that it generates handout mentalities. It is one of what are called 'social policies' along with education, health and housing. Traditionally set up in industrialized countries, social protection systems are developing rapidly in emerging countries (e.g. Brazil, India, China).

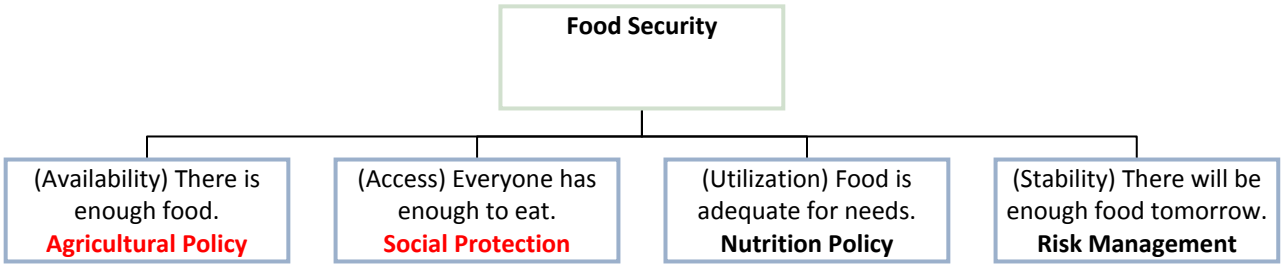
**What does 'social protection for food security' (SP/FS) cover?** This expression designates an ensemble of proposals currently being discussed that aim to 'lessen vulnerability through social and productive safety net programmes and policies with respect to food and nutritional security'. A conceptual framework of reference was recently formulated by the High Level Panel of Experts for the CFS (HLPE, [R1]). It describes how social protection can contribute to the attainment of food security in developing countries. SP/FS is particularly interested in mechanisms and instruments of social assistance (safety nets) for the rural poor and inclusive agricultural policies since food insecurity is still most often found outside cities in impoverished zones where informal labour and agriculture are predominant. This approach is new in sub-Saharan African countries today because until now efforts to attain food security emphasized either social programmes during periods of food crisis ('social' instruments used occasionally) or agricultural and economic development actions. The approach via social protection seeks to reconcile these two approaches, and has sparked a vast debate on which 'social' and 'agricultural' policies to implement and how to coordinate them with each other so as to prevent food insecurity among the population most efficiently and most durably.

**Social Protection Defined**

'A specific set of actions to address the vulnerability of people's life through social insurance, offering protection against risk and adversity throughout life; through social assistance, offering payments and in kind transfers to support and enable the poor; and through inclusion efforts that enhance the capability of the marginalized to access social insurance and assistance.' (European Union, 2010). Other definitions include access to basic services, particularly healthcare, and livelihood support for the poor such as agricultural input subsidies (HLPE, [R1]).

### Agricultural Policy or Social Protection for Food Security?

There is no conflict between social action and agricultural policy for food security. To effectively fight hunger, it is often necessary to pursue several sub-targets simultaneously: stimulate production, watch price fluctuations, and assist the poorest with social redistribution policies. The difficulty is often a matter of finding the proper dosage of each of these complementary policies. The 'standard' definition of food security takes into account these two agricultural and social dimensions. The diagram below is a (simplified) illustration of the relationships between the two approaches [R4]. It uses the conceptual framework on which there is an international consensus in which food security relies on four pillars (availability, access, utilization and stability). Social protection for food security policies focus primarily on the pillar access to food (can everyone buy or produce the food that they need to live?), while agricultural policies focus more on the availability of food (is enough food produced (or imported) and is it adequately distributed throughout the territory?).

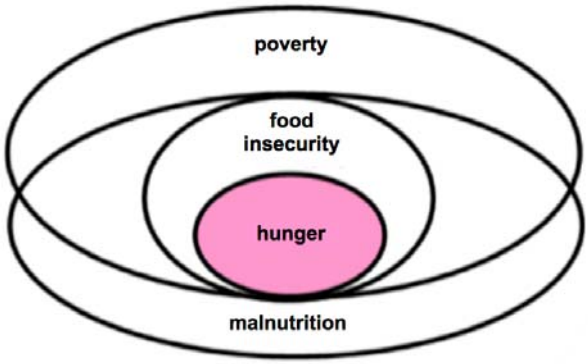



Although objectives seem complementary, things are not as clear when it comes to implementation and which instruments to favour. Some instruments are more relevant than others to specific contexts (for example, a food accessibility crisis vs. a food availability crisis). Some social and agricultural policy measures may also contradict each other. Some instruments are presented as belonging to both agricultural policy and social protection (input subsidies, tool transfers, cash transfers, etc.) and could serve a dual purpose. There is considerable debate over the choice of which social and agricultural policy instruments to use and how to properly articulate them.

### Poverty, Food Insecurity, Malnutrition, Hunger

The diagram below helps one understand the relationships between the concepts of poverty, food insecurity, malnutrition and hunger—all of which are forms of vulnerability (there are others as well, for instance vulnerability to climate risks). Poverty is not limited to food insecurity because one can have enough to eat and be poor. Similarly, malnutrition can affect non-poor populations. Food insecurity is broader than hunger because it also takes into account the risk of hunger in the near future or nutritional deficiencies. However, one can be hungry without necessarily being poor, food insecure or malnourished. Like poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition, hunger can be chronic (lasting) or temporary. These situations require both structural policies and specific measures in times of crisis (or emergencies).

Hunger: Ultimate Manifestation of Poverty, Food Insecurity and Malnutrition




Inspired by IFPRI, 2013.

### Social Protection, Food Security and Family Farming

'Social' approaches and strategies to fight food insecurity extensively address the issues of hunger or food risk from the standpoint of poverty, that is to say household incomes and more generally the resources they have to live and eat ('livelihoods': incomes as well as a plot of land to grow food, etc.). They propose instruments to increase production for subsistence or increase poor populations' purchasing power to keep them lastingly safe from hunger. They therefore focus their attention on 'poor' categories of households and by extension on questions of inequality between households. In sub-Saharan African countries where hunger often strikes first in rural zones where farming is predominant (although this is changing), social approaches to food insecurity take a strong interest in the farms of family farmers and herders who are 'poor' or 'in deficit'—those that do not produce enough to cover their food needs throughout the year.

## II. Where Did Social Protection for Food Security Originate?

### *A. Social Protection: A Longstanding Goal Hurt by Liberalization*

**Efforts put on the back burner since the 1980s** [R5]. Social protection in low-income countries is not a new idea. In the world of development and international solidarity, it was heavily promoted after World War II until the 1960s and was then eclipsed during the era of the 'Washington consensus' and structural adjustments. The *doxa* in the 1990s refuted the relevance of social efforts in developing countries and advocated reducing populations' social coverage to a strict minimum, building on economic (one must favour 'productive' spending), moral ('better to teach people to fish than give them fish') and financial (social protection cannot be financed in low-income countries) arguments. In the 1990s, however, the need to conceive and implement 'safety nets' to withstand the sometimes brutal consequences of liberal policies arose.

The emergence of safety nets in low-income countries, particularly in Africa, should therefore be seen in connection with the liberal stances taken during those years. They were first conceived and utilized in the context of food crises from a 'curative' perspective. The aim was no longer to intervene in how markets are organized as had been the case in previous decades but rather to mitigate the undesirable affects of market liberalization since the only authorized public intervention was safety nets in the case of crisis. Recourse to safety nets emerged from a conceptual context quite different from that of social protection, with the latter seen as a predictable and lasting right (that existed both during and outside of crises). In some recent concepts ('transformative social protection'), social protection even aims to bring about profound changes to society and the economy and therefore act precisely on the structural causes of poverty and social inequalities.

Safety Nets Defined

This term designates the panoply of direct social assistance instruments for the poor (assistance without financial contributions). In sub-Saharan African countries, these instruments may be implemented by different types of actors, generally with the aim of managing/responding to crises. Among the many social instruments often used to fight food insecurity, we can cite: food aid (in the broad sense: food distribution, subsidized prices for foodstuffs, vouchers or coupons, school meals, etc.), cash transfers (conditional or unconditional distribution of money), and public works (cash for work, food for work) [R10]. The choice of a tool depends on the context and goal. Each of these tools has advantages and disadvantages. Combinations of tools are increasingly utilized. Social safety nets must not be confused with social protection, which is a political project and may make use of other tools (insurance mechanisms, for instance). Unlike 'temporary' safety nets, social protection measures will be enshrined in law and recognized as a right (and therefore be predictable and lasting). In terms of the evolution in the use of these instruments, we can say that direct food aid (long promoted by the USA) is still widely used but in decline (in response to advocacy by NGOs notably), while cash transfers and school meals are increasingly being used. Public works are also very frequently used tools. For instance, public works and school meals are said to have been the most frequently used tools to respond to the 2008 crisis in low-income countries (HLPE, [R1]).

## *B. Criticisms of Temporary Safety Nets*

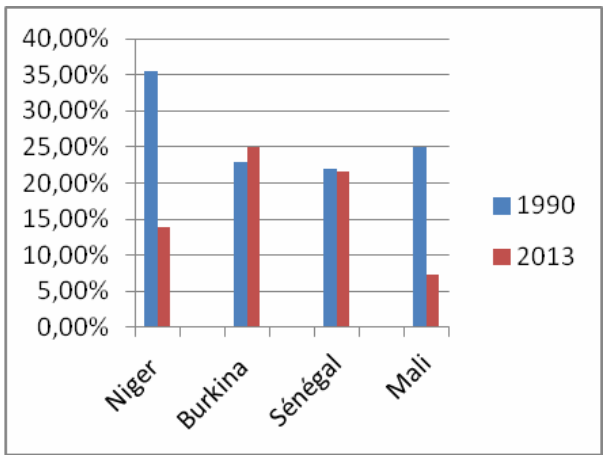
Recurrent crises. In some zones, notably the Sahel, crises are hitting one after another at an increasingly rapid pace, and the recurrent, massive and costly deployment of safety nets (some instruments cost more than others) does not seem likely to banish the spectre of a new crisis. On the contrary, vulnerable populations seem to be increasingly fragile and, from one crisis to the next, are being pushed to adopt survival strategies that compromise their futures [R7].

Political or ideological criticisms. Activist movements believe that safety 'nets' mask the root causes of hunger (social and economic injustice) while liberal orthodoxy fears encouraging a culture of dependency, the destruction of traditional solidarities, and choices that short-change more 'productive' spending in low-income countries [R1].

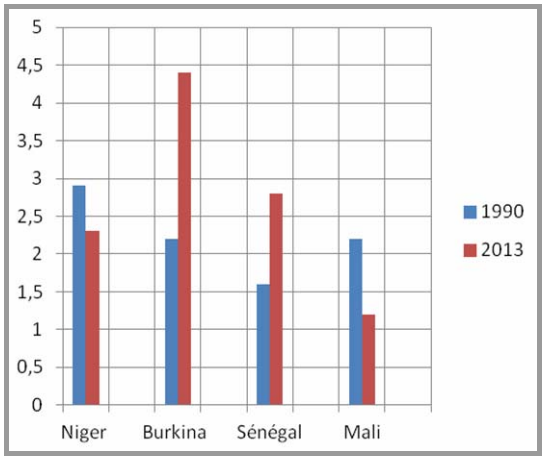
Not cost-effective according to donors. Financial issues naturally come into play in reflections on poverty, hunger and the policies to implement to address them: crisis management spending is very high and becoming more and more frequent. It far exceeds spending on investments and agricultural development. Donors, who sometimes contribute more than half of LDC budgets, are now questioning this. Two statistics reported by the Issala consultancy firm are quite telling in this regard: in 2007 and 2008, Niger's spending on its rural development strategy (agricultural policy) reached 80 billion CFA francs, while spending to manage the 2010 food crisis reached 250 billion CFA francs. Many studies seem to prove that it would ultimately cost less to prevent hunger than it does to act on the consequences of crises (we speak of the 'cost of doing nothing').

## *C. Criticisms of Food Security Policies (the Case of the Sahel)*

Proportion of the Population Going Hungry in Four Sahelian Countries from 1990 to 2013




Number of Undernourished People (in millions) in Four Sahelian Countries from 1990 to 2013




Source: FAO, Hunger Portal, 2013 [R6]

**The persistence of hunger in the Sahel.** Hunger has been receding around the world, with the exception of certain zones in Africa and Western Asia where it is persisting or even increasing. This is the case with countries such as Burkina Faso, whose poor performance in the fight against hunger is worrying while its agricultural performance is rather good. This is also the case Senegal where poverty was cut significantly between 2000 and 2013 (after a catastrophic decade) but where hunger has remained steady since the 1990s. The Sahel as a whole is still affected by hunger even though countries such as Niger and Mali are making rapid progress (see diagram below, which should be viewed in light of the population boom in these areas [R6]). Indeed, these countries are starting from far behind. One out of every four people in Burkina Faso and one out of every five people in Senegal is hungry and the question remains: why is hunger persisting in these zones? The effectiveness of food security policies is necessarily an issue.

**Food security policies targeting agricultural production.** With the exception of safety nets rolled out during crises, the food security policies traditionally implemented in the Sahel are still dominated by the analysis that hunger is primarily a problem of insufficient food production (an availability problem). They seek in priority to encourage agricultural production to bring about a drop in hunger and poverty, persisting in the idea that the rural food insecure consist mainly of households practicing subsistence farming. Yet, it would seem that a large share of rural people no longer have the means of production (land, cattle, equipment) that would allow them to take public aid and produce more. Under this analysis, the excessive emphasis on agricultural production (for instance, input subsidies) and even plant crops (livestock has largely been ignored although it is a crucial rampart against poverty) in traditional food security policies have missed the mark [R4].

**Are food access problems underestimated?** Indeed, some recent studies by independent bodies (e.g. the Household Economy Approach (HEA)) and by farmers' organizations (FONGS, APESS) tend to show that the situation has been misdiagnosed. The hungry are less and less likely to earn their livelihoods from farming: more than half the farmers in the Sahel no longer produce enough to feed themselves all twelve months of the year. Some observers are even reluctant to view the most vulnerable of these households as farmers, as they more closely fit the agricultural worker or pluri-activity rural categories. Forced to find non-agricultural incomes or sell their labour, they depend on the market for more than 50% of their food [R2] [R4].

**Household Economy Analysis** (HEA) calls attention to the growing differentiation in activities and statuses within the rural Sahel. According to expert Seidou Bakari, the well-off make up 15% of households (23% of the total population) and hold approximately 47% of farmland and 70% of large livestock [R2] [R4]. In addition, these analyses indicate that the poorest of these households (even when they still have land) do not produce enough for their own consumption, and most of their income comes from non-agricultural activities or paid agricultural work.

**The Development of Social Protection for Food Security Policies in West Africa**

Social protection programmes and experiments to fight hunger have been springing up on the African continent for a few years now. The most emblematic case is still that of Ethiopia, but 'predictable' or 'preventive' safety net programmes have also sprung up in many West African countries, often under the auspices of the World Bank [R12]. Ghana is one of the countries that have made the most progress in this area (with its LEAP programme). These safety nets are currently small in scale (pilot programmes) but could be made to grow. On the regional level, the ECOWAS agricultural policy (ECOWAP) planned for three pillars from its inception in 2005: agriculture (intensify production), the economy (strengthen markets and value chains) and social issues (safety nets). In the wake of the movement affirming social approaches, ECOWAS has expressed its determination to promote more structural strategies to fight hunger through its 'West African Zero Hunger' initiative launched in 2012 [R7].

## *D. Social Protection as a 'New' Solution to Hunger?*

**Safety nets shifting towards a development approach.** In part to respond to these criticisms, systems needed to be invented that were not only capable of saving lives but also of bringing about lasing transformations in the situations of people caught in the vicious circle of hunger. The field of social safety nets has progressively expanded over the last ten years. The emphasis was placed on both their scope and the variety of functions they can fulfil, well beyond crises and in close conjunction with development instruments. The idea of coupling social assistance and development is not new. It had already been seen in the 1990s and at the time had given rise to innovative instruments combining two dimensions such as 'productive safety nets' (see below). In the current context, some are speaking of 'the "colonization" by social protection of many traditional agricultural policy instruments' (Future Agricultures, 2010). This can partially be explained by the rise in power of emergency relief actors over development actors and the assertion of new analyses of hunger highlighting questions of nutrition, vulnerability (and its corollary, 'resilience') and access to food.

**From safety nets to 'social protection for agriculture and food security'.** More recently, international debates have promoted the expansion of social safety nets into true social protection systems that are predictable, partially independent of crises and enshrined in law. Several arguments are mobilized for this in complementary registers. First, the short- and long-term effectiveness of the Zero Hunger strategy in Brazil and the *Opportunidades* strategy in Mexico are highlighted: the instruments implemented have had powerful effects on school attendance, particularly for girls, and indirectly on fertility, employability, etc. In regard to financial issues, many studies show that these social protection systems may seem costly at first glance but are ultimately less expensive that safety nets thrown up in haste over and over in times of crisis. The economic utility of social protection is also underscored: when systems are well designed and dovetail appropriately with other policies, vulnerable households find (or recover) the ability to invest in activities that have added value. Finally, we are reminded that it is a simple right of citizens, as most governments of the world have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This general enthusiasm must not mask the doubts and challenges that remain. Do low-income countries really have the means to finance such social protection systems when even wealthy countries are struggling to finance theirs? Do social actions really have the economic virtues that allow a 'return on investment' from the measures undertaken? Answers to these questions have been put forth but unanimity has not yet been achieved. It is clear that social protection systems similar to those of wealthy countries are inconceivable but social protection targeting a few segments of the population could be very cost-effective. According to Olivier de Schutter, it would cost between 2% and 6% of GDP to set up a social protection system targeting the most vulnerable. To support this spending, he advocates for the creation of a global fund for social protection [R9]. The financial issue often raises a much broader debate on fiscal and redistribution policies and the reduction of social inequalities. For countries with mining resources, the debate over the use of these funds for social and agricultural purposes is underway. According to the recent Mbeki report, the amount of embezzling in and capital flight from Africa over the past four decades or so is equivalent to the amount of development aid...

In addition, the question of targeting aid on the neediest—which seems inevitable if we want to be realistic—raises in reality multiple issues in practice, notably in areas where half of the population is living below the poverty line. How can one justify helping this category of household rather than that one when poverty is widespread?

Another challenge, and not the slightest: 'ownership' by governments and local populations. Today, social protection ideas are largely being suggested from the outside of African countries and not growing out of a national debate on (or even struggle for) a more egalitarian distribution of wealth, as was the case in most industrialized countries. Yet, how meaningful can a social protection system (based on national solidarity) be when inspired from the outside? Particularly as some observers fear the 'slathering on' of social protection models that are completely disconnected from local realities and cultures. Here, we can measure the extent of the crucial role that civil society can play in lastingly giving life to this project.

Ethiopia: One of the Largest Social Protection Interventions for Food Security in Africa

The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) reached '8 million food insecure Ethiopians in 2011 through two components: public works (temporary employment) for households with labour capacity and 'direct support' (unconditional cash or food transfers) to labour-constrained households. The overarching objective is to reduce Ethiopia's dependency on annual emergency food aid appeals, by building community assets through public works and providing predictable transfers to households over multiple years, thereby facilitating their graduation from food insecurity to food self-reliance' [R1]. The social protection programme based on productive activities has been active since 2005. Studies have shown that it has good results on hunger and poverty. Some observers wonder, however, whether it has not artificially 'trapped' poor rural populations in a precarious situation with no future.

## III. Some Consequences on Rural Development Actors and Policies

### *A. Possible Tension Between 'Social' and 'Agricultural' Strategies to Fight Hunger*

The goal is not to place approaches that could be complementary and coexist harmoniously for more effective actions targeting hunger, poverty and development at loggerheads with each other artificially. A few (rare) authors nevertheless call attention to possible conflicts between 'social' and 'agricultural' (economic) strategies to fight food insecurity [R3]. Bringing them to light may be instrumental in better avoiding such conflicts.

Possible competition for (scarce) resources. Basically, the resources that go to 'social actors' would not go to agricultural actors. Actors therefore have a strong interest in convincing financial backers (both national and international) that it is relevant to steer resources in priority towards their field of intervention. This competition can have a strong impact on intervention guidelines and targets, for instance precarious farms or farms able to modernize.

Possible price tensions. Price support is a powerful incentive for agricultural development. If farmers can hope to obtain good prices for their goods, they are encouraged to work harder and, if the price is sufficiently predictable, invest more. Yet, on the contrary, some social actions have the effect of pulling down prices, often unpredictably, with the aim of making products affordable to the poorest. Inversely, some agricultural price support policies (trade policies, for example) can be unfavourable for people with little purchasing power, including shortfall farmers who do not produce enough to meet their own needs.

Possible tensions over long-term prospects. Towards which activities should the most disadvantaged rural populations be steered? Two contradictory visions exist. Some would opt for maintaining subsistence farming and reintegrating impoverished households in the production circuit to guarantee that they produce their own food at least. Others would on the contrary like to encourage them to diversify their sources of income to progressively leave farming, which is no longer profitable for them. Some leaders of farmers' organizations have come out in favour of this second option.

'This question of exiting farming [...] is fundamental and must be addressed. There is less and less land available, and land pressure is strong. [...] This notably involves the creation of rural infrastructures: roads, tracks, electricity, basic social services (health and education). One must also invest locally in processing industries, which would enable the added value from agricultural production to benefit the rural zone. [...] For some farms, non-agricultural activities have become the major economic activity and main source of income.'
(Nadjirou Sall, *Grain de Sel*, no. 59-62, 2013 [R2])

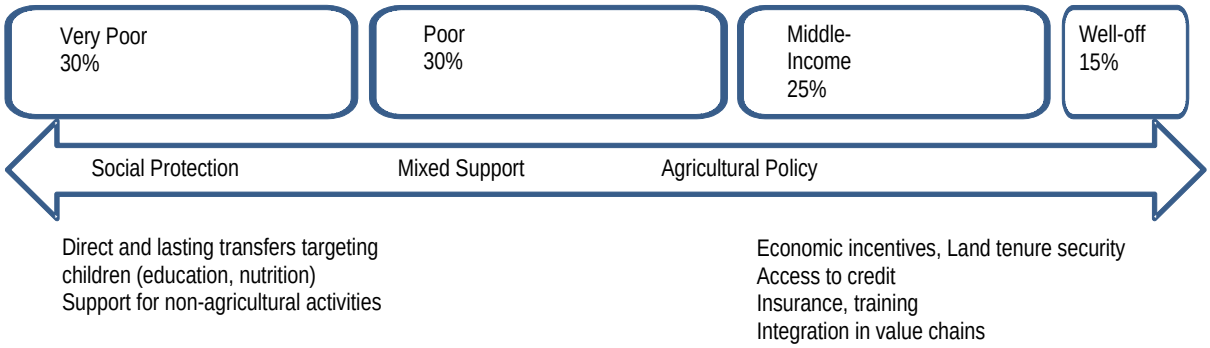
## B. Possible Synergies Between Strategies

**Act on both fronts** [R3] [R8]. The importance of social and agricultural challenges in the context of low-income countries is pushing actors to look for 'win-win' solutions. The idea is to set up agricultural policies that can reach and take into account the poorest and allow them to climb out of poverty and to set up social actions that are 'productive', that is to say that allow the poor to invest in profitable activities, including agriculture. There are many examples of such strategies 'acting on two fronts'. Public procurement contract operations with small farmers work in this way (for instance, SONAGES's purchasing contracts with farmers' organizations in Burkina Faso, the WFP's P4P, etc.). Similarly, cash transfers enable, for example, poor people's incomes to rise, thereby increasing outlets for farmers. Food vouchers for local products (used in neighbourhood shops) can accomplish transfers that reconcile the interests of farmers and consumers.

**Brazil's 'Zero Hunger' strategy is the archetype of a mixed strategy** that seeks to couple social and economic objectives by combining instruments. The school food programme is a good example. The government set up a system for public procurement of local products to supply school lunchrooms. With this programme, the administration is targeting several objectives: feed children from poor households and prevent malnutrition among them, ensure they attend school and therefore attempt to break the cycle of generational poverty, ensure income (and work) for poor farmers who supply schools with food, and stimulate local production by structuring demand. African countries such as Ethiopia have conducted analogous reflections to set up 'productive safety nets' that can combine both dimensions. Such programmes have many theoretical advantages but are difficult to implement in Africa. One such difficulty lies in coordinating actors that are not governed by the same authorities (for example, different agencies or ministries). Inter-ministerial or 'inter-sectoral' coordination bodies exist in some countries but are struggling to get past competing with institutions for international aid. It seems that these coordination difficulties can only be overcome with strong political determination. Brazil's experience is full of lessons: President Lula was personally committed to steering the 'Zero Hunger' strategy and made it a national priority. He had the 'masses' behind him—a large and strongly rooted social movement that had long been mobilized for true societal change. Today, West Africa seems far from this model [R13] [R14].

**Differentiate measures based on household category.** A household struggling for survival does not necessarily have the same needs as a 'vulnerable' household. A 'vulnerable' household will not necessarily have the same needs as a 'well-off' household. What is important is to offer each category the support it needs and the possibility of attaining a more favourable situation. Some farmers' organizations in West Africa seem to agree: 'It is important [...] to support different family farms based on their individual needs: someone who owns five hectares does not need the same equipment, training and marketing of produce as someone who grows crops on 15 hectares. But we cannot support everyone, we cannot ask a cripple to run as if he had both feet—that's impossible. The same is true of the safety nets currently in place: they only address certain categories of households' (Marc Gansoré, Confédération Paysanne du Faso, Burkina) [R2]. Thus, we can view the coherence of social and economic measures from the angle of recipient profiles: the more vulnerable or poor a household, the more it will need 'social' actions, while the better off a household the more the support will come from agricultural policy or economic incentives. Between the two—that is to say most households—support will need to combine social protection and development measures.

Agricultural Policies and Social Protection: What Coordination?




Source: Taken from R. Blein – Issala, Grow Campaign, 2013 [R4]

**Stagger policies over time.** Depending on the evolution of the situation, more social or more economic measures will be appropriate. During periods of food crisis or in very vulnerable zones, the first measures will often need to be social: transfers and food aid could be justified depending on the case. As markets develop and essential infrastructures are set up, mixed measures could emerge. Finally, when the conditions are right, a market economy could be promoted. Some economists believe that liberalization policies failed in African countries because they were poorly sequenced: they were implemented too early when markets were not ready and basic infrastructures were lacking [R3]. It is also important to take into account household trajectories and offer them support that matches their situation, as poverty may only be temporary.

## C. *Risks and Opportunities for Farmers' Organizations.*

A windfall for farms with shortages? Social approaches focus on poor and vulnerable households. They seek to increase the share of assistance devoted to them, guarantee a protective environment, and integrate them into the economy, whether agricultural or not. These approaches can be seen as a windfall for farmers and herders who have shortfalls and family farms in precarious situations. They can also provide new and convincing arguments for the advocates of public subsidies. Following the 'Washington Consensus' and the massive wave of market liberalization that followed, input subsidy measures for example were pushed aside and devalued. But they are coming back at a gallop thanks to these approaches, having undergone certain transformations along the way. In some regards, the proponents of social protection propose much more than input subsidies: they support direct subsidies to farms through social transfer instruments. With social protection, farmers' organizations can find a full quiver of arguments and new allies to push policies toward renewed massive support for family farms, in particular impoverished family farms.

Risk of confusion? Social approaches can also, from farmers' standpoint, seem to work against the economic argument that family farming performs well and can feed Africa. It can help stigmatize family farming and, if a distinction is not clearly drawn between the different farm categories, an amalgam may be made of poverty and family farming. The risk would be to confuse family farming with family subsistence farming. This could entrench governments in a dualistic vision of agriculture, along the lines of what we see in Brazil where the agricultural administration is split between two distinct ministries—one for family farming and one for agribusiness.

The risk of tug-of-war between farmers' organizations? Two earlier points touch on the question of impoverished family farming. What exactly is it? What types of family farms can be qualified as poor and therefore justify new forms of aid under the guise of social protection? Do they make up a majority of farms? Or are they limited to the segment of rural people who will leave farming and are more and more diversifying their activities and sources of income to survive? It is possible that farmers' organizations will increasingly be led to clarify this. Some seem to have already started down this path. This question brings up another. Today, farmers' organizations in West Africa in particular represent family farms in all their diversity and without distinction: they represent the wealthiest rural families and those most on the edge, although neither necessarily has the same needs as the other at the same time. Some policy options may benefit some categories rather than others and trigger internal tugs-of-war.

# RÉFÉRENCES RÉFÉRENCES RÉFÉRENCES RÉFÉRENCES RÉFÉRENCES RÉFÉRENCES

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This report was presented and discussed at the CFS in Rome. It contains a certain number of proposals by the international community to extend social protection for food security on the global scale. It contains a plethora of examples from all countries and sheds clear light on the necessary and possible link between social and economic development strategies.
http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE_Reports/HLPE-Report-4-Social_protection_for_food_security-June_2012.pdf

R2. Quelles politiques pour les populations pauvres du Sahel, *Grain de Sel* no. 59-62, 2013
This issue of *Grain de Sel* draws a panorama of the challenges that make up the fight against hunger and poverty in the Sahel against a backdrop of the issue of the role agriculture could play in this struggle.
http://www.inter-reseaux.org/revue-grain-de-sel/59-quelles-politiques-pour-les/

R3. Agriculture et protection sociale en Afrique, Point Info 027, Future Agricultures, 2009
This summary clearly shows the ties between agricultural development strategies and social protection policies: the synergies as well as the conflicts, and possibilities for good articulation.
http://www.google.fr/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.future-agricultures.org%2Fcomponent%2Fdocman%2Fdoc_download%2F1470-agriculture-et-protection-sociale-en-afrique&ei=aP4_UoTqComn0wXqu4GACQ&usg=AFQjCNH7kA9rQcu0Caz0KkW_wB-Ug3qeBQ&bvm=bv.52434380,d.d2k

R4. Oxfam Workshop on Social Protection for Food Security in West Africa as part of the Grow Campaign, 2012
Oxfam organized a workshop to present the challenges of social protection for food security, notably in West Africa. Inter-Réseaux was invited to attend and produced a summary paper. The presentations covering a large number of important challenges for the region are available.
http://www.inter-reseaux.org/ressources-thematiques/article/atelier-sur-la-protection-sociale

R5. La protection sociale comme politique de développement : un nouveau programme d'action international, François-Xavier Merrien, Revue internationale de politique de développement, 2013
This article provides a historical perspective of the notion of social protection. The author shows how this notion has returned to the forefront and could be a turning point in global development doctrine.
http://poldev.revues.org/1519

R6. Hunger Portal
On this site, the FAO presents useful and easily comparable statistics on hunger trends in every country around the world, both in proportion of total population and absolute value since the 1990s.
http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/

## Other Useful Documents

R7. Towards local-level food security in West Africa: 'Zero Hunger in West Africa', September 2012, ECOWAS Position Paper
http://www.inter-reseaux.org/IMG/pdf/Faim_Zero_EN.pdf

R8. The Interaction Between Social Protection and Agriculture: A Review of Evidence, FAO, 2013
http://www.fao.org/docrep/019/i3563e/i3563e.pdf?utm_source=ESConnect&utm_medium=newsletter&utm_campaign=PtoPupdate

R9. Underwriting the Poor: A Global Fund for Social Protection, Olivier de Schutter, Magdalena Sepulveda, Briefing Note 07, 2012
http://www.srfood.org/images/stories/pdf/otherdocuments/20121009_gfsp_en.pdf

R10. Les transferts sociaux dans la lutte contre la faim Un instrument de référence pour les praticiens du développement version résumée avril 2012, EU
http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/t-and-m-series/document/document-de-r%C3%A9f%C3%A9rence-nr-14-r%C3%A9sum%C3%A9-les-transferts-sociaux-dans-la-lutte-contre-la-faim-un-i

R11. Gérer l'instabilité des prix alimentaires dans les pays en développement, Une analyse critique des stratégies et des instruments de F. Galtier et B. Vindel (2012)
http://www.afd.fr/webdav/shared/PUBLICATIONS/RECHERCHE/Scientifiques/A-savoir/17-A-Savoir.pdf

R12. Dispositifs de filets de sécurité sociaux en Afrique de l'Ouest: soutenir l'émergence de dispositifs nationaux préventifs, Note thématique de l'IRAM, June 2013
http://www.iram-fr.org/pdf-publications/618.pdf

R13. La stratégie Faim Zéro au Brésil, Inter-Réseaux Brief, September 2012
http://www.inter-reseaux.org/IMG/pdf/Note_FaimZero_Sept2012.pdf

R14. Défis Sud, Special Report: Faim Zéro, un modèle universel ? August-September 2013
http://www.sosfaim.be/pdf/publications/defis_sud/114/defis-sud-fome-zero-complet.pdf

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SOS Faim Belgium (www.sosfaim.org) supports farmers' and agricultural producers' organizations in roughly fifteen countries in Africa and Latin America. Inter-réseaux Développement Rural (www.inter-reseaux.org) aims to promote networked discussions, exchanges and reflection on the subject of rural development in developing countries.
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If you would like to comment on the subject covered, give your opinion, provide additional information, or draw our attention to a document, please write to us at: inter-reseaux@inter-reseaux.org – Inter-réseaux Développement rural, December 2013.