

# GOVERNANCE IN WEST AFRICA

Evaluation of the GROW campaign

Effectiveness Review Series

2015/16

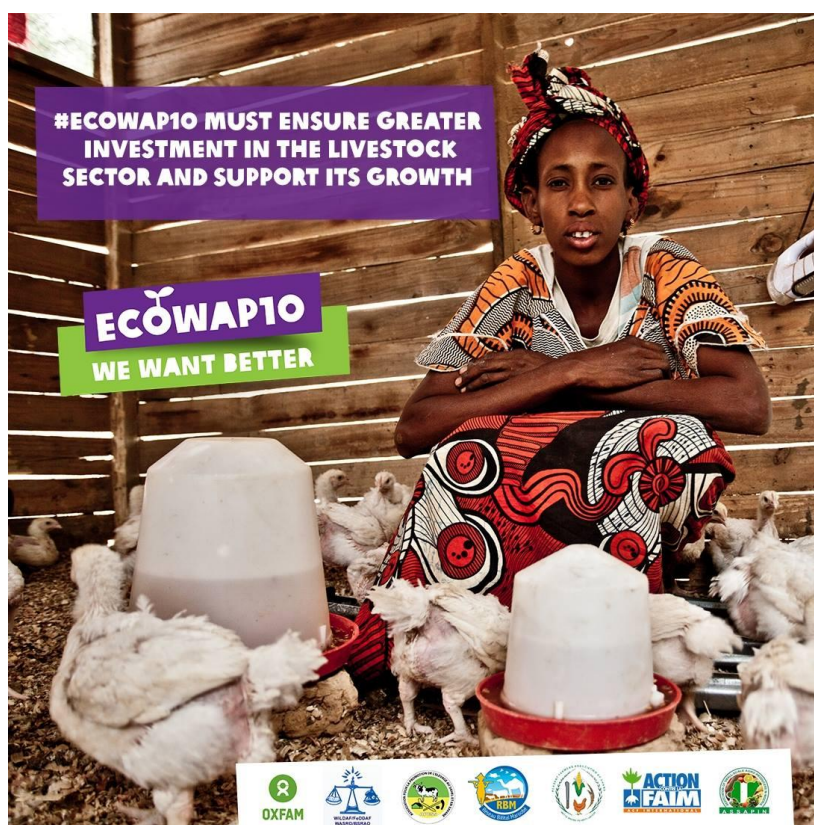


Photo: Oxfam. Publicity material used during the GROW Campaign in West Africa

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This report has been produced by an independent evaluator, commissioned by Oxfam GB. Responsibility for the contents, interpretations and the presentation of findings and recommendations rest with the evaluator and do not necessarily correspond with the views of Oxfam or the GROW Campaign members.

# ACRONYMS

AFAO	Association des Femmes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
APESS	Association pour la Promotion de l'Elevage au Sahel et en Savane
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CILSS	Comité permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DDC	Swiss Development Cooperation Directorate
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAP	Regional Agricultural Policy for West Africa
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GPF	Global Performance Framework
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
IPAR	Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale
IR	Inter-Réseaux
NAIP	National Agricultural Investment Plans
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
PAU	Politique Agricole UEMOA
POSCAO	Plateforme des organisations de la société civile de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
PRAPS	Projet Régional d'Appui au Pastoralisme au Sahel
RAIP	Regional Agricultural Investment Programme
RBM	Réseau Billital Maroobé
ROPFA	Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
SWAC/OECD	Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat
TFP	Technical and Financial Partners
UN	United Nations
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WAF	West Africa
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Brief overview of the project

The GROW West African Campaign was launched in 2011 working to influence regional level policy processes and practices so that: a) agricultural policies are gender responsive; b) regional agricultural policies recognise the role and importance of small-scale farmers (SSF) and respond to their needs and concerns; c) budget commitments are met and adequate investment in small-scale farming is secured; d) social protection and crises prevention mechanisms are in place; and e) access of SSF to productive resources is secured.

This report explores the work done by the regional GROW Campaign and members during the ECOWAP+10<sup>1</sup> revision process and analyses the effectiveness of that work in relation to the following three policy outcomes:

**Targeted outcome 1:** Increased political will towards the need to harmonise regional agricultural policies and initiatives.

**Targeted outcome 2:** The reform of agricultural development policies and programmes integrates gender at all levels to massively strengthen the economic role of women in the sector.

**Targeted outcome 3:** Increased investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region.

## Evaluation design/methodology

As per Oxfam Great Britain's (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), samples of mature projects are randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. This project was selected in this way under the policy influencing thematic area.

Following a predefined research protocol, this report presents a qualitative analysis and discussion of selected key results of the Campaign, following a thorough and detailed review of strategic project documentation and numerous informant interviews. The purpose of this Effectiveness Review is to evidence the extent to which the project's key targeted outcomes have materialised and what other alternative or competing factors may have also contributed to those outcomes.

The evidence presented in this report relies on existing research and secondary sources, testimonies from 33 key informants and first-hand observations of the Campaign's work. A field mission to Senegal and Togo was conducted from 11–30 March 2016. All findings have been carefully triangulated across different primary and secondary sources. Whenever this has not proved possible it is clearly indicated.

## Findings

Outcome	Contribution scores	Short commentary
<p><b>Increased political will towards the need to harmonise regional agricultural policies and initiatives</b></p>	<p>3</p>	<p><b>Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>The evaluator could not find enough evidence to affirm that the outcome has been fully achieved. Although the recognition of the need to work for a single common agricultural policy was formally reflected in the final document of orientations and adjustments for ECOWAP for 2025, no other indicators of a stronger political will could be verified.</p> <p>However, in a particularly complex political context, the fact that the issue has been kept on the agenda is not to be underestimated and can be considered as a positive outcome. We can also safely conclude that GROW has made an important contribution to this result. The general perception of key regional stakeholders is that Oxfam's activity, and the report produced, considerably increased the visibility of the issue among regional stakeholders and decision-makers. The report launched by the Campaign motivated strong reactions among decision-makers and was frequently mentioned by stakeholders. It was also the only study of this kind presented in the framework of this process.</p>
<p><b>The reform of agricultural development policies and programmes integrates gender at all levels to massively strengthen the economic role of women in the sector</b></p>	<p>4</p>	<p><b>Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>The evaluation was able to find evidence of increased formal political will and incipient signs of a more substantive will to advance the gender cause in regional agriculture policies.</p> <p>An important contribution by GROW to the former could be found and a clear influence of the GROW Campaign in the final wording and framing of the gender issue in the ECOWAP+10 document of orientations and adjustments was verified as an indicator of stronger formal political commitment. At the substantive level, although not clearly linked to the ECOWAP+10 process and/or GROW, recently launched initiatives by FAO/ECOWAS also reflect stronger substantive political will and a more decisive intention from regional institutions to make progress in this field.</p>
<p><b>Increased investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region</b></p>	<p>4</p>	<p><b>Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>The evaluation found strong evidence of a stronger political commitment towards the need to increase investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region.</p> <p>The GROW Campaign's contribution to enhancing the communication, visibility and advocacy capacities of RBM and APSS, and to a much lesser extent ROPPA, was clearly acknowledged as a major contributing factor, not only by Campaign members, but also by high-level</p>

		<p>decision-makers at ECOWAS.</p> <p>However, other two similar factors could also be identified making it difficult to isolate and measure the exact weight of GROW's contribution against the rest of the identified factors. The data available suggests, and most interviewees agree, that the three initiatives provide complementary support to producer organisations. We can therefore conclude that the sum of the capacity-building initiatives, including GROW, together with a renewed interest by the main donors on the issue of pastoralism and livestock farming, have made the achievement of this outcome possible.</p>
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5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

## Programme Learning Considerations

GROW West Africa is an ambitious regional campaign that seeks to mobilise West African public opinion and to influence regional institutions' agricultural policies and practices so that they are more responsive to the interests of small-scale farmers, both men and women. The ECOWAP+10 revision process was a key opportunity to influence the regional agricultural policy framework of ECOWAS.

The evaluation's key finding and conclusion is that, despite some flaws, the Campaign's strategy to influence the ECOWAP+10 process has been reasonably effective. The analysis of the three targeted outcomes shows that progress has been made in all three policy areas, although to different degrees. The contribution of GROW is also evident, but with a different intensity in the three areas. The analysis of the different strategies has provided some valuable learning and is presented here to stimulate collective reflection and discussion. Some of these aspects will require further consideration by Campaign members.

1. **Alliances.** Engaging a broad range of regional and national organisations underpins the GROW Campaign's strategy. This is particularly pertinent in the West African regional context, where local organisations are increasingly accepted as legitimate actors and valid interlocutors of regional integration organisations, such as ECOWAS. The coalition element was particularly relevant in the analysis of the work of the Campaign on sub-outcome 1, where some latent tensions about the alliance model and what is generally perceived as a dominant role (and visibility) of Oxfam were uncovered. Despite important steps having been taken to ensure that all members' logos are more systematically made visible in Campaign activities and outputs, this is still not always the case. This is partly because the separation between activities that fall under the Campaign's framework and activities conducted by members as part of their own agenda, but that also contribute to the Campaign's goals, is not always clear. This is not an easy debate and a discussion about the desired visibility of the Campaign and the collective ownership of the Campaign's strategies needs to be encouraged. A final key lesson that can be drawn is the need to engage critical boundary partners, such as ROPPA or FAO, at key moments. As we will elaborate on a bit later, a



good power map should provide the necessary information about different strategic actors to engage at key points.

2. **Capacity building.** Lessons have also been learned about the importance of capacity building as a leverage of policy change. The skills and competences developed by Campaign members on issues such as advocacy or communication, among others, were highly valued by all members, who considered that to be the main added value of belonging to the Campaign. Capacity support was also found to be a significant factor contributing to the achievement of sub-outcome 3. Given that a number of capacity-building activities promoted by different actors are actually ongoing, it would be good to map them out and focus on the unique expertise of Oxfam in fields such as communication and public mobilisation.
3. **Lobbying.** The Campaign has successfully engaged decision-makers and facilitators of the policy dialogue process through formal and informal contacts. Informal dialogue has been critical to ensure that some of the Campaign's demands were ultimately reflected in the final document of orientations, as was the case in sub-outcomes 1 and 2. A combination of formal and informal policy dialogue was found to generate the best results.

It would be advisable to invest more time in a thorough stakeholder and power analysis and in collective thinking of specific advocacy strategies for each different policy goal.

4. **Theory of change.** Using a theory of change approach can help to collectively unpack underlying assumptions about how change occurs in particular contexts and to decide on the appropriateness of specific advocacy tactics. Besides, it is important to note that, regardless of what the focus of the policy dialogue is, it requires a long-term perspective to change. This requires the definition of short-term or intermediate outcomes and indicators to be able to track the effects of the advocacy strategy. Partners can then choose the approach that best suits their advocacy style.

Intermediate outcomes of the overall process of change and, when feasible, of specific advocacy strategies should be defined. An example of this is the strategy used in sub-outcome 1, where what was generally perceived as a maximalist tone provoked the serious opposition of a significant number of key stakeholders. This does not mean that the strategy has completely failed as we were able to explain earlier in the report. But the risk that the issue loses momentum exists. A reorientation of the strategy and the identification of incremental and clearly defined intermediate policy goals is recommended.

5. **National/regional link.** A better use of theory of change could also serve as the basis of collective discussion about the interplay between the national and regional campaigns. Understanding how change is expected to happen between the two levels and unpacking the map of influences and intersections between the national and regional level can help articulate this link more effectively in the future. More joint planning and collective spaces for strategic thinking are also needed. These spaces could be also used to share learning across countries.



# 1 INTRODUCTION

Ten years after the West Africa regional agricultural policy (ECOWAP) was officially adopted in 2005, the ECOWAS Commission decided to open a participatory policy dialogue process aiming to take stock of progress and to provide future guidance on the implementation of the regional policy. The so-called ECOWAP+10 process ran for about six months and ended in an international conference held in Dakar in November 2015. The process was used by GROW West Africa to influence the new orientation of ECOWAS's regional agricultural policy in line with the Campaign's demands.

This report explores the work done by the regional GROW Campaign and members during the ECOWAP+10 revision process and analyses the effectiveness of that work in relation with the following three policy outcomes:

**Targeted outcome 1:** Increased political will towards the need to harmonise regional agricultural policies and initiatives.

**Targeted outcome 2:** The reform of agricultural development policies and programmes integrates gender at all levels to massively strengthen the economic role of women in the sector.

**Targeted outcome 3:** Increased investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region.

As per Oxfam Great Britain's (OGB) Global Performance Framework (GPF), samples of mature projects are randomly selected each year and their effectiveness rigorously assessed. The GROW West Africa Campaign was selected in this way under the good governance thematic area.

# 2 EVALUATION DESIGN

## 2.1 PROCESS TRACING

Oxfam GB has adopted a Global Performance Framework. Among other things, this framework involves the random selection of samples of closing or sufficiently mature projects under six outcome areas each year and rigorously evaluating their performance. These are referred to as Effectiveness Reviews. Effectiveness Reviews carried out under the Good Governance outcome area (previously Citizen Voice and Policy Influencing) are to be informed by a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference.

The Evaluator's first task is to (re-)construct the intervention's theory of change, including the outcomes, or changes it is seeking (or sought) to achieve, and the activities undertaken that were intended to bring these about. The Evaluator then evidences the extent to which the intervention's key targeted outcomes have materialised; investigates the causal mechanisms responsible, i.e. how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draws conclusions about the significance, if any, of the intervention's contribution.

As such, the purpose of the evaluation is not simply to narrow in on only one explanation for an observed outcome-level change. Rather, the approach is more nuanced and should accomplish three things: a) shortlist one or more evidenced explanations for the outcome in question (which may or may not include the intervention); b) rule out alternative, competing explanations incompatible with the evidence; and c) if more than one explanation is supported by the evidence, estimate the level of influence each had on bringing about the change in question.

While not intended to be a mechanical sequence of linear steps of how the research exercise should proceed,<sup>2</sup> the following eight steps form the core of the research exercise's protocol:

1. Undertake a process of (re)constructing the intervention's theory of change, in order to clearly define the intervention being evaluated – what is it trying to change (outcomes), how it is working to effect these changes (strategies/streams of activities) and what assumptions it is making about how it will contribute to these changes (key assumptions).
2. Work with relevant stakeholders to identify up to three intermediate and/or final outcomes considered by stakeholders to be the most significant for the evaluation to focus on (central to the intervention's theory of change, and useful for learning/forward planning).
3. Systematically assess and document what was done under the intervention to achieve the selected targeted outcomes.
4. Identify and evidence the extent to which the selected outcomes have actually materialised, as well as any relevant unintended outcomes.
5. Undertake 'process induction' to identify salient plausible causal explanations for the evidenced outcomes.
6. Gather required data and use 'process verification' to assess the extent to which each of the explanations identified in Step 5 are supported or not supported by the available evidence.
7. Write a narrative analytical report to document the above research processes and findings.
8. Summarise aspects of the above narrative analysis by allocating project/campaign 'contribution scores' for each of the targeted and/or associated outcomes. This is not expected to provide a precise measure of contribution, but rather a sense of how much the Campaign was likely responsible for observed change(s).

For the full process tracing protocol, please see Oxfam GB's Policy and Practice website.<sup>3</sup>

### The analytical framework used

- In the analysis of the particular **policy process** evaluated in this report we have implicitly used Kingdon's agenda setting theories<sup>4</sup> the evaluator believes fit Oxfam's theory of change for policy influence initiatives. According to this theory, agenda setting is the first stage in the policy process. It involves three processes: problems (the process of persuading policy decision-makers to pay attention to one problem over others), proposals (the process by which policy proposals are generated, debated, revised and adopted for serious consideration) and politics (political factors that influence agendas) that may converge (at least two of them) at a critical time (when a 'policy window' opens up).<sup>5</sup> Although this report does not explicitly follow that conceptual structure, the three elements of Kingdon's model of Policy Stream Convergence underpin the analysis and are used as touchstones against which to examine the strategy followed for each of the three outcomes researched. This means that for each outcome we have tried to explore how the Campaign's strategy might have successfully influenced the framing of the problem and/or the adoption of a particular policy proposal, and how political factors might have played a part in the process.
- For all three outcomes identified we were asked to assess how '**political will**' may have increased as a result of, or with the contribution of, the intervention (the GROW Campaign). The first problem was to find adequate indicators that could allow us to measure a concept that includes a certain degree of subjectivity. Measuring 'political will/commitment' as an expression of the preferences of policy makers, and of their genuine intention to act on these, is a difficult task that involves the assessment of highly subjective concepts, such as 'preference', 'genuine' or 'intention'. In the analysis presented in this report, we have relied on a few indirect signals of intent and influence that we have used as indicators of that 'genuine intention to act'. The first set of indicators refers to expressions of 'formal intention'. These include public discussion of the problem, public statements, official declarations or policy papers. Additionally, we have used a second set of signals that may indicate a more 'genuine intention or will': allocation of resources, evidence of consensus on the understanding and framing of the problem, common perception that the proposed solution is feasible and effective and credible strategies designed to implement the policy solution.

## 2.2 DATA COLLECTION STRATEGY

The conclusions presented in this report draw on programme documentation, sectoral and secondary documents and materials, official documents, in-depth interviews with a broad range of internal and external stakeholders and publicly available information accessed via the internet.

A field mission to Senegal and Togo was conducted from 11–30 March 2016.

In total the evaluator gathered information from 33 key informants. The selection of these was based on a basic stakeholder map provided by the managers of the Campaign. The map provided an indication of the key categories of internal and external stakeholders that should be included for interview. In the selection of informants, we used both purposive and convenience sampling methods. Although many of the people consulted were identified and agreed on with the regional campaign and policy coordinator before the field visit, a number of additional key informants were identified once on site and through snowball sampling. This made it possible to trace alternative causal explanations that arose in different conversations, and triangulate data sources.

The following research tools and data sources were used:

### **Desk review**

The evaluator conducted a systematic assessment of the internal documents provided by the Campaign managers, including advocacy material, planning and strategy documents and other internal reports. A significant number of ECOWAS documents were also provided and examined together with additional relevant documentation and pieces of evidence gathered during the field mission. To triangulate findings, a significant number of other external and official documents were also reviewed. For a full list of all documents reviewed please refer to Appendix 1.

### **Stakeholder map**

The evaluator used a stakeholder map to identify and classify the stakeholders involved in the Campaign. The map provided a snapshot of the range of the allies, partners and policy targets, and was used to select interviewees.

### **In-depth informant interviews**

The evaluator conducted semi-structured interviews with 33 key informants whose selection was based on the stakeholder map and/or suggested during the field mission. Efforts were made to ensure that a range of voices was represented and to include key decision-makers from ECOWAS, and other regional institutions, that could help the evaluator to test and verify her main working assumptions. Although the interview sheets were highly structured, we freely followed up on any emerging issues that appeared relevant to the core questions. Interviewees included Campaign staff and members, high-level decision-makers from regional integration organisations, representatives of regional producer organisations, national civil servants and civil society organisations. They also included a number of key experts that could provide an independent and overall perspective on the issues, and help triangulate findings. A list of people interviewed is provided in Appendix 2.

### **Direct observation**

During the field visit the evaluator was able to attend the annual Steering Committee of the regional campaign, a planning meeting bringing together a significant number of Campaign members and partners. This facilitated access to key Campaign staff and those based in other countries. It also allowed for direct observation of internal issues and dynamics.

### **Iterative feedback/preliminary findings meeting**

While in the region, the evaluator took time to debrief with Campaign staff and key stakeholders in order to informally validate and discuss data collected. These debriefings gave an opportunity to complete and challenge the initial conclusions and to provide the evaluator with extra documentation to conclude the data analysis.

The evidence presented in this report relies on existing research and secondary sources, a plural range of testimonies and first-hand observations of the Campaign's work. All findings have been carefully triangulated across different primary and secondary sources. Whenever this has not proved possible it is clearly indicated.

## 2.3 LIMITATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The evaluation benefited from significant stakeholder interest and the willingness of regional high-level decision-makers to discuss GROW's work with the evaluator, despite their very busy agendas. This much-appreciated availability is taken as an extraordinary indicator of the ability of the Campaign's staff to engage in constructive dialogue with key policy makers.

Despite this, a number of constraints limited the evaluator's ability to capture sufficient relevant information, which may affect the validity of the evaluation findings.

Firstly, access to some key stakeholders was also challenging because of the regional scope of the Campaign (six countries from March 2015) and the decentralised premises of ECOWAS institutions. To mitigate this, whenever possible the evaluator resorted to remote interviews. A visit to Lomé during a regional meeting of ECOWAS was also included as part of the field mission.

Secondly, was the partial availability of information and monitoring data. As often happens with advocacy campaigns, the information available was mostly scattered and unsystematic. This made the reconstruction of activities and outputs difficult.

Thirdly, many interviews were undertaken with the assistance of a translator. This introduced a non-measurable degree of subjectivity and linguistic nuance that should be taken into account when considering the translated findings.

# 3 PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The GROW Campaign was launched worldwide by Oxfam in June 2011 as part of a global effort to fight food injustice. GROW operates at national, regional and international levels and has five broad global objectives:<sup>6</sup>

1. Help grow movements to build a better future where everyone always has enough to eat.
2. Stop land and water grabs by powerful corporations and countries, which seize the land and water that people living in poverty depend on for food.
3. Reach a global deal on climate change that keeps excessive greenhouse gas emissions from destroying access to food and production of food for people living in poverty.
4. Invest in the productivity, resilience and sustainability of small-scale food producers, particularly women, who grow much of the world's food.
5. Respond to global food price crises and provide a fast and fair response.

Led by Oxfam at the global level, the Campaign is run by different coalitions of allies and partners at regional and national level. In West Africa, GROW was launched as a national campaign in four focus countries (Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Niger)<sup>7</sup> and as a specific regional level campaign targeting regional integration organisations and regional policies.

This evaluation will only focus on the regional level.

Coordinated from Oxfam's regional office in Dakar, the regional campaign mostly focuses on global objectives 1, 2, 4 and 5 and has three main internal objectives:<sup>8</sup>

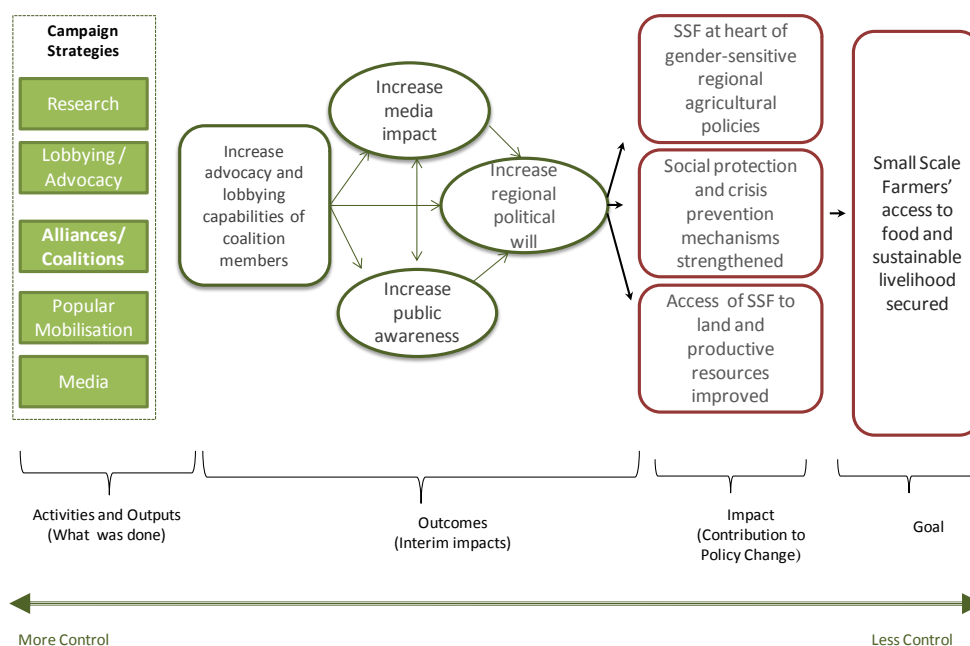
- Coordinate and lead an advocacy campaign targeting regional institutions.
- Provide support to national campaigns and ensure collaboration and exchange of information among them.
- Ensure the coherence of the different campaigns and promote synergies between the different levels (country/region and, to a lesser extent, pan-African and global)

## 3.1 GROW WEST AFRICA'S THEORY OF CHANGE

The regional campaign's theory of change was evaluated with information gathered during a preliminary workshop with Campaign staff held in Madrid and a revision of available documents. This first model was later discussed with other key stakeholders during the field visit. The result of this analysis is examined in this section.

Figure 3.1 simplifies the operational model of the Campaign and attempts to illustrate the main assumptions underpinning GROW's work and the intermediate outcomes expected. At the end of this section, Figure 3.2 homes in on this theory of change to unpack the chain of policy changes that GROW West Africa is seeking to achieve.

**Figure 3.1 GROW Campaign West Africa logic model**



## Background

Despite its potential, West Africa is one of the world's poorest regions. Twelve of the 15 countries in the ECOWAS are considered as least-developed nations and poverty in the region affects more than one on two people. The West African economy is dominated by agriculture, which plays a key role as the backbone of the economy. Available data indicates that agriculture contributes around 35 percent of national GDP in many countries. However, less than 10 percent of national budgets is allocated to this economic sector and the trend seems to be declining.<sup>9</sup> According to Oxfam's analysis, climate change, demographic growth, globalisation and inadequate funding reinforce food insecurity in the region and increase the vulnerability of poor populations. The situation is exacerbated by a lack of vision and insufficient political will of the main regional institutions and low confidence in the ability of family farms to produce in quantity and quality for the region.<sup>10</sup>

## Working for the final goal

In this context, the West African GROW Campaign has been working to influence regional-level policy processes and practices so that: a) agricultural policies are gender responsive; b) regional agricultural policies recognise the role and importance of small-scale farmers (SSF) and respond to their needs and concerns; c) budget commitments are met and adequate investment in small-scale farming is secured; d) social protection and crises prevention mechanisms are in place, and e) access of SSF to productive resources is secured.

## Interim outcomes

These changes require a number of preconditions that are identified as interim outcomes. Among them, the existence of a strong political will towards the Campaign's objectives stands out as a central element that hinges on increased public awareness (and engagement) and higher media attention to these issues.

Increasing the capacities of Campaign members, in particular of producer organisations, was also identified as a central element to this theory of change by several Campaign members. According to them, the original idea was that the broad range of skills and expertise in the coalition would critically support producer organisations as the legitimate representatives of small-scale farmers and reinforce their capacities so that they would improve their participation in regional policy dialogue processes and increase their influence.



## Strategies and tactics

To achieve the final goal, the West African Campaign follows Oxfam's traditional campaign model that blends alliances, research, lobbying, popular mobilisation and media work. This section does not aim to be an exhaustive report of the regional Campaign work in the past five years. We will mostly reflect some of the activities conducted during the ECOWAP+10 global forum and revision process. Occasionally, other previous activities or outputs may be used for reference or illustration.

**Alliances and networks:** Although an Oxfam led the Campaign at global level, GROW is typically coordinated by a coalition of partners at regional (and national) level. This is particularly strategic in the case of all West African campaigns, where all informants agree that the context requires a strong prominence of regional (and national) organisations, increasingly recognised as legitimate interlocutors of regional organisations, such as ECOWAS. This growing recognition of local actors underpins Oxfam's and GROW's strategy in West Africa.

The regional coalition convened by GROW West Africa brings together six campaign members (RBM, APSS, POSCAO, IPAR, WiLDAF and OXFAM)<sup>11</sup> and one allied organisation (Inter-Réseaux). Although originally a full member, ROPPA, formally abandoned the Campaign in 2013 and is now less involved in the Campaign's activities. However, the organisation is still invited to participate in some of the activities and conversations with different stakeholders suggesting that the relationship and engagement with the Campaign are not fully broken.

Very much linked to the ability to engage key partners in the Campaign is Oxfam's strategy to provide support to other members. This support ranges from covering the cost of attending strategic meetings for some partners to the delivery of different capacity-building activities on advocacy, communication, research, policy notes, etc.

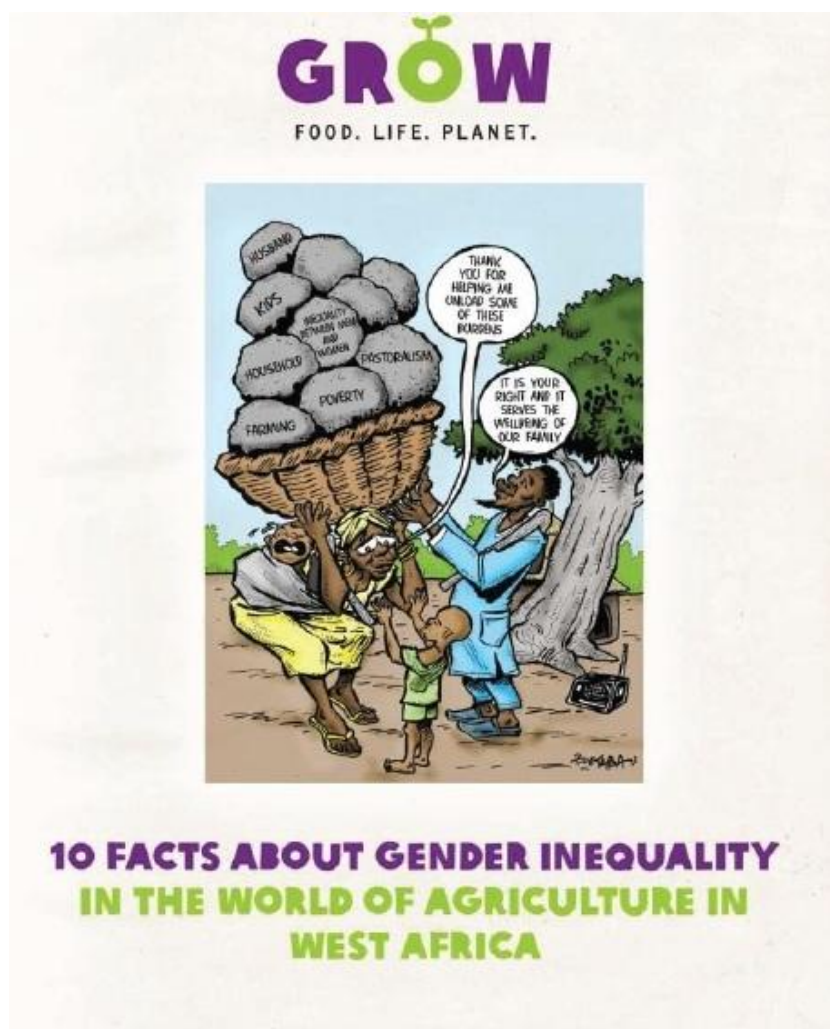
As we will have the chance to elaborate on later, partnerships and alliances play a central role in the Campaign's theory of change, but the relationship with partners, as the ROPPA example shows, is not, and has not always been, easy. The visibility of Oxfam and its role vis-à-vis local partners, as we will see later, is still an unresolved debate within the coalition.



Photo: Example of Oxfam's coalition with other organisations as part of the campaign. Credit:Oxfam

**Research:** Production of thematic reports and policy papers that encourages evidence-based decision-making. Several reports, policy notes and booklets have been produced, published and widely disseminated as part of the regional GROW Campaign in West Africa. Other research conducted at national or regional level complement the regional campaign's work.<sup>12</sup> A few examples particularly relevant to regional agricultural policies include:

- *10 Joint Policy Recommendations. From Rhetoric to Action: Towards a Transformed Agriculture and Food Secure Africa*
- A booklet entitled *10 facts about gender inequality in the world of agriculture in West Africa*
- *10 réalités des femmes éleveuses/pasteures* (draft publication)
- A policy note on 'Meeting the Sustainable Development Goals in West Africa'
- A policy brief on the impact of regional commercial policy on the West African local milk sector (this brief was a collaborative effort between APSS and GRET with the support of Oxfam and the EU)
- *ECOWAP: a fragmented policy*, briefing paper
- Draft guide for gender mainstreaming in NAIPs and the RAIP
- *First line of defence: assessing the potential of local food reserves in the Sahel*, research report<sup>13</sup>



Above: Cover of the *10 facts about gender inequality in the world of agriculture in West Africa* booklet

**Lobbying and advocacy:** Although not always clearly or fully documented, conversations with stakeholders reveal that lobbying strategies include a number of formal and informal contacts to persuade decision-makers and influence their decisions.

Key targets for the regional campaign included ECOWAS decision-makers, donors, other regional integration organisations, such as WAEMU or CILSS. Key figures at the institution in charge of facilitating the whole ECOWAP+10 revision process were also informal targets. The process was facilitated by a consortium of organisations coordinated by the Hub Rural.<sup>14</sup> The consortium included several formal and informal allies of the Campaign, such as Inter-Réseaux (formal ally of the GROW Campaign) and Bureau Issala, an informal ally of the GROW Campaign and a regular collaborator with Oxfam in the region.

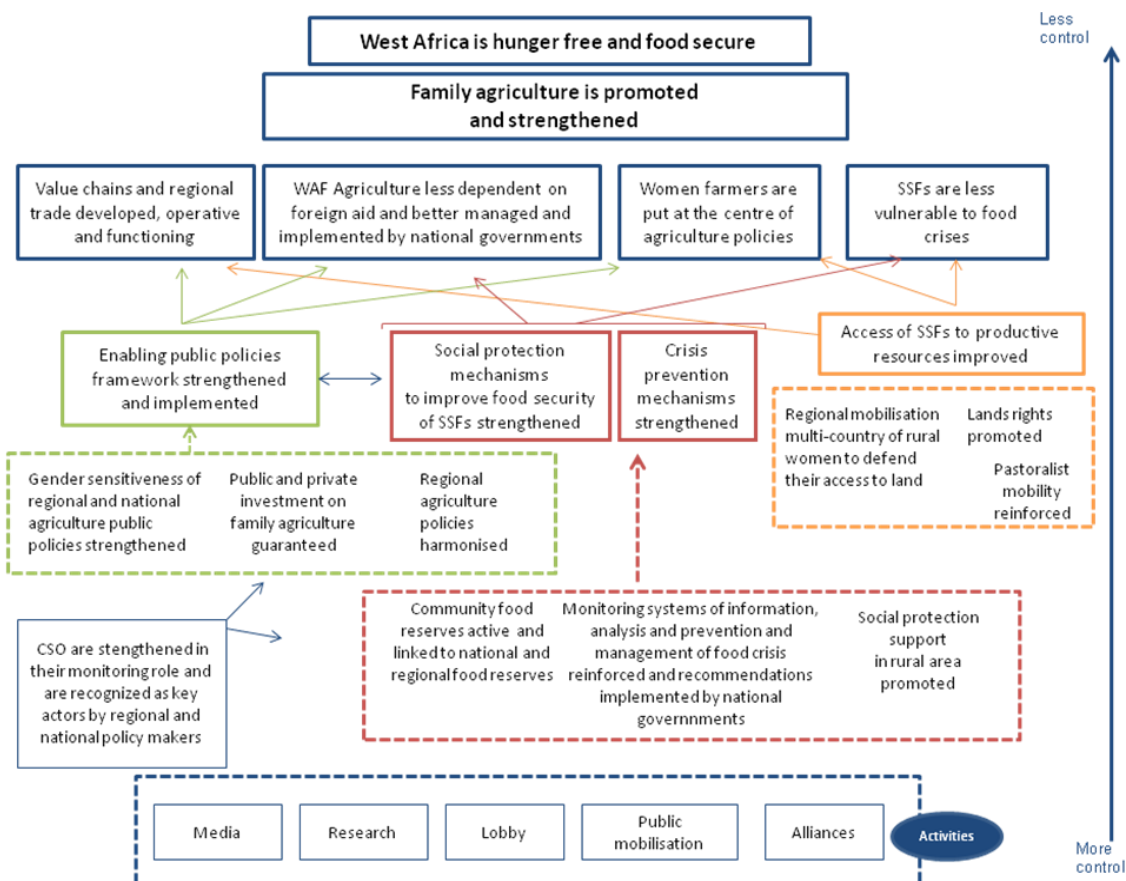
**Popular mobilisation and public campaign:** Aiming to keep the pressure up from outside, 'popular mobilisation' strategies have been used at both national and regional levels. This tactic puts the focus on communication tools and the use of celebrities and social networks, among other things. Public campaigning activities conducted to influence the ECOWAP+10 revision process include the creation of a hashtag #ecowap10 and Campaign messages, which were disseminated via social networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube; a cinema festival about youth employment in agriculture organised as a side event of the International Conference; radio podcasts and the commissioning of a short video about the results of the first 10 years of ECOWAP, which was broadcast on TV5 Monde's WARI magazine and disseminated via YouTube; and finally, having a stand with information about GROW and Oxfam during the International Conference on Agriculture in West Africa.

**Media work:** A particularly relevant example of how the Campaign has worked with the media as part of their lobbying strategy was the launch of the *ECOWAP: a fragmented policy* report during a press conference held on the eve of the opening ceremony of the International Conference on Agriculture in West Africa in Dakar. Led by Oxfam, all Campaign members were invited to attend. A representative from APSS, together with Oxfam representatives, presented the report.

## 3.2 POLICY CHANGE MODEL

Figure 3.2 unpacks the chain of policy changes and practices that the Campaign is seeking to achieve.

**Figure 3.2: Policy changes and practices sought by the Campaign**



### The link between the national and regional campaigns

Although outside the scope of this Effectiveness Review, the link between the national- and regional-level campaigns was addressed with stakeholders as part of the theory of change discussion. These conversations uncovered a significant divergence in opinions about the link between the two levels of campaign. The issue was already analysed in the mid-term evaluation from an operational point of view. That analysis concluded that the strong disconnection between the regional and national members was undermining the Campaign's potential for synergies and joint strategies.

On this occasion, we asked different partners about how the two levels interact from a theory of change perspective: was policy change expected to come from the regional level (ECOWAS, for example) and permeate the national policy frameworks? Or, on the contrary, was change at regional level expected to come as a result of pressure and change at national level? How should both levels work to better integrate action and promote change?

The issue is not explicitly reflected in the theory of change. When asked about this, Campaign informants gave conflicting assumptions about how change was supposed to happen at the two different levels. For some, change at the national level takes longer than at the regional level and it is therefore more strategic to secure change at regional policy level and wait for the regional institutions to push for the implementation of policy change at the national level. Furthermore, there are issues that necessarily require a regional vision and treatment,

according to these sources. For others, the institutional weakness of regional integration institutions means that without building a political base of support at national level, the chances of seeing regional level changes implemented nationally are limited. For example, regional partners say that on many occasions the national investment plans have not been fully, or properly, implemented, despite being officially adopted. ECOWAS interviewees recognise that the implementation of regional decisions at a national level is not always easy and that the organisation is lacking a sanctioning mechanism that would enhance the prospects of national compliance.

Although in theory the work done by the regional and the national campaigns should be mutually reinforcing, in practice the regional campaign seems to have implicitly worked under the first assumption and most of the regional work has been conducted with an uneven participation and input from national campaigns. This was, for example, the case of the ECOWAP+10 advocacy strategy, which, although it originally envisaged lobby and media action at both levels, was not fully implemented in some countries. Most informants perceive that the national level is gaining weight and will require further attention from the regional level in the near future. However, it will also require further input of national campaigns in regional strategies and actions.

The complexity of this debate is high. As said, this issue was not initially within the scope of this review. It did, however, frequently emerge during conversations. The analysis given here is therefore limited, but it is presented to stimulate thinking and discussion about how policy change happens and about how it can more effectively integrate both levels.

## 3.3 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE ECOWAP+10 PROCESS

Ten years after the West Africa regional agricultural policy (ECOWAP) was officially launched, the ECOWAS Commission and its partners organised the International Conference on Agriculture in West Africa (ECOWAP+10). The idea was to use the tenth anniversary of ECOWAS to take stock of the progress made and to provide guidance on the implementation of the regional policy over the next 10 years.

Organised by the ECOWAS Department of Agriculture, Environment and Water Resources (in collaboration with the government of Senegal and NEPAD) and facilitated by the Hub Rural, the conference was preceded by a participative assessment of the impact of implemented actions. A number of technical meetings and workshops engaging key regional stakeholders were organised to discuss past achievements, limitations and challenges, and to define the adjustments and orientations to be made in the future implementation of the policy.

To facilitate the process, regional stakeholders were invited to participate in different working groups, namely: a civil society organisations group, a private sector group, a producer organisations group, a gender group and country members and technical and financial partners groups. Each group produced specific recommendations to be included in the final document of adjustments and orientations that was approved during the international conference in November. All GROW Campaign members participated in one or more groups.<sup>15</sup>

### Key dates ECOWAP+10:

Process launch: June 2015

Preliminary workshop: 3–7 October 2015, Lomé, Togo.

Technical meetings: 14–15 November 2015, Dakar.

Inter-ministerial technical committee on agriculture, environment and water meeting: 16 November 2015, Dakar.

International Conference: 17–19 November 2015, Dakar, Senegal.



The signature of the regional agreement/compact (that should also have been signed together with the final document) was finally postponed because of minor discrepancies between ECOWAS and the Technical and Financial Partners (TFP). At the time of this evaluation, the signing of this formal engagement was still pending. The regional document of orientations and adjustments is expected to guide the development of the new generation of national agriculture investment plans (NAIP) and the new regional investment plan (RAIP). The process of adaptation of the national plans is expected to start in the next few months.

## 3.4 TARGETED OUTCOMES

Preliminary conversations with key staff from the GROW Campaign in West Africa served to identify recent outcomes that were considered to be central to the Campaign's theory of change. Considering the time and resources available, it was agreed that the research would focus on a particular regional policy change process: the International Conference on Agriculture in West Africa and the 'ECOWAP+10 Appraisal and Outlook for 2025' global forum. This process was considered a key opportunity to influence ECOWAS's regional agricultural policy in line with GROW Campaign demands. This review will analyse contributing factors for the following three policy outcomes:

**Targeted outcome 1:** Increased political will towards the need to harmonise regional agricultural policies and initiatives.

**Targeted outcome 2:** The reform of agricultural development policies and programmes integrates gender at all levels to massively strengthen the economic role of women in the sector.

**Targeted outcome 3:** Increased investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region.

This evaluation focuses on the work of the regional campaign around a particular regional policy process. It does not cover the work done by national campaigns and the links between the national and the regional level, which were already analysed in the mid-term evaluation. Occasionally, and when related to the regional process, national activities may be mentioned or analysed.

# 4 FINDINGS

## 4.1 SUB-OUTCOME 1 – ‘INCREASED POLITICAL WILL TOWARDS THE NEED TO HARMONISE REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND INITIATIVES’

### 4.1.1 The problem

The West African Agricultural Policy of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAP) was adopted in 2005 by the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. The overall objective of the policy was to contribute to meeting the food needs of the population, to economic and social development and to the reduction of poverty in member states.

In a complex environment of regional economic and monetary integration with different sub-regional organisations and coexisting policies, ECOWAP was also conceived as an *‘instrument for harmonising and integrating targeted objectives, via diverse strategies and programmes of the countries and inter-governmental organisations of the sub-region.’* In particular, the annex to the Decision of the Authority of Heads of States and Government called for the integration of different initiatives and programmes, including the agricultural policy of WAEMU (PAU), adopted in 2001 and which concerns eight member states that are also members of ECOWAS.<sup>16</sup>

However, 10 years after the launch of ECOWAP, it is generally recognised that coordination remains a serious challenge and that the coexistence of the two policies and the many ongoing initiatives are often a source of duplication and inefficiency.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, even ECOWAS acknowledges that in a context of fragmentation *‘a multitude of specialised development institutions and numerous regional networks of socio-professional organisations, programmes and policy proposals have a tendency to multiply that reduces their overall coherence and effectiveness.’*<sup>18</sup>

In that context, many actors, including GROW, call for a better integration of regional policies and for a stronger recognition of ECOWAP as the only, or the key, agricultural policy framework in the region.

### 4.1.2 Materialisation of the outcome

The issue of harmonisation and coordination was the object of discussion during the preparatory meetings leading to the international conference in Dakar, and was finally incorporated as Orientation 5.1 in the official document resulting from that process: ‘Outlook, orientations and adjustments for ECOWAP for 2025’.



## 5.1 From coordination to the real integration of agricultural policies? (extract)

In 2015, however, the regional stakeholders are aware that a new, more ambitious, stage must be implemented as quickly as possible. The simple fact that eight of the fifteen member states of ECOWAS are required to refer to two distinct regional agricultural policies (PAU and ECOWAP) is incompatible with the idea that agriculture urgently needs a single, clear, coherent and predictable political and regulatory environment [...]

[...]It goes without saying that this orientation will necessarily open a development site relating to the definition of this common policy in the coming months, managed jointly by the ECOWAS and WAEMU commissions and enjoying strong impetus from the Summit of Heads of State.

The document of orientations and adjustments was officially adopted during a Ministerial meeting celebrated in Dakar on 16 November, 2015. The issue of working towards a single common policy was expressly reflected in paragraph 19:<sup>19</sup>

*'Le Comité Ministériel Spécialisé recommande à la Commission de la CEDEAO de travailler en concertation avec les autres OIG, notamment l'UEMOA et la MANO River Union, pour aboutir d'ici à 2020 à une seule politique agricole de l'Afrique de l'Ouest.'*

The need to work for a 'single, clear and coherent' policy framework is thus recognised and identified as one key area of work for the next 10 years. But what does this declaration mean when compared to the previous policy statements of 2005? Has political will to move in that direction really increased? What has changed?

Things are less clear when we try to answer these questions. Even if endorsed as one of the six key orientations or adjustments that will guide the implementation of the regional policy in the next decade and that have been officially endorsed by ECOWAS Ministers of Agriculture, the interviews conducted for this review show a much more ambiguous, and sometimes conflictive, political discourse and comprehension of the problem by regional decision-makers. For example, ECOWAS representatives consulted tended to minimise contradictions between the PAU and ECOWAP and, even if they recognise that coordination should be strengthened, they insist that there are enough mechanisms for coordination and harmonisation in place between the two regional organisations. This perception is not necessarily shared by other key regional stakeholders interviewed, including donors. In line with what is also reflected in third-party reports, most people interviewed agree that even if the two regional organisations (WAEMU and ECOWAS) have certainly taken steps to intensify coordination and policy harmonisation, not enough progress has been made and parallel initiatives still coexist.

*'Neither the UEMOA or ECOWAS deny that the lack of harmonisation is a problem. They recognised it when they say that they have created a joint coordination committee. It is an important issue.'* (External stakeholder)

*'Despite the collaborative efforts of some interventions, both institutions continue to operate separately with similar programmes that could be federated. For example, the WAEMU initiative on the establishment of a regional mechanism for strengthening and coordinating national food security (adopted in 2010) and the ECOWAS programme for regional food security reserves (feasibility study validated in 2012) are two interventions with the same goals and the same purpose (as regards WAEMU).'*<sup>20</sup>

However, despite a widespread recognition of the coordination problem, conversations held with regional stakeholders also show a strong consensus among informants (from both inside and outside ECOWAS) that, although a critical issue and a regional aspiration, achieving a single regional policy involves myriad economic and political interests and would require the discussion to move to a higher level. As such, the idea of having a single regional agricultural

policy is not generally perceived either as a priority or as a feasible proposal, in the short or medium-term.

*'This is a very critical institutional issue. When someone talks about a single agricultural policy I wonder, is that feasible? I don't think it is. For me, it is good, but it is not easy, not at this stage.'* (Donor)

This widespread perception qualifies the public endorsement as reflected in the document of orientations and the communication of ECOWAS ministers and suggests that, even if there are clear indications of formal commitment around this issue, the level of substantive political will might not have significantly changed during this process. In fact, as some informants point out, although ECOWAS has informally adopted the document of orientations and adjustments as a roadmap for 2025,<sup>21</sup> the legal force of this document, which is still lacking the signature of a regional compact, is still not completely clear.

*'The need for a single policy is recognised as a principle but has no legal force.'*

**In the light of the information available, we can conclude that the outcome has been partially achieved** and that a strengthened formal political commitment could be found. Progress in terms of going beyond a mere coordination or harmonisation and explicitly calling for a single common policy is clear, and the issue is undeniably noted on paper. However, although this certainly represents a strong agreement on the nature of the problem, not much evidence could be found of a consensus on the proposed solution or signs of further plans to move forward as indications of a stronger and substantive political will to advance on the issue in the medium term. We can therefore consider that the progress evidenced is necessary, but not sufficient to achieve the final goal. Nevertheless, this needs to be considered in the context of the ongoing regional integration processes occurring in the region, a particularly complex and non-linear scenario that necessarily requires a long-term vision.

### 4.1.3 Salient causal stories

What factors or actors may have also contributed to this result? In this section, we will discuss some of these (f)actors, including GROW, and analyse evidence of their level of contribution to the targeted outcome.

#### The Grow Campaign's demands

For GROW, the launch of the ECOWAP+10 revision process was a key opportunity to bring the lack of coordination and harmonisation of agricultural policies in the region to light and to push the issue of a single policy framework up the regional agenda.

To achieve this objective, the Campaign decided to focus on providing evidence-based arguments that could persuade regional policy makers from ECOWAS and other regional integration organisations to show a stronger commitment to moving towards a single policy framework, as a proposed solution and a necessary step towards achieving other regional agricultural objectives. According to the Campaign's internal documents, harmonising policies and initiatives under the umbrella of ECOWAP would improve effectiveness and increase impact. It would also give West African states a stronger argument to claim for better alignment of foreign aid and development partners' initiatives to the overall regional policy's objectives of food security. By highlighting the difficult coexistence of multiple coordination frameworks and the fragmentation of the regional agricultural scenario, it was expected that the Campaign would contribute to creating awareness on the policy issue (framing the problem<sup>22</sup>) while widening support around a single policy as a feasible solution.

The publication of *ECOWAP: a fragmented policy*,<sup>23</sup> a report commissioned by Oxfam in the framework of the GROW Campaign, was a central element aiming to both bring the issue to the



attention of policy makers and suggest a way forward (policy proposal). The report was conceived as part of a series of documents about the effectiveness of aid in the agriculture and food sector published by Oxfam in the region since 2009 and came to update and complete the work done in the 2011 study *Aid Coordination: myth or reality?*. This report was shared with all the members of the GROW Campaign and presented as Oxfam's contribution to the Campaign's regional advocacy strategy.

The report was also shared in different contexts with key regional decision-makers and used as a basis for discussion during the CSO group's meetings in Lomé, which, taking into account the participatory nature of the ECOWAP+10 process, was considered a particularly strategic space to widen agreement on the nature of the problem among CSO stakeholders, and to push the issue into the final document of orientations. Although key messages around this issue were previously discussed and agreed with the Campaign's members, it was mostly Oxfam, as a full-rights member of the CSO group, who finally took the lead on this particular issue and played a brokering role. Both Oxfam and POSCAO were also in charge of drafting a number of recommendations that the CSO group presented to ECOWAS to be considered and included in the final document of orientations for 2025. Among those, the group strongly recommended that the leadership of ECOWAS in agricultural issues should be reinforced and that mechanisms to improve coordination and accountability between the different regional organisations should be strengthened.

**RECOMMANDATIONS GÉNÉRALES**

- **Sur la gouvernance:**
  - Mettre en place un dispositif de suivi-évaluation performant de la mise en œuvre de l'ECOWAP doté d'indicateurs mesurables et de moyens de mesures des effets pertinents;
  - Garder cohérence avec le cadre de résultats du CADDP
- **Sur la fragmentation des instruments de gouvernance :**
  - Renforcer le leadership de la CEDEAO , y compris son rôle dans la mise en œuvre et la coordination des interventions des acteurs;
  - Formaliser la collaboration entre la CEDEAO et les autres organisations dans le suivi de l'ECOWAP et établir des mécanismes de concertation et redevabilité;
  - Evaluer et documenter les projets et programmes régionaux visant à promouvoir la sécurité alimentaire, le développement agricole, et la libre circulation des produits agricoles pour identifier les duplications, conflits chevauchements, inefficacités, etc

Source: Presentation of the contribution of CSO to the regional workshop preparing the International Conference «ECOWAP+10»; 3–7 October 2015, Lomé, Togo.

Another central element of the strategy was to raise general awareness on the nature of the problem among key stakeholders and the general public and to make the Campaign's policy proposal public and known to both key regional stakeholders and the general public. With those objectives in mind, the report was presented at a press conference on the eve of the International Conference of Dakar in November 2015. It was also widely disseminated via the different social networks channels created by the Campaign for this event.

Although no rigorous monitoring of media impacts was available, a simple web search shows that the launch of the report was covered by different local and regional media and news agencies<sup>24</sup> and that it was widely disseminated by key regional stakeholders, such as the Club of Sahel.<sup>25</sup>

Most external stakeholders consulted agree that Oxfam's report created some communication noise and that it was not always well received by regional stakeholders. For many, the volume of the debate created by the report can be taken as a proxy indicator of influence. Interviewees from ECOWAS confirmed that the launch of the report created some discomfort in the regional institution, and that some key actors even refused to read it. In the first place, although the call

for a common policy was already included in the ECOWAS Treaty and the first ECOWAP, there were critical disagreements with the findings of the report and with the framing of the problem. Most people from the organisation consulted insist that the PAU and ECOWAP coexist without major problems and that *'ECOWAP cannot be considered "fragmented"',*<sup>26</sup> the latter incorporating the spirit and principles of the former. But secondly and most importantly, they say, the timing and public display of the launch of the report was an unnecessary confrontation.

*'We were not happy with the report. Some people thought it was a provocation. That it was aiming to block the revision process. The timing chosen to launch it was not right.'*  
(ECOWAS informant)

These opinions were not always shared by other regional stakeholders consulted, including donors, who unanimously praised the quality and relevance of Oxfam's report and generally agree with both the issues and problems identified and the solution proposed. However, they caution about the feasibility of such a proposal, at least in the short term, and believe that some reactions need to be interpreted in the light of the regional integration process and the many economic and political stakes behind the institutional decisions that true harmonisation and unification would require.

Oxfam's report was the only study of this kind presented in the framework of this process.

### **ROPPA as a key player**

Besides Oxfam, the network of West African producer organisations (ROPPA) was also mentioned by regional stakeholders as a key supporter of the idea of a single common agricultural policy in the region.

The relationship between ROPPA and the GROW Campaign has been relatively erratic, even if on issues such as the one being discussed both networks tend to share the same vision. Although initially a full member of the regional GROW Campaign, ROPPA left the coalition in 2013, alleging core discrepancies about the strategy, role and visibility of Oxfam within the coalition. Despite this estrangement, representatives of the organisation confirmed that the issue of a single common agricultural policy was indeed on their agenda and shared the contents and proposals included in Oxfam's report. Key representatives from ROPPA also regretted that both organisations had not been able to advocate jointly during this process.

*'They (Oxfam) have done a really good critical analysis. Unfortunately, we had two different voices. We could have used the same arguments but we didn't, we worked on two different fronts and have lost some strength. But we are signatories of the regional compact, and we should be at the forefront of this fight.'*

ROPPA was identified by a key ECOWAS informant as the main promoter of the idea of a single common agricultural policy, which the organisation has often defended publicly. However, it is not clear how central this issue was in the organisation's strategy to influence the ECOWAP+10 process. The harmonisation issue was not prominently reflected in the document of evaluation for the ECOWAP+10 process prepared by ROPPA,<sup>27</sup> and no other policy note or position issued by the organisation on this matter was ever mentioned. Furthermore, the organisation was not a member of the CSO group where the issue was discussed and the idea of working for a single policy framework was proposed as a recommendation.

### **The position of the Technical and Financial Partners (TFP)**

Although from a subtly different approach, a third group of actors bringing the problem of coordination and the need for a more coherent policy framework to the ECOWAP+10 process was the group of donors who in their presentation of conclusions recognised the *'need to work towards the unification of policies, ideas and methods rather than institutions in order to galvanise the implementation of ECOWAP'*<sup>28</sup> and recommended the heads of state *'address the issue of the parallel policies of ECOWAS and WAEMU'*.<sup>29</sup> All donors interviewed confirmed that

the need to work towards a better harmonised agriculture framework is a pending and necessary task in the region. However, as Oxfam's report denounces, these affirmations are often contradicted by facts and a plethora of initiatives supported by different donors<sup>30</sup> are still being promoted outside the ECOWAP framework.

#### 4.1.4 Findings and learning considerations

1. The recognition of the need to work for a single common agricultural policy was formally reflected in the final document of orientations and adjustments for ECOWAP for 2025 and explicitly adopted as a political aspiration by the ministers of agriculture. According to GROW Campaign managers, this is an important step and the first time that having a single political framework has been so explicitly endorsed. Although a positive result of the process, this indication of formal political will is not accompanied by strong signs of a more genuine intention or political will to move the issue forward. The issue of harmonisation and coordination of policies has been on the policy agenda for quite some time and is intimately linked to the wider process of regional integration. Although the vision of a single common regional policy is generally acknowledged as a genuine aspiration, regional stakeholders unanimously agree that, at this point, there is not much margin for further change since moving in that direction involves too many critical stakes and is not a priority, at least in the short term. We can therefore infer that, even if formal political will could be verified, there is no evidence of change in terms of substantive political will, and we can affirm only that the outcome has been partly achieved.

2. However, given the particularly complex political context, the fact that the issue has been kept on the agenda and included in the final document of orientations and adjustments cannot be underestimated and should be considered a positive outcome in itself. In this respect the evaluation was able to find some evidence of an important contribution from GROW.

On the one hand, according to most testimonies, the report launched by the Campaign contributed to increasing the visibility of the issue and motivated strong reactions among decision-makers, which may be taken as a proxy indicator of influence. It was frequently mentioned by regional stakeholders interviewed, including donors, and the only study of its kind presented in the framework of this process.

On the other hand, the presence of the Campaign in the CSO group was strategic for gaining support from other CSO actors and for ensuring that the issue was among the key recommendations that regional civil society organisations presented to ECOWAS. Whereas other actors' contribution and support for the issue is certainly not to be denied, data suggests that the role played by the GROW Campaign has made an important contribution to ensuring that the issue was not left off the political agenda and that a formal declaration of political will to eventually advance in this direction was included in the ECOWAP+10 final documents.

3. Despite this sign of formal political will, the unanimous perception was that, in substantive terms, Oxfam's proposal to move towards a single regional policy is at this point not too realistic. Both Oxfam's report and the conclusions of the CSO group actually call for a more coordinated and harmonised regional agricultural policy and, ideally, advocate for a future single common agricultural policy. However, the most frequently heard interpretation of that message was that Oxfam was primarily asking for policy unification, which necessarily implies some sort of institutional rupture between the two regional organisations.

Interestingly, a significant number of those who were critical of Oxfam's positioning had not fully read the report and based their opposition/resistance on the information and messages conveyed during the press conference or reported by the media, as representatives from ECOWAS recognised. This indicates that the political sensitivity of the issue probably calls for more persuasive communication, a more nuanced proposal and the identification of intermediate outcomes that can pave the way to the final goal. The GROW Campaign demands have already evolved from calling for ECOWAP to become the only regional

agriculture to accept that a new, but single, policy framework could be the goal. However, the need to even unpack intermediate outcomes further does clearly emerge from the analysis.

4. The Campaign may also want to reflect on how better to capitalise on the different capacities and expertise of its members. For example, as has been done with many other research documents, in this case the communication expertise of IR could have been used to translate the *ECOWAP: a fragmented policy report* into more digestible and communicable policy notes that could be sent to usually busy decision-makers and ensure that the Campaign messages come across with the minimum interference possible.
5. All stakeholders, either from institutions or civil society, identify both the report and the policy preference for a single common policy with Oxfam, not necessarily with the GROW Campaign. In this case, this has clearly played against the Campaign.

The role of Oxfam within the coalition and the visibility of GROW as a collective effort has been the subject of debate before in the Campaign. Internally, conversations with Campaign members show a strong association of the report with Oxfam, even if for the latter it was conceived and presented as its particular contribution to the GROW Campaign in this particular process. Despite the internal sharing of the report and the invitation to all Campaign members to participate in its presentation to the media, the ownership of this report was generally found to be weak. A number of measures, such as increasing the visibility of Campaign members' logos, have also been taken. Yet, as we could see in the report, it is not always the case. The issue is not fully resolved and calls for further reflection about how to increase the visibility (and ownership) of members in all the Campaign activities and outputs.

Externally, the identification of the GROW Campaign with Oxfam was also very strong and was repeatedly advanced by many stakeholders, such as ROPPA, as a factor limiting the legitimacy of the Campaign's claims. In the past 10 years, ECOWAS has made a notable effort to promote inclusive processes that genuinely give voice to West African organisations and civil society. That was the case of the ECOWAP+10 global forum, a highly participative process bringing together a significant number of regional actors. In this context, there is a growing consensus that INGOs such as Oxfam should progressively take a step back and rethink their role in certain national and regional political processes. The ROPPA case shows the need to strategically engage other regional allies, even if only occasionally and for crucial issues.

## 4.1.5 Scoring

Outcome	Contribution scores	Short commentary
Increased political will towards the need to harmonise regional agricultural policies and initiatives	3	<p><b>Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>There is not enough evidence to affirm that the outcome has been fully achieved. Although the recognition of the need to work for a single common agricultural policy was formally reflected in the final document of orientations and adjustments for ECOWAP for 2025, and was explicitly endorsed by ECOWAS ministers of agriculture, no other indicators of a stronger political will could be verified.</p> <p>However, in a particularly complex political context, the fact that the issue has been kept on the agenda is not to be underestimated and can be considered as a positive outcome where we can safely conclude that GROW has made an important contribution. The general perception of key regional stakeholders is that the report considerably increased the visibility of the issue among regional stakeholders and decision-makers. The report launched by the Campaign motivated strong reactions among decision-makers and was frequently mentioned by stakeholders. It was also the only study of this kind presented in the framework of this process.</p>

## 4.2 SUB-OUTCOME 2 – ‘THE REFORM OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES INTEGRATES GENDER AT ALL LEVELS TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SECTOR’

### 4.2.1 The problem

Despite recurring political recognition of ‘*the dominant position of women in the production, processing and marketing of agricultural products*’,<sup>31</sup> their weak representation in consultation and negotiation processes<sup>32</sup> and the need to ‘*increase their involvement in decision-making on policies, programmes and projects*’,<sup>33</sup> the integration of a gender perspective in West African agricultural policies and programmes is generally assumed to be an unresolved matter needing serious consideration.



Although the causes could be many, ECOWAS representatives claim that insufficient progress is mostly due to lack of concrete tools and institutional capacity. *'Everybody tells us that we need to mainstream gender in policy formulation but we just don't know how to do it, that is why we are asking the regional organisations to provide concrete tools. So far we haven't got those.'*

## 4.2.2 Materialisation of the outcome

Gender issues have been at the heart of the ECOWAP+10 revision process. For the first time, as we will elaborate on later, a specific task force bringing together women's groups, producer organisations and other non-state actors was recognised as a legitimate ECOWAS interlocutor on gender issues. The gender group is expected to survive this particular policy process and consolidate as an institutional space for dialogue within the ECOWAP framework.

Secondly, when we compare the first policy document of 2005 and the 2009 regional compact, a clear change in the tone and wording of the new document of orientations is made evident.

### Orientation 5.2 (extract)

The incorporation of gender in ECOWAP has often remained a mere intention.[...]

[...] The role of women in the agro-pastoral sector, the constraints to which they are subject relating to access to services and factors of production and the consequences of these constraints on the local economies, food and nutritional security and sovereignty and male-female equity are nevertheless fully recognised at regional level. A consensus exists relating to the importance of resolving this situation both for reasons of equity and for impact-related reasons. In light of the predominant weight of women in the production, processing and distribution of agricultural and food products, the very efficiency of this policy will be strengthened considerably by a full and complete integration of the gender issue [...]

[...] In order to improve the situation of women in the agro-pastoral sector, a series of measures will be incorporated into ECOWAP:

- strengthen the representation of rural women's organisation in the dialogue, consultation, orientation, decision-making and monitoring-evaluation bodies;
- implement inter-sectorial collaboration platforms;
- implement multidisciplinary teams trained in the issues of gender in agriculture.

Both things can be considered as positive indicators of a relatively stronger political will to advance the gender cause in the agricultural policy framework of ECOWAS. This could be triangulated with testimonies from regional decision-makers and confirmed with initiatives such as the Technical Cooperation Programme between ECOWAS and FAO on Gender Responsive National and Regional Agricultural Investment Plans for meeting the Zero Hunger Challenge in the ECOWAS Region, recently launched by FAO.

*'I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate ECOWAS for the very strong gender dimensions in the Regional Partnership Pact for the Implementation of the ECOWAP/CAADP 2025, adopted during the International Conference on Agriculture in West Africa, held in November 2015 in Dakar.'* (Carla Mucavi, FAO LON Director)<sup>34</sup>

We can therefore conclude that **there is clear evidence of a formal commitment (document of orientations) and early signs of a willingness to implement that political commitment** (FAO/ECOWAS programme; gender group). Based on this, we can safely infer that the **outcome has been reasonably achieved.**

## 4.2.3 Salient causal stories

### The establishment of a gender task force for the ECOWAP+10 revision process

The ECOWAP+10 revision process was an opportunity for ECOWAS to include the participation of women and women's organisations in the regional agricultural policy dialogue. For the first time a specific gender group, bringing together women's groups, producer organisations and other non-state actors, was convened and actively participated in the policy dialogue process.

According to key stakeholders, the decision from ECOWAS to create such a group and recognise it as a legitimate actor was taken during the celebration of the High Level Forum of Climate-Smart Agriculture Stakeholders celebrated in Bamako (Mali) earlier in 2015 and was prompted by the many criticisms that the regional organisation was receiving from international donors and from regional CSOs, including GROW Campaign members, for the lack of progress in this field. Although most actors consulted for the evaluation tended to claim an important influence in the decision to constitute this group, it is difficult to isolate one key determining (f)actor and the most plausible interpretation is that the decision was taken as a result of a sum of factors and influences.

The creation of the gender group/task force was unanimously welcomed as an important milestone by all stakeholders, and was found to be the main factor contributing to the new gender equality orientation. It is also unanimously considered a necessary condition to advance this cause further.

### The GROW Campaign

WILDAF, APSS and RBM, all members of the GROW Campaign, were invited to participate in the gender group. Although the three organisations were invited to participate in their own right (not as members of Oxfam's regional campaign), their engagement with GROW was used to coordinate messages and to produce a *Draft guide for gender mainstreaming in NAIPs and the RAIP*<sup>35</sup> that was later proposed to the gender group as a working paper. The idea was to respond to ECOWAS representatives' allegations about the lack of concrete gender mainstreaming tools and capacity within the regional institution and use the contents and recommendations included in the draft guide to develop guidelines and tools that the gender group could propose to ECOWAS for adoption.



Above: Example of material used during the Campaign

Led by WiLDAF, the guide included specific contributions from the livestock organisations in GROW and other external stakeholders. The guide was aiming to influence the process in two directions. Firstly, the strategy contemplated sharing the whole drafting process with key ECOWAS stakeholders with the specific aims of: a) raising their awareness of gender and agricultural policies, and b) engaging decision-makers in the issue by making the guide's drafting process as transparent as possible and incorporating their feedback, thereby winning their support. This was expected to help elevate the issue on the agenda and ensure that a number of decisions on strengthening gender issues in the regional policy were finally included in the final documents resulting from the process. Secondly, the guide was thought to be a key document that would facilitate the implementation of those decisions by regional decision-makers in the future, which would contribute to genuinely reinforcing their political commitment.

The draft guide was the only concrete proposal put forward for discussion in the gender group. The document found strong resistance within the gender group and in the end no guide or tools were presented to ECOWAS for endorsement. As a consequence, the GROW Campaign's strategy to get the instruments and tools proposed in the guide approved, fell through.

According to all stakeholders consulted, the process of creating the gender group has been quite rocky because of the different – and sometimes incompatible – sensibilities and visions of its members. This, they believe, has surely not contributed to the success of the Campaign's strategy. However, it is necessary to note that the institutionalisation of the group is still at a very early stage and that it might still require some time to polish and consolidate as an operational space with capacity to influence.

Despite the lack of success in the adoption of the guide, a comparative analysis of the draft guide and the final document of orientations show a significant number of coincidences that suggests some influence of the Campaign's work over the latter. We include a few examples of this in the following table.

<b>GROW Campaign Draft Guide</b>	<b>ECOWAP+10 Document of Orientations</b>
'If documents of NAIPs and the RAIP often declare that consideration of gender is an unavoidable issue, integration of a real gender approach in these programmes is far [from] systematic.' (p 23)	'Not only is the integration of this question far from systematic in the NAIP and RAIP, it is also very weak.' (p 16)
'Furthermore, within the framework of calls for proposals (affirmative actions in calls for projects), part of the global allocation devoted to various future projects retained may be devoted to proposals specifically integrating gender issue, or specifically focused on women.' (p 46)	'In order to improve the situation of women in the agro-pastoral sector, a series of measures will be incorporated into ECOWAP [...]:  On the basis of an institutional framework adapted to gender integration while, at programme level, will involve identifying, designing and evaluating gender-sensitive actions. This implies (i) conducting diagnostics specific to gender (ii) determining a budget dedicated to gender in the agro-pastoral sector, in particular within the framework of calls for propositions enabling a range of innovative initiatives to be developed in this domain;'(p 17)
'Reinforce aspects related to agriculture in periodic reports of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women).'(p 9)	'It will also involve introducing these aspects in the periodic reports of the states for the CEDAW and on the implementation of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.' (p 17)

## Other salient causal stories

Although an official participant in the ECOWAP+10 revision process, the UN agency for Food and Agriculture (FAO) was not part of the gender task force. Despite this, available information indicates that FAO is an important factor contributing to the achievement of the targeted outcome. According to regional stakeholders, the organisation has been working on gender mainstreaming tools for quite some time now, although no person interviewed had actually had the opportunity to see these. Unfortunately, the evaluation team was unable to interview key gender staff at FAO's regional office and this information could not be properly triangulated.

However, recent information about the launch of a joint technical programme between the FAO and ECOWAS confirms that the international organisation is actively working on the development of capacities and tools to mainstream gender in regional and national policy frameworks.

Although we know very little about this programme, we can assume that it may have an important impact on the final outcome of further integrating gender in the national and regional agricultural policies. According to the information available on FAO's website, the programme aims to strengthen the 'capacities of the ECOWAS commission and government institutions for expanding women's opportunities in inclusive agricultural growth and transformation in the ECOWAS region. This involves gender responsive and inclusive agricultural policy and programme design, financing, implementation and monitoring.'<sup>36</sup>

Interestingly enough, these developments seem to be taking place in parallel with the ECOWAP+10 process and with little or no participation of the gender task group.<sup>37</sup> The programme was never mentioned by key stakeholders participating in the ECOWAP+10 process, even if the initiative is intimately related to the work of the gender group. This raises questions about the role and consideration of that group as a new interlocutor of ECOWAS/ECOWAP and questions the group's real capacity to influence.

## 4.2.4 Findings and learning considerations

1. The evaluation found some evidence of increased political will to integrate gender at all levels in agricultural policies. Gender issues have been visibly strengthened in the final document of orientations and the need to incorporate women's needs and concerns in agricultural policies is unanimously recognised as a regional priority. Furthermore, the constitution of a gender task force and its recognition as a legitimate actor in agricultural policy dialogue is a positive step and a sign of a stronger commitment from regional institutions to implement the decision taken during the ECOWAP+10 process. As such, we can conclude that the outcome has materialised.
2. In the light of the evidence gathered, an important influence of the Campaign's draft guide on the wording and framing of the issue in the new document of orientations could be found, indicating a contribution to strengthening **political commitment at the formal level**. The problem is that, to date, formal declarations and official endorsements have not been followed by significant action and, therefore, progress. Surely, the inclusion of a particular issue in the policy agenda and formal declarations of political will are necessary pieces or conditions of the policy-making process, but they tend to be not sufficient for achieving the final goal. As a result, many of those interviewed people question the real commitment behind these declarations and tend to believe that they are more a 'declaration of intent' than a reflection of a genuine political will, something that can only be confirmed with time.

*'Gender is only on paper. I don't see much change; even among donors some are more active than others. But we can all do much better.'* (Donor)

*'I think that we should be very clear. So far it (gender) is just a declaration of intent.'*  
(External stakeholder)

3. In parallel, other manifestations of a more substantive or genuine political will could be found in recent and intimately related initiatives, such as the programme recently launched by FAO and ECOWAS, that closely resemble GROW's objectives. However, these initiatives have emerged with little or no relation to the ECOWAP+10 process and no contribution by the GROW Campaign to them could be verified. This fact calls the role and mandate of the gender group into question, and cautions about possible duplications and recommends further coordination and linkages with the UN agency and with regional and national women's machineries. It also calls for a rethinking of the strategy by the GROW members. Further reflection about building or reinforcing potential bridges between the group's work and this initiative, and between national women's machineries and agricultural departments, needs to be made.
4. In summary, there is evidence of GROW's contribution to strengthening the gender content of the final document resulting from the ECOWAP+10 process, as an indicator of stronger formal political will at least. However, the objective of GROW was to be able to influence the process more substantively and no clear evidence could be found of a contribution by the Campaign towards a more substantive political commitment from institutions to advance the gender cause in regional agriculture policies.

### **Lessons learned about GROW's strategy**

- In the first place, both the early stage of consolidation and internal issues and discrepancies within the gender group have played against the Campaign's objective to have a concrete gender mainstreaming proposal adopted by ECOWAS. These are elements relatively out of the control of the Campaign. However, they could have been relatively minimised if an accurate power analysis had been conducted. Good power analysis is essential for an effective advocacy strategy. Oxfam internal documents show that an informal power analysis of the overall process was done as part of the planning. Ex-post assessments of stakeholders' positioning and power were also conducted. But it is not clear that Campaign members, collectively, did the same exercise for each of the areas of policy change that they were trying to influence. As found in the mid-term evaluation, the advocacy strategy at regional level is often not properly documented and formalised. Besides, not enough collective analysis of political stakes and power forces is usually conducted. In this particular case, it is clear that Campaign members failed to anticipate key blockers of their strategy. No clear strategy was apparently devised to neutralise potential resistances within the gender group stakeholders in the process to accept the draft guide as a working document. The guide was a clever tactic, expected to ease off potential institutional resistances, but in the end it was not enough. This finding calls for further reflection about how to reinforce advocacy strategies in the future, and recommends the development of collective tools and protocols for power analysis, among others.
- Secondly, the Campaign's strategy and proposal (the draft guide) was very much based on the message conveyed by ECOWAS representatives, and on their conviction that lack of progress was prompted by a lack of concrete tools within the institution. But that diagnosis is not universally shared, and different stakeholders hold different opinions about the cause of the problem and about why ECOWAS has not been able to move forward and make progress on the integration of gender issues in agricultural policies. For some people, this is due to a lack of real political will and awareness among policy makers. They insist on the 'declaration of intent' idea. For others, it is indeed a matter of weak institutional capacity on gender in agriculture, both at regional and national level. Most West African institutions and governments have adopted national gender strategies, set up gender machineries and appointed gender focal points in sectoral ministries. ECOWAS itself has a Gender Development Centre, and specific gender departments and resources. Besides, sectoral regional institutions, such as CORAF, have developed practical tools that are being used to mainstream gender in all their programmes and initiatives. Finally, a simple web search shows that many manuals, sectoral guides and gender assessments developed by international actors exist and could potentially be applicable to ECOWAS institutions and national policies. For ECOWAS, the problem seems to be the lack of concrete tools. And the list of possible causes continues, depending on the person. A clearer understanding and disaggregation of the different causes of this lack of progress would help the Campaign to define tailored strategies for each problem identified.

- This poses a number of questions about a strategy that, to an outside eye, seems to have been more based on the production of a particular output than on a comprehensive mapping of resources and a clear analysis of the problem. It also calls for a reconsideration of the future strategy and role of the gender group as a critical agent of change. Given the proliferation of disconnected activities, making the gender group a meaningful actor seems to be the priority.

## 4.2.5 Scoring

Outcome	Contribution scores	Short commentary
<b>The reform of agricultural development policies and programmes integrates gender at all levels to massively strengthen the economic role of women in the sector</b>	4	<p><b>Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>The evaluation was able to find evidence of increased formal political will and incipient signs of a more substantive will to advance the gender cause in regional agriculture policies.</p> <p>An important contribution by GROW to the former could be found and a clear influence of the GROW Campaign in the final wording and framing of the gender issue in the ECOWAP+10 document of orientations and adjustments was verified as an indicator of stronger formal political commitment. At the substantive level, although not clearly linked to the ECOWAP+10 process and/or GROW, recently launched initiatives by FAO/ECOWAS also reflect stronger substantive political will and a more decisive intention from regional institutions to make progress in this field.</p>

## 4.3 SUB-OUTCOME 3: 'INCREASED INVESTMENT AND RECOGNITION OF THE LIVESTOCK SECTOR AS A KEY ECONOMIC SECTOR IN THE REGION'

### 4.3.1 The problem

Livestock and pastoralism play a vital role in the agricultural and rural economies of West African countries. In some areas of the Sahel, livestock production and pastoralism are even more important than crop production. Despite this fact, and despite the existence of a Strategic Action Plan for the Development and Transformation of Livestock Sector in the ECOWAS Region (2011–2020), available research and producer organisations unanimously agree that, compared to vegetable crops production, the livestock sector has been clearly underfunded and poorly supported. As a result, ECOWAS recognises that although the region has made the largest strides in production over the past 30 years, progress is not as clear in the livestock sector.<sup>38</sup>

*'The truth is that livestock has been the poor relative of ECOWAP in the past 10 years. Our goal was to change that.'* (Producer organisation representative)

This section discusses how the issue was dealt with during the ECOWAP+10 revision process and to what extent the goal of increasing regional political commitment, investment and recognition of the livestock sector has been achieved.

### 4.3.2 Materialisation of the outcome

The need to develop an integrated regional livestock farming policy was expressly acknowledged in the document of orientations and perspectives for ECOWAP 2025 (orientation 5.4). The document also includes 'local milk' within the so-called 'strategic regional products' and calls for the implementation of a regional programme to enhance investment in 'local milk' value chains.

All key regional stakeholders interviewed for this evaluation agree that the acknowledgement of livestock and pastoralism as a key economic sector to be further supported and expanded in the next decade has been one of the main results of this revision process and that the issue has gained relative weight on the political agenda. The stronger priority given to this particular sector was often illustrated with examples of new initiatives, such as the Regional Sahel Pastoralism Support Project (PRAPS, for the initials in French), recently launched in the region with funding from the World Bank.<sup>39</sup>

**We can therefore conclude that the outcome has been fully achieved.**

### 4.3.3 Salient causal stories

Two main salient causal stories could be identified during the field visit.

#### **International attention caused by the recent food crisis and security issues in the region**

The region of the Sahel has been severely affected by draughts, conflict and food prices volatility in the past few years, resulting in recurrent food and nutrition crises.<sup>40</sup> The recurrence of these crises and their tremendous impact on the most vulnerable population, have increasingly brought the attention of key international donors and humanitarian actors to pastoralism as a key instrument to reduce the vulnerability of communities in the area, according to most stakeholders consulted.

This is the case, in particular, of the PRAPS,<sup>41</sup> a six-year World Bank project aiming to build 'a solid alliance to support pastoralism by pooling the expertise and resources of various actors, including bilateral and multilateral technical and financial partners, governments, the private sector, and pastoral civil society organisations.' Coordinated by the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS) under the political leadership of ECOWAS, WAEMU, Chad and Mauritania, the project will invest US\$248 million to '*boost regional integration and improve access to essential services, increase the income and strengthen markets for over two million pastoralists and agro-pastoralists across six Sahel countries.*'<sup>42</sup>

Although not with such a focused perspective, the need to support livestock and meat value chains, pastoralism and transhumance is also contemplated among the priorities of the EU-WAF Regional Indicative Programme 2014–2020.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that a significant number of sources and stakeholders consulted link the growing attention to pastoralism to its potential role in preventing security threats and regional stability. Both the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD)<sup>43</sup> and the World Bank, for example, make a connection between what is considered a '*a rapid recrudescence of trafficking and other illegal activities*'<sup>44</sup> in northern parts of the Sahel and the Sahara and the central role that pastoralists, as the major socioeconomic group living on the fringes of the Sahara and the Sahel areas, could play in the efforts to promote peace in the region.



*«la sécurité: est considérée par certains acteurs comme la motivation du grand programme de pastoralisme dans six pays de la zone sahélo- saharienne (Mauritanie, Sénégal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, et Tchad) initié par le Banque Mondiale»<sup>45</sup>*

### **Pastoralist and livestock organisations have gained a stronger voice at regional forums for policy dialogue**

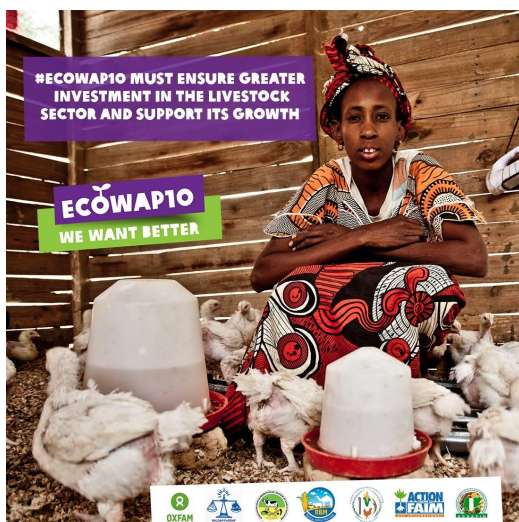
Livestock and pastoralists' networks' active role in the ECOWAP+10 revision process was unanimously singled out by interviewees as one major factor contributing to the achievement of this outcome. The widespread perception was that, compared to the 2005–2009 policy dialogue process around ECOWAP, the livestock producer organisations – APSS and Billital Maroobe (RBM) – showed stronger capacities for advocacy and policy dialogue and that those increased capacities have significantly contributed to ensure that the particular interests of pastoralists and livestock farmers were better taken into account in the new policy orientations.

*'Livestock farming was not sufficiently considered in the first ECOWAP. We believe that the main reason was that the livestock organisations were not sufficiently engaged in policy formulation back then. At that time, it was mostly ROPPA representing both crop and livestock farmers. However, they tended to focus more on the former during implementation.'* (Representative of producer organisations)

*'New issues have emerged [...] pastoralism has been neglected for quite some time by most stakeholders. Now it is accepted, together with its regional and trans-border implications. This is thanks to the advocacy conducted by RBM and APSS with the support of ROPPA.'*<sup>46</sup>

*'Livestock and pastoralism are issues that have been taken into account and that incorporate the most vulnerable into the process. This has not necessarily come from us. These contributions came from the regional actors.'* (ECOWAS representative)

Both APSS and Billital Maroobe (RBM) joined the GROW Campaign in 2011. As such, they have benefited from different capacity-building activities and opportunities for concerted action at regional level. Since 2011, the regional campaign has conducted six general workshops – open to all Campaign members – on different issues, such as communication, the use of social networks in campaigns, popular mobilisation, tools for integrating the gender approach into a campaign, and how to plan a research project or digital training. Specific advocacy trainings to APSS (2013 and 2015) and RBM (2011) were also delivered. This capacity support was reinforced by national trainings on gender responsive budgeting, provided by WILDAF.



Above: Example of material used during the Campaign

All GROW members interviewed, including APSS and RBM, agree that the Campaign has significantly contributed to enhancing their advocacy capacities and to increasing their visibility at regional level. Oxfam expertise and experience in campaigning and communication was unanimously considered an asset by all stakeholders.

*'The Campaign has really contributed to increase our visibility and to reinforce our capacity.'*

*'We have learned a lot from GROW, the advocacy techniques that we have learned have been really helpful.'*

*'GROW has contributed a lot to our work. Since I arrived we have been discussing the regional agricultural policy of ECOWAS non-stop. We have conducted many different activities also at national level. This has allowed us to anticipate many things, and helped us to be prepared...'*

*'There are advocacy issues and themes where Oxfam is very strong. We can complement each other. For example, Oxfam communicates more and better than us, that can be very helpful.'*

(Different GROW Campaign members and allies)

The contribution of GROW to the enhanced capacities of producer organisations was also highly acknowledged by ECOWAS policy makers who believe that *'the Campaign has the merit of engaging non-governmental actors and providing them with tools that inspire them and help them to better negotiate with us. That has really had an impact on their arguments and influenced the decision-making process at ECOWAP.'* Stakeholders also associated these increased capacities with the quality of the research and policy notes produced by these organisations in recent years. Some of those documents, like the one on investment on the livestock sector, were produced for the 'Where is my 10%' campaign and paved the way for the work done during the ECOWAP+10 process.

Beyond GROW, other capacity-building initiatives targeting the same producer organisations converge in the region.

This is the case, for example, of the project *'Appui à la Mise en oeuvre de la Politique Agricole de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (ECOWAP)'* implemented by the Swiss Development Cooperation Directorate (DDC) from 2011 to 2015 and that is now running a second phase (2015–2019)<sup>47</sup>. Particularly coincident with the GROW Campaign goals and strategy, outcome 1 of the project reads: *'the interests of family farmers are taken into account in regional and national policies, rules and investments. This will be achieved by enhancing the capacities for policy dialogue of producer organisations and improving coordination and communication among them.'*<sup>48</sup>

It is also the case of the EU funded project *'Strengthening of capacities for policy dialogue, influence and implementation of regional agricultural and food security policies'*<sup>49</sup> that aspires to increase the involvement of West African producer organisations in decision-making processes and agricultural policies. Starting in 2013, the project is managed by the Hub Rural and has accompanied the creation and consolidation of the *'Cadre de concertation'*, a dialogue and coordination forum agreed by the three main producer organisations (ROPPA, APSS and RBM) in February 2013.

Unfortunately, and despite the many attempts made by the evaluators during the field mission, it was impossible to interview the managers of this project. As a result, the analysis of this factor against the other two relies on the scattered information that could be found through a web search and testimonies from other stakeholders.

The establishment of the *Cadre de Concertation* was unanimously marked by all regional actors as a key factor that had positively contributed to reinforcing the coherence and coordination of

producer organisations' proposals and discourse and, as a result, to visibly increasing their capacity to influence.

*'We participate in the "Cadre de concertation", which allows us (APESS, RBM, ROPPA) to discuss regional agricultural issues and to be able to present our ideas to decision-makers. This forum has become an indispensable regional actor on the whole debate about family farming.'*

*'It is within this framework that we have worked on the evaluation of the past 10 years of ECOWAP and it is in this framework that we have been able to agree a common position.'* (PO representatives)

However, several key stakeholders coincide in pointing out that while in theory the project has focused on developing advocacy and policy dialogue capacities, in practice it has mostly focused on developing the organisational capacities and strategic plans of the three organisations and, occasionally, on providing some space for concerted dialogue and coordinated positioning. This perception is consistent with the information available on the website regarding the activities of the project.

The creation of the 'cadre' and the supporting role that the EU is playing clearly stands out as a major contributing factor to the achievement of the targeted outcome.

#### **4.3.4 Findings and learning considerations**

1. The evaluation found strong evidence of a stronger political commitment towards the need to increase investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region. Firstly, the need to advance towards a more integrated regional livestock policy was unanimously recognised during the ECOWAP+10 revision process and reflected in the new orientations for 2025. Secondly, measures to support livestock farming and pastoralism, such as the 'local milk regional offensive' proposed by livestock organisations, were specifically included and are expected to be implemented in the next years. Finally, there is already some important international funding on the table, such as, among others, the World Bank's PRAPS programme.
2. Data collected indicates that two major factors have clearly contributed to the achievement of the targeted outcome. In the first place, a plausible argument is made about the influential role of international donors, and their recent attention to this issue (attributed by some to the most recent food crises in the region), over the growing priority given to the sector in the regional agenda.
3. A second complementary major factor clearly inferred from available data is the more active role played by the livestock sectoral organisations in this process, thanks to their stronger capacities for advocacy and policy dialogue. These strengthened capacities are a result of different capacity-building initiatives converging on the same three producer organisations: the GROW Campaign, a Swiss project and an EU-funded project managed by the Hub Rural.
4. The GROW Campaign's contribution to enhancing the communication, visibility and advocacy capacities of RBM and APESS, and to a much lesser extent ROPPA, was clearly acknowledged, not only by Campaign members, but also by high-level decision-makers at ECOWAS. Although originally aiming to work with the three producer organisations, the early withdrawal of ROPPA has resulted in GROW being probably the first of the three capacity-building activities and the only one working almost exclusively with the livestock sector organisations.<sup>50</sup>
5. With a relatively different approach, the EU project seems to have played a critical role in consolidating the '*cadre de concertation*' as a key space for dialogue and coordination. It has also contributed to strengthen the structures and strategic plans of the producer organisations.

6. Finally, the Swiss project also stands out as an important source of funding and capacity contributing to the targeted outcome.
7. However, without further details of the type of activities conducted by the latter two projects it is difficult to isolate and measure the exact weight of that contribution against the rest of factors. The data available suggests, and most interviewees agree, that the three initiatives provide complementary support to producer organisations. We can therefore conclude that the sum of the capacity-building initiatives, including GROW, together with a renewed interest by the main donors on the issue of pastoralism and livestock farming, have made the achievement of this outcome possible.

*'The EU project's orientation is different. They focus more on bringing the organisations together to reach consensus on the different issues, other (GROW) are better suited to help them articulate their proposals and arguments'* (ECOWAS representative)

*'The two projects are completely different from GROW. In my opinion, both the EU and the Swiss project are mostly an important and flexible source of funding for the producer organisations'* (CSO representative)

### 4.3.5 Scoring

Outcome	Contribution scores	Short commentary
Increased investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region	4	<p><b>Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution</b></p> <p>The evaluation found strong evidence of a stronger political commitment towards the need to increase investment and recognition of the livestock sector as a key economic sector in the region.</p> <p>The GROW Campaign's contribution to enhancing the communication, visibility and advocacy capacities of RBM and APSS, and to a much lesser extent ROPPA, was clearly acknowledged as a major contributing factor, not only by Campaign members, but also by high-level decision-makers at ECOWAS.</p> <p>However, other two similar factors could also be identified, making it difficult to isolate and measure the exact weight of GROW's contribution against the rest of the identified factors. The data available suggests, and most interviewees agree, that the three initiatives provide complementary support to producer organisations. We can therefore conclude that the sum of the capacity-building initiatives, including GROW, together with a renewed interest by the main donors on the issue of pastoralism and livestock farming, have made the achievement of this outcome possible.</p>

# 5 CONCLUSIONS AND PROGRAMME LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

GROW West Africa is an ambitious regional campaign that seeks to mobilise West African public opinion and to influence regional institutions' agricultural policies and practices so that they are more responsive to the interests of small-scale farmers, both men and women. The ECOWAP+10 revision process was a key opportunity to influence the regional agricultural policy framework of ECOWAS.

The evaluation's key finding and conclusion is that, in general, the Campaign's strategy to influence the ECOWAP+10 process has been reasonably effective. The analysis of the three targeted outcomes shows that progress has been made in all three policy areas, although to different degrees. The contribution of GROW is also evident, although with a different intensity in the three areas. These results were achieved by following a holistic campaign approach that blends alliances, research, lobbying, popular mobilisation and media work confirming that an effective strategy for policy influence needs to be supported by a combination of complementary processes. The analysis of the different strategies has provided some valuable learning and is presented here to stimulate collective reflection and discussion. Some of these aspects will require further consideration by Campaign members.

1. **Alliances.** Engaging a broad range of regional and national organisations underpins the GROW Campaign's strategy. This is particularly pertinent in the West African regional context, where local organisations are increasingly accepted as legitimate actors and valid interlocutors of regional integration organisations, such as ECOWAS. The coalition element was particularly relevant in the analysis of the work of the Campaign on sub-outcome 1, where some latent tensions about the alliance model and what is generally perceived as a dominant role (and visibility) of Oxfam were uncovered. Despite important steps having been taken to ensure that all members' logos are more systematically made visible in Campaign activities and outputs, this is still not always the case. This is partly because the separation between activities that fall under the Campaign's framework and activities conducted by members as part of their own agenda, but that also contribute to the Campaign's goals, is not always clear. This is not an easy debate and a discussion about the desired visibility of the Campaign and the collective ownership of the Campaign's strategies needs to be encouraged. A final key lesson that can be drawn is the need to engage critical boundary partners, such as ROPPA or FAO, at key moments. As we will elaborate on a bit later, a good power map should provide the necessary information about different strategic actors to engage at key points.
2. **Capacity building.** Lessons have also been learned about the importance of capacity building as a leverage of policy change. The skills and competences developed by Campaign members on issues such as advocacy or communication, among others, were highly valued by all members, who considered that to be the main added value of belonging to the Campaign. Capacity support was also found to be a significant factor contributing to the achievement of sub-outcome 3. Given that a number of capacity-building activities promoted by different actors are actually ongoing, it would be good to map them out and focus on the unique expertise of Oxfam in fields such as communication and public mobilisation.
3. **Lobbying.** The Campaign has successfully engaged decision-makers and facilitators of the policy dialogue process through formal and informal contacts. Informal dialogue has been critical to ensure that some of the Campaign's demands were ultimately reflected

in the final document of orientations, as was the case in sub-outcomes 1 and 2. A combination of formal and informal policy dialogue was found to generate the best results.

It would be advisable to invest more time in a thorough stakeholder and power analysis and in collective thinking of specific advocacy strategies for each different policy goal.

4. **Theory of change.** Using a theory of change approach can help to collectively unpack underlying assumptions about how change occurs in particular contexts and to decide on the appropriateness of specific advocacy tactics. Besides, it is important to note that, regardless of what the focus of the policy dialogue is, it requires a long-term perspective to change. This requires the definition of short-term or intermediate outcomes and indicators to be able to track the effects of the advocacy strategy. Partners can then choose the approach that best suits their advocacy style.

Intermediate outcomes of the overall process of change and, when feasible, of specific advocacy strategies should be defined. An example of this is the strategy used in sub-outcome 1, where what was generally perceived as a maximalist tone provoked the serious opposition of a significant number of key stakeholders. This does not mean that the strategy has completely failed as we were able to explain earlier in the report. But the risk that the issue loses momentum exists. A reorientation of the strategy and the identification of incremental and clearly defined intermediate policy goals is recommended.

5. **National/regional link.** A better use of theory of change could also serve as the basis of collective discussion about the interplay between the national and regional campaigns. Understanding how change is expected to happen between the two levels and unpacking the map of influences and intersections between the national and regional level can help articulate this link more effectively in the future. More joint planning and collective spaces for strategic thinking are also needed. These spaces could be also used to share learning across countries.

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## APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Abdulazeez Musa, Grow Campaign Nigeria

Alain Sy Traoré, director, Agriculture and Rural Development, ECOWAS

Alexandre Seron, regional manager, GROW Campaign WAF

Begoña Rubio, coordinator, ECOWAS Programme, AECID

Carmen Torres, policy officer, ECDPM

Djibo Bagna, president, PFPN/ROPPA Niger

Elena Ferreras, former senior gender specialist, African Development Bank Group

Eric Hazard, Save the Children

Gabriel Villarrubia, rural development, food security and nutrition expert, Spanish cooperation programme – ECOWAS, FIIAPP

Hindatou Amadou, APSS

Inma de Miguel, regional manager, GROW Campaign WAF

Issaka Ouandaogo, Grow Campaign Burkina

Jean Rene Cuzon, project manager Agriculture, Agence Française de Développement

Joel Teyssier, Inter-Reseaux

Jorge Oliveira, senior agriculture policy adviser, Regional Agriculture Office, USAID

Jules Seitz, international relations officer, European Commission, DG Agriculture and Rural Development

Julie Brayer, conseiller aux affaires agricoles pour l'Afrique de l'ouest et service économique, Ambassade de France au Sénégal, French Embassy

Kafui Kuwonu, WiLDAF

Khady Fall Tall, president, AFAO

Mariame Maiga, regional gender and social development adviser, CORAF/WECARD

Marie Louise Cisse, advocacy and gender programme manager, ROPPA

Nadège Traore, RBM

Nicole DAGAWA, WiLDAF

Ousseini Salifou, directeur exécutif, Agence Régionale pour l'Agriculture et l'Alimentation, ECOWAS

Patrick David, deputy head of office – food security analyst, FAO

Roger Blein, agriculture expert, Bureau-issala

Roukiatou Ouedraogo, SPONG/POSCAO

Sanon Boubakar, APESS

Sibiri Jean Zoundi, principal administrator, Sahel and West Africa Club SWAC/OECD Secretariat

Sokhna Mbaye Diop, agriculture adviser, gender focal point, Ministry of Agriculture, Senegal

Soulé Goura, coordonateur du ProFAB, Hub Rural

Soumaré Boubacar, RBM

Victoire Worou, WiLDAF

## APPENDIX 3: GROW CAMPAIGN WAF MEMBERS

**APESS:** The Association for the Promotion of Livestock in the Sahel and the Savannah has national coordination cells in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Chad. APESS's main objective is the renovation of traditional livestock farming and better involvement of farmers in the economic, political and social development of African countries. Food security appears as a major area of concern in APESS's Strategic Plan (APESS, 2011). APESS is regarded as an important partner for the implementation of regional policies and programmes. Thus, the RAIP includes this association in the regional conflict prevention framework, and it is a pillar of the AGIR regional information systems. [www.apessafrique.org](http://www.apessafrique.org)

**IPAR:** IPAR is a space for reflection, dialogue and proposals for cooperative agricultural and rural policies in Senegal and the West African region. It was initiated by agricultural specialists and rural areas already supported by farmers' organisations who were interested in creating permanent spaces for prospective and strategic thinking. This initiative was formalised in 2005 by four institutions, two public (DAPS and ISRA) and two private (CNCR and ENDA GRAF). IPAR plays a catalytic role with animation and networking specialists, actors and public institutions, private or community to build a common vision for the future. IPAR serves as an interface between different players to lead, co-lead and contribute to a common reflection on agricultural and rural development. It is developing dynamically including all stakeholders in the agricultural and rural sector to strengthen the capacity of all stakeholders to participate in the debate on the future of Senegalese agriculture and the rural world, its challenges and prospects. It covers several areas of work, including peasant agricultures, regional integration and globalisation and food policies among many others. [www.ipar.sn](http://www.ipar.sn)

**POSCAO:** Plateforme des organisations de la société civile de l'Afrique de l'Ouest sur l'Accord de Cotonou (POSCAO) (Platform of West African Civil Society Organisations based on the Cotonou Agreement) is a network of CSOs specialising in intra-regional trade in West Africa. POSCAO also monitors the consistency of regional development policies, development cooperation and aid effectiveness. POSCAO represents CSOs in the formulation and implementation of different regional initiatives such as ECOWAP and the Regional Food Reserve, monitoring civil society's level of participation in these policies and programmes. It also represents civil society in the Regional Negotiating Committee of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between West Africa and the EU, taking a stance critical of an excessive opening of West African markets to European products. POSCAO has an active position regarding FNS and the right to food. It is coordinated from ENDA CACID. [www.endacacid.org](http://www.endacacid.org)

**Réseau Billital Maroobé:** The Regional Network of Breeders Organisations of the Sahel 'Billital Maroobé' (Réseau des Organisations d'Éleveurs Pasteurs du Sahel "Billital Maroobé" – RBM) comprises herder and breeder associations from seven West African countries. Its main objectives are: to integrate breeders into the elaboration of national and regional livestock policies; to promote the socio-economic position of women breeders in the Sahel; and to strengthen the capacities of pastoral organisations for defending the interests of Sahel herders. One of its main roles is to monitor the situation of herders, especially in drought-prone areas. In 2010, the network conducted a study, the results of which highlighted the failures of public policies and partners to provide appropriate responses with specific strategies for pastoralist communities. In October 2011, RBM alerted governments and development partners to an imminent food and pastoral crisis in the Sahel. [www.maroobe.org](http://www.maroobe.org)

**WiLDAF:** Women in Law and Development in Africa/Femmes, Droit et Développement (WiLDAF) is a pan-African network bringing together 500 organisations and 1,200 individuals with a view to promoting a culture for the exercise and respect of women's rights in Africa. The network was established at the regional conference held in Harare in Zimbabwe in February

1990, the theme of which was 'Women, right and development: network for empowerment in Africa'. The sub-regional coordination of WILDaf/FeDDAF West Africa was created in April 1997. It currently covers eight countries where formal national networks are functional: Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea-Conakry, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo. It is also trying to spread to the Ivory Coast, Gambia, Liberia, Niger and Sierra Leone where WILDaf/FeDDAF already has an important number of members. [www.wildaf-ao.org](http://www.wildaf-ao.org)

**Oxfam:** Oxfam is an international confederation of 18 affiliates and 2 observer organisations networked together in more than 90 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty. [www.oxfam.org](http://www.oxfam.org)

**ROPPA:** The Network of Farmer and Agricultural Producer Organisations of West Africa comprises organisations and 'dialogue boards' representing about 45 million small-scale producers, cattle farmers and fishers from 10 West African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo). It maintains regular coordination with some of the largest national organisations from the other three ECOWAS countries (Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone). ROPPA has a political approach in its defence of sustainable agriculture values. It informs and trains the members of farming organisations and agricultural producer associations, and facilitates their participation in the formulation and implementation of development policies and programmes in agricultural and rural sectors. ROPPA is actively involved in the promotion of food sovereignty and the right to food, highlighting the need to reinforce a food production and agriculture model based on small farms. ECOWAS, WAEMU and CILSS regard ROPPA as one of the most legitimate and reliable interlocutors when dealing with issues related to agriculture. ROPPA played an important role in the preparation, adoption and implementation of ECOWAP, and leads the development of the institutional strengthening component of the RAIP. [www.roppa.info](http://www.roppa.info)

# NOTES

- 1 ECOWAP+10 is the conference, 10 years on, from the first regional agricultural policy for ECOWAS – which is the Economic Community of West African States.
- 2 Significant iteration between many of the processes is expected and, indeed, desired.
- 3 [www.oxfam.org.uk/policy-and-practice](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/policy-and-practice). A draft of the process tracing protocol can be found at: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2013/02/~media/C396B507E01C47AB880D7EEF9ECCD171.ashx>
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- 5 Summary taken from the Harvard Family Research Project, 6, *The Evaluation Exchange XIII*, 2007.
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- 7 As of March 2015, two other countries, Senegal and Mauritania, had expressed their interest in joining the Campaign and had already started setting up a national platform.
- 8 Mi-term evaluation of GROW Campaign West Africa by Jean-Denis Crola and Muriel Saragoussi, March 2014.
- 9 MAPUTO + 10: understanding where our 10% went! Briefing paper; GROW Campaign, Oxfam.
- 10 Programme Logic Model for P00674.
- 11 Further description of each member is provided in Appendix 3.
- 12 This list includes pieces of research and publications produced for the several advocacy initiatives ECOWAP+10 process. It does also include documents that were produced for other processes, but that may have indirectly contributed to promote GROW's policy asks in the regional institutions at broad. This is also to acknowledge that the work of the regional GROW Campaign in this process is a continuation of previous campaigns and activities. As such, it draws on the results of previous action.
- 13 This report was produced in the framework of the SARAO project, not the regional GROW Campaign, but was used at regional level to advocate for a regional food reserve.
- 14 Based in Dakar, the Hub Rural is an institution aiming to assist West and Central African stakeholders (states, inter-governmental organisations, civil society organisations and development partners) to promote coherence in rural development programmes.
- 15 CSO group (Oxfam and POSCAO); gender group (WiLDAF, APSS and RBM); PO group (APSS and RBM).
- 16 Annex to Decision A/DEC.11/01/05 relating to Economic Community of West African States Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP), pg. 3.
- 17 Review of Ecowas Policies in the Agricultural and Industrial Sectors; a study by Dalberg & Open Society Initiative for West Africa; undated.
- 18 ECOWAP at a glance; Ed. ECOWAS Commission (2008).
- 19 Comité Technique Ministériel Spécialisé Agriculture, Environnement et Ressources en Eau (Dakar, Sénégal, le 16 novembre 2015) ; Projet de Communiqué final. At the time of the evaluation this document was not yet finalised.
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- 21 According to ECOWAS sources, the document was adopted by the Council of Ministries of Agriculture before the International Conference of Dakar. Unfortunately, no official release or minutes of that meeting were available.
- 22 See section 2.1 for the analytical framework used.
- 23 [https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file\\_attachments/bp-ecowap-fragmented-policy-131115-en.pdf](https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp-ecowap-fragmented-policy-131115-en.pdf)
- 24 [http://www.momagri.org/UK/focus-on-issues/ECOWAP-a-fragmented-policy\\_1687.html](http://www.momagri.org/UK/focus-on-issues/ECOWAP-a-fragmented-policy_1687.html); <http://www.panapress.com/Oxfam-juge-la-politique-agricole-de-la-CEDEAO-peu-satisfaisante--12-630459918-1-lang2-index.html>; <http://koaci.com/cedeao-long-oxfam-denonce-manque-coordination-freine-lecowap-propose-outils-pour-atteindre-lobjectif-93297.html>; <http://www.lequotidien.sn/index.php/economie/politique-agricole-commune-de-la-cedeao-les-defis-resistent-entiers-selon-oxfam>; [http://afrique360.com/2015/11/16/oxfam-deploire-des-dysfonctionnements-de-la-politique-agricole-de-la-cedeao\\_181717.html](http://afrique360.com/2015/11/16/oxfam-deploire-des-dysfonctionnements-de-la-politique-agricole-de-la-cedeao_181717.html); <http://www.aps.sn/actualites/economie/agriculture/article/agriculture-oxfam-releve-le-manque-de-coordination-des-politiques-agricoles-en-afrique-de-l-ouest>
- 25 <http://www.westafricagateway.org/rss-news/newsbrief-10-16-november-2015>.

- 26 "Dans notre sens, la politique est l'ensemble des stratégies ou des mesures qui sont mises en cohérence les unes à côté des autres pour atteindre un objectif bien ciblé. Dès lors, la politique de l'ECOWAP ne peut pas être qualifiée de morcelée," Alain Sy Traoré, directeur de l'agriculture et du développement rural à la Commission de la CEDEAO (interviewed for SCIDEV) ; <http://www.scidev.net/afrique-sub-saharienne/politiques-publiques/actualites/la-cedeao-decide-harmoniser-sa-politique-agricole.html>
- 27 Note exploitation du rapport du ROPPA - évaluation ECOWAP ; [http://www.roppa-afrique.org/IMG/pdf/note\\_exploitation\\_du\\_rapport\\_du\\_roppa\\_-\\_evaluation\\_ecowap.pdf](http://www.roppa-afrique.org/IMG/pdf/note_exploitation_du_rapport_du_roppa_-_evaluation_ecowap.pdf)
- 28 <http://www.slideshare.net/ECOWAP10/ecowapdonors-group-an-assessment-of-their-contributions-to-ecowapraip>
- 29 Idem.
- 30 AGIR, PRAPS or the Sahel Initiative are some examples.
- 31 Decision A/DEC.11/01/05 adopting an agricultural policy for the ECOWAS-ECOWAP.
- 32 Regional Partnership Compact for the Implementation of ECOWAP/CAADP Adopted during the International Conference on Financing Regional Agricultural Policy in West Africa (ECOWAP/CAADP), Abuja (Nigeria), November 12, 2009; Section 1.1.3, p 3.
- 33 Idem.
- 34 Speech at the official launch of the Technical Cooperation Programme between ECOWAS and FAO on Gender Responsive National and Regional Agricultural Investment Plans for meeting the Zero Hunger Challenge in the ECOWAS Region. New York, 16 March 2016.
- 35 [http://www.wildaf-ao.org/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_details&gid=275&tmpl=component&Itemid=88&lang=en](http://www.wildaf-ao.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_details&gid=275&tmpl=component&Itemid=88&lang=en)
- 36 <http://www.fao.org/gender/gender-home/gender-news/gender-newsdet/en/c/395076/>
- 37 According to FAO's website information about the launch ceremony, although the programme focuses on agriculture, it apparently targets ministers of gender and women's affairs from ECOWAS and the ECOWAS commissioner for social affairs and gender. No mention of ECOWAS agriculture departments or ministers is made.
- 38 Agriculture and Food in West Africa: Trends, Performances and Agricultural Policies; ECOWAS Commission, Ed. 2015.
- 39 <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/05/26/world-bank-mobilizes-us248-million-to-support-2-million-pastoralists-in-the-sahel>; [http://www.cilss.bf/IMG/pdf/Plaqueette\\_de\\_presentation\\_du\\_PRAPS.pdf](http://www.cilss.bf/IMG/pdf/Plaqueette_de_presentation_du_PRAPS.pdf)
- 40 More information about the 2012 crisis can be found at: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/learning-the-lessons-assessing-the-response-to-the-2012-food-crisis-in-the-sahel-281076>; <http://oxfam.ca/our-work/emergencies/west-africa-food-crisis>;
- 41 This project is denounced by the GROW Campaign as an example of bad practice and weak coordination with ECOWAP.
- 42 <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/05/26/world-bank-mobilizes-us248-million-to-support-2-million-pastoralists-in-the-sahel>
- 43 <http://www.hdcentre.org/en/our-work/peacemaking/pastoralism-in-the-sahel/>
- 44 Pastoralism Development in the Sahel: A Road to Stability? By Cees De Haan, Etienne Dubern, Bernard Garancher, and Catalina Quintero; Global Center on Conflict, Security and Development; World Bank, June 2014.
- 45 Internal evaluation of the project «Appui à la Mise en oeuvre de la Politique Agricole de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (ECOWAP)»; Direction du Développement et de la Coopération Suisse, DDC, 2014.
- 46 Internal evaluation of the project «Appui à la Mise en oeuvre de la Politique Agricole de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (ECOWAP)»; Direction du Développement et de la Coopération Suisse, DDC, 2014.
- 47 <https://www.eda.admin.ch/projects/SDC/en/2011/7F07219/phase2.html?oldPagePath=>
- 48 Les intérêts de l'agriculture familiale sont pris en compte dans les politiques, règlement et investissements agricoles de la région et des pays [...] Ceci sera atteint par une amélioration des capacités de dialogue des OPF, des mécanismes de consultation avec les membres des OPF, et une meilleure concertation entre elles.
- 49 «Renforcement des capacités de dialogue, d'influence et de mise en oeuvre des politiques régionales agro-pastorales et de sécurité alimentaire et nutritionnelle»; DCI-FOOD /2012/96 in the framework of EuropeAid/131972 /C/ACT/Multi.
- 50 Although both the GROW campaign in West Africa's official launch and the Swiss project date from 2011, Oxfam's campaign draws on previous related campaigns and working relations with the three POs.



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