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33rd ANNUAL MEETING
INNOVATIVE AND
TERRITORIAL APPROACHES
TO FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

The purpose of this paper is to prepare the debate of this year's thematic session on "Innovative and territorial approaches to food and nutrition security". The debate is organised around two panel discussions:

1. From theory to action - implementing a territorial approach: the debate will focus, in particular, on issues around capacity-building and empowering local actors in decision-making, notably, women and young people. The session aims to capitalise on the many successful initiatives in the region.

2. Employment potential in the food economy: this panel will examine the profound changes in the domestic market and their impact on job creation in food value chains for millions of young people.

Geography matters. Within countries, food and nutrition security (FNS) situations vary significantly. National analyses typically mask pockets of poverty, hunger and malnutrition concentrated in specific geographic areas, particularly rural areas. Rapid urbanisation and continued population growth mean that food insecurity is also becoming an increasingly urban issue. A territorial approach to FNS recognises the need to tailor policy responses to local contexts and challenges. It also recognises the importance of harnessing rural-urban linkages so that no-one is left behind.

Every year millions of people face critical levels of food and nutrition insecurity in the Sahel and West Africa. Top-down approaches appear to have been unable to deliver appropriate, long term responses to food insecurity in the region. Designed and implemented at the national level, they do not sufficiently consider the needs of local stakeholders or involve them in the policy-making process. By contrast, a territorial approach to FNS recognises the multi-level nature of FSN promoting bottom-up and place-based interventions, empowering local actors and placing more emphasis on addressing poverty and inequalities. It also recognises that all regions - not only urban areas - have development potential.

Rapid urbanisation, population growth and increasing demand for food are shaping the FNS landscape. Towns and cities are now home to 46% of the region's population and this trend is set to continue. As urban populations grow, poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition are becoming increasingly urban issues. Dietary patterns are shifting towards more processed and perishable foods as incomes rise and consumer habits evolve with urban lifestyles. The face of the region's largest private sector - the food economy - is thus transforming. It is a source of unprecedented opportunities, for both rural and urban areas, in terms of job creation and improved FNS. Connecting farmers, producers and consumers across different territories and along value chains offers great promise to propel more inclusive development and reduce hunger and malnutrition in the region.



SAHEL AND WEST AFRICA



1. TAILORING FOOD AND NUTRITION POLICIES TO LOCAL CONTEXTS

Spatial disparities in FNS arise due to the variety of environmental, economic, socio-political and cultural contexts across different geographical areas. FNS policies and interventions therefore need to be tailored to these diverse local situations.

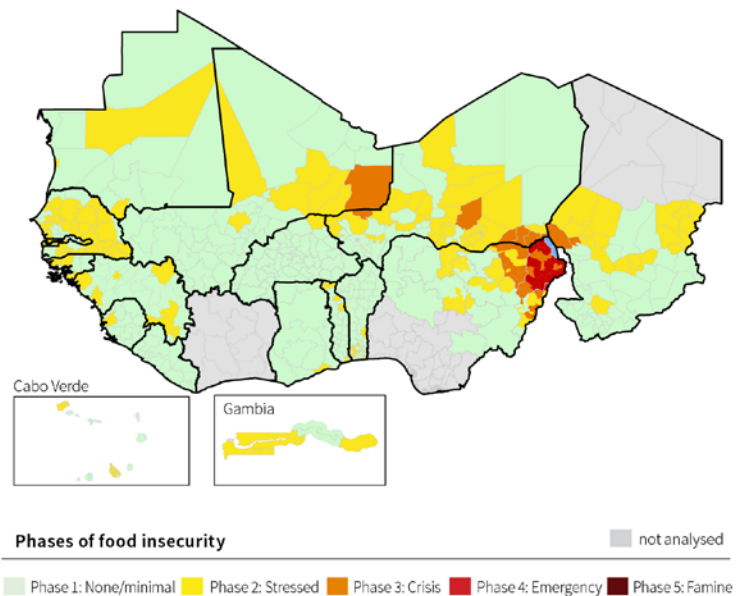
Food insecurity not only varies across and within countries, but also by type of geographical area; urban, rural areas close to cities and remote rural areas. This is because different territories have unique characteristics: demographic and socio-economic profiles, social and cultural norms, natural resources, organisations, and different layers of decision-making from household up to local authority, regional and national levels. These unique characteristics as well as opportunities and barriers to tackling food insecurity are context-specific and vary from one territory to another.

1.1 FNS disparities across and within countries

In the Sahel and West Africa, spatial disparities in FNS are confirmed every year by the Cadre harmonisé (CH) analysis. This analytical framework, covering the 17 countries in the region, identifies geographical areas and populations in five phases of food insecurity: minimal, stressed, crisis, emergency and famine. The CH analysis, from March-May 2017 (Map 1) not only highlights significant disparities in FNS across the region, but also within countries. Northeastern Nigeria, the broader Lake Chad basin and Mali, in particular, show high spatial concentrations of critically food insecure populations.

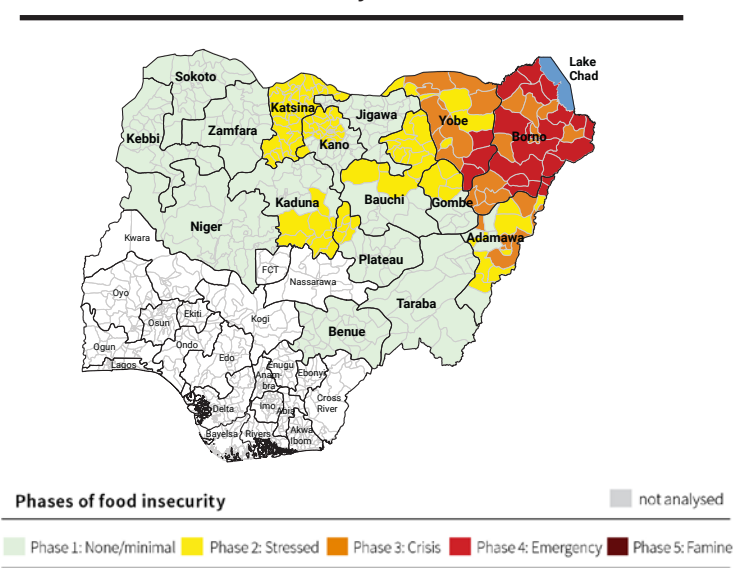
Taking a closer look at Nigeria in Map 2, disparities in levels of FNS can be seen across, and even within, states. The Borno state displays a significant proportion of its population in the crisis and emergency phases and is closely followed by the states of Adamawa and Yobe. The specific local context of northeastern Nigeria, in March-May 2017, must be underscored: it was subject to long-term geographical marginalisation, poverty and chronic underdevelopment as well as the effects of the prevailing eight year Boko Haram conflict. These problems were compounded by an unfavourable macroeconomic climate, low oil prices and the depreciation of the Naira. This example highlights the importance of taking into account the specific territorial dynamics of an area in order to effectively design and implement tailored policy responses.

Map 1
Food and nutrition situation
in the Sahel and West Africa, March-May 2017



© Map prepared by CILSS/Agrhymet; Source: regional analysis of the Cadre harmonisé, PREGEX experts' meeting, Dakar, March 2017.

Map 2
Food and nutrition situation in Nigeria,
March-May 2017



© Map prepared by CILSS/Agrhymet; Source: national analysis of the Cadre harmonisé, Abuja, March 2017.

Stunting and wasting disparities: ‘within country’ examples

Stunting is evidence that children are too short for their age and indicates a chronic state of undernutrition. Children stunted before the age of two are at higher risk of illness and are more likely to develop poor cognitive skills and learning abilities. This affects labour productivity, income earning potential and social skills later in life. Stunting can diminish the economic development of entire communities and countries.

Wasting is evidence that children are too thin for their height. It generally results from low birth weight, inadequate diet, poor care practices and infections. Wasted children have a heightened risk of disease and death.¹

Some examples:

- **Benin:** the national average of stunting is 34%, reaching 38% in rural areas and 29% in urban areas. The regions of Alibori (40%), Atacora (39%), Borgou (41%) and Plateau (39%) show higher levels than the national average while the littoral region shows the lowest level at 18% (Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey - MICS, 2014).
- **Chad:** the national average of stunting is 39%, yet this figure reaches 60% in the Lake region, 59% in Kanem and 53% in Barh El Gazal. It falls to 26% in N’Djamena (MICS, 2010).
- **Côte d’Ivoire:** moderately or severely wasting children is highest in the regions of the North East (24%) and North (20%) while the lowest levels are found in the capital region of Abidjan (11%) (MICS, 2011).
- **Ghana:** the national average of stunting is 23% but reaches 37% and 32% in the Northern and Upper East regions respectively and falls to 14% in Greater Accra (MICS, 2011).
- **Gambia:** levels of stunting reach 33% and 32% in Janjanbureh and Kerewan respectively. This figure falls to 13% in Banjul (MICS, 2010).

In each of the countries reviewed, the prevalence of stunting and wasting is higher in rural areas compared to urban areas.

¹ FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO (2017), The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2017. Building resilience for peace and food security.

Focus on Mali: spatial disparities in FNS and other socio-economic indicators

Mali is divided into one district (Bamako), eight regions, and 703 municipalities, 666 of which are rural. The north consists of the regions of Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu and covers two-thirds of the country but accounts for less than 10% of the national population which stood at 16.3 million in 2012. Poverty is widespread and significant spatial economic inequalities exist within the country; almost 40% of GDP is earned in Bamako compared to 5% in the north (2009). Other welfare outcomes are also impacted by geography, for example:

Life expectancy: a person born in Bamako can expect to live six years longer than a person born in Segou or Sikasso.

Family size: in the absence of labour markets, large families are preferred in Mali's agricultural areas, but less so where commerce is dominant. Hence the average family size is 12.8 in Kayes and 8 and 6.3 in Gao and Kidal respectively.

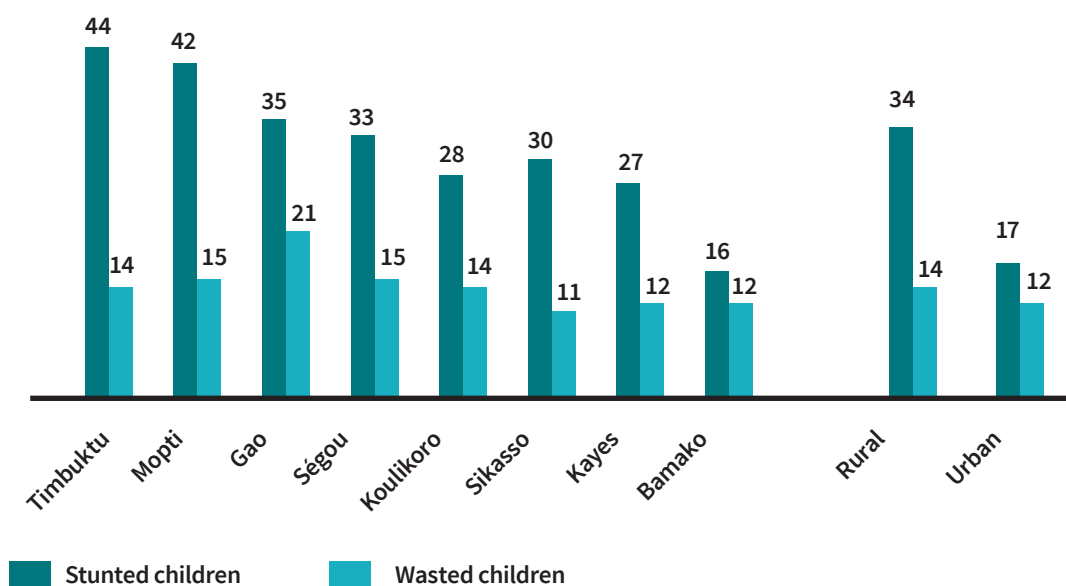
Access to markets: Access is uneven overall. It is reasonably good in southern Mali and in the triangle made up by Bamako, Sikasso and Mopti, but it is poor in other areas, for example around the Niger and the Niger delta that stretches from the south of Mopti to Timbuktu. Northwest Kayes also suffers from poor market access despite relatively high population density in this area.

Electricity: only 1% of households in villages have access to electricity, 8% in rural towns, 17% in towns, 45% in cities and 68% in Bamako where population density is highest. The lack of access to electricity in rural areas delays growth and reduction of poverty precisely in those areas where progress most needs to be made.

Education: significant variations can be seen across regions; enrolment in primary school is as low as 35% in Timbuktu and Mopti and reaches 83% in Bamako. In rural areas, 86% of the population aged 15-64 has no schooling, this figure falls to 39% in Bamako. Only in three major cities, Bamako, Ségou and Sikasso does at least 20% of the working age population have a secondary school education or higher.

Chronic malnutrition in the form of stunting affects 44% of children under five in the region of Timbuktu compared to 16% in Bamako. Wasting reaches critical levels in Gao at 21% (MICS, 2015).

Figure 1
Child malnutrition in Mali, percentage of children under age 5, 2015



Sources: World Bank (2015), Mali, Geography of Poverty in Mali; and SWAC/OECD (2015), The Malian regions of Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu. National and regional perspectives. Note: The region of Kidal was not included in the MICS, 2015.

1.2 Rural-urban disparities

The causes of and solutions to food insecurity are not the same across different territories. Rural and urban areas do not have the same ability to produce and supply food. For example, food supply is rarely a problem in large cities as they are better connected to national and international markets and are able to source food from multiple locations. Urban residents generally enjoy a greater variety of foods and food sources than their rural counterparts. However, as urban populations grow, poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition are becoming more prevalent. Poor urban dwellers face challenges around accessing nutritious food, employment, social protection, adequate water and sanitation, all of which affect FNS.

Remote, rural areas tend to rely on the few varieties of food produced locally. Production can be difficult to increase due to a range of factors, including limited land or an inability to modernise production methods. Food supply can be a major challenge, as can access to food, due to a lack of income-generating activities, weak connectivity to external markets and a lack of infrastructure.

Peri-urban areas - typically large areas with a relatively low population density and a fairly limited range of economic activity – have relatively strong connections to larger urban regions in the form of good transport links, access to urban services and markets, and greater levels of employment. Focusing on one dimension of food security – the adequacy of domestic food supply – and neglecting access, utilisation and stability of food availability, exacerbates FNS disparities within countries. Domestic food supply in a country may be more than adequate, but if its distribution is restricted to certain regions, typically metropolitan areas, where incomes are higher and markets exist, within country disparities of FNS will emerge.

Table 1. **FNS dimensions**

DIMENSION	DEFINITION
Availability	Achieved when an adequate supply of food is at a population's disposal
Access	Guaranteed where all households and all individuals have a sufficient economic and physical capability to obtain appropriate food (through production, purchase or donation) for a nutritious diet.
Usage	Refers to the biological and social constraints of food security, related to the ability of the human body to ingest and metabolise food (i.e. through proper health care and culturally sensitive food provision to ensure that disease and illness are avoided and food is adequately utilised).
Stability	Refers to the temporal dimension of FNS and affects all three dimensions above. We can distinguish between chronic food insecurity (i.e. repeated food shortages) and transitory food insecurity (i.e. linked to natural or man-made disasters).

Source: FAO, WFP and IFAD (2012), The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2012. Economic growth is necessary but not sufficient to accelerate reduction of hunger and malnutrition. Rome.

Table 2. **Forms of food security by type of region in a low-income developing country**

DIMENSIONS	URBAN	RURAL CLOSE TO CITIES	REMOTE, RURAL
Malnutrition	Common among those with lower incomes, whether due to financial constraints, limited choices or sub-optimal nutritional choices	Very common – diet can be limited in quality and quantity due to high reliance on locally produced food	Very common – diet can be limited in quality and quantity due to high reliance on locally produced food
Moderate hunger	Common among the very poorest – low income	Common among the very poorest – low income. Farm families of limited resources are regularly exposed	Common among the very poorest – low income. Farm families of limited resources are regularly exposed
Sever hunger	May exist on a seasonal basis or in a period of low income	May exist on a seasonal basis or in a period of low income	May exist on a seasonal basis or in a period of low income. Hunger can be exacerbated by weak market connections that limit food imports
Famine	Extremely rare	Rare – mainly due to civil disruption	Less rare, but not common - due to civil disruption or natural disaster that block imports

Source: Adapted from OECD/FAO/UNCDF (2016), Adopting a Territorial Approach to Food Security and Nutrition Policy, OECD, Publishing, Paris.

2. BRIDGING THE RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE THROUGH THE FOOD ECONOMY

A fresh look at the spatial dynamics influencing the food economy and agri-food value chains is needed to effectively inform FNS policy design and implementation.

2.1 Transformations in the food economy

Population growth and rapid urbanisation over the past 60 years have radically changed the West African food economy. Between 1950 and 2015 the region's population grew from 73 million to over 370 million. Today, there are 170 million people living in West Africa's cities, 32 times more than in 1950. As a result, the food economy has grown spectacularly, accounting for USD 260 billion in 2015, or 39% of regional GDP. It is the biggest employer in the region, accounting for 66% of total employment (Figure 2).

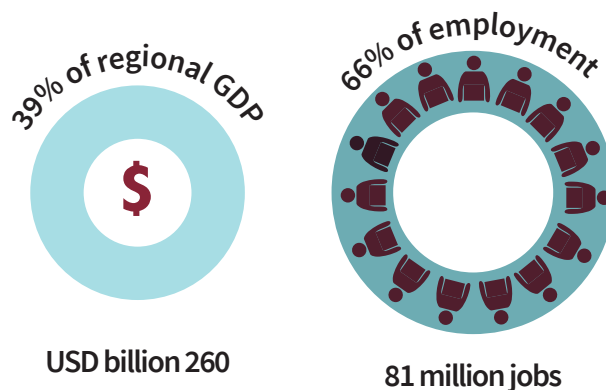
More and more households turn to markets to buy the food they consume, even in rural areas, as local economies become more diversified and urban lifestyles, as well as shifts in dietary patterns towards more processed and perishable foods, spread beyond the frontiers of towns and cities. More fruits, vegetables and processed foods and less cereals and pulses are being consumed. The move from a largely subsistence-based food economy to a market one, the growing demand for convenience foods, and the increased spatial divide between areas of production and consumption have all led to the rapid development of off-farm activities, such as processing, packaging, distribution and retail. This opens up new opportunities for value addition and employment creation in both rural and urban areas.

2.2 Value chain development and employment with a territorial perspective

Opportunities for employment are generated along food value chains. For perishable goods like fruit and vegetables, chains are short, with generally zero to one intermediary between producers and consumers. They are nevertheless highly labour-intensive. Other goods like cereal-based products, whether "ready-to-eat" (bread, pancakes, cakes etc.) or "ready-to-use" (flour, semolina etc.), undergo processing before reaching the end-consumer. The raw material is bagged, transported, unloaded, stored, controlled, calibrated, cleaned, crushed, laminated and sometimes dried or grilled, frozen or refrigerated. All of these off-farm activities are a source of jobs. Their development also requires new types of jobs and skills around establishing norms, standards and regulations around quality and food safety.

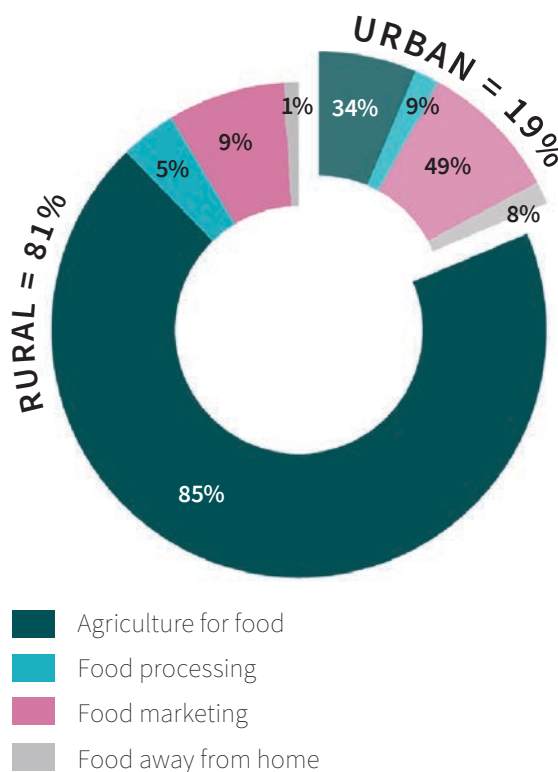
In order for both rural and urban actors to benefit from these employment opportunities, value chains and the food economy more broadly, must be invested in and strengthened to ensure effective co-ordination across actors, activities and territories. This is also required for the scaling-up of food production. Road infrastructure, in particular, plays an important role in connecting farmers, producers and consumers across rural and urban areas.

Figure 2
West African food economy:
the main source of employment, 2015



© 2017. Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat (SWAC/OECD)

Figure 3
Food economy employment by location, 2015



© 2017. Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat (SWAC/OECD)

Harnessing employment opportunities offered by the food economy and optimising local economic development potential requires a territorial perspective. Where food is produced, by whom and how it reaches the consumer is central to food economy development, agricultural transformation and rural and urban labour markets. FNS policies must take a fresh look at the evolving food system, the need to link on- and off-farm activities and bridge the gaps across rural and urban areas in order to achieve better FNS outcomes.

Demographic growth and rapid urbanisation in the Sahel and West Africa

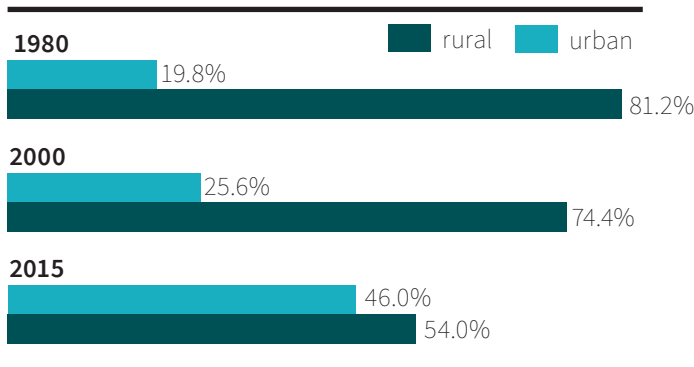
Demographic growth: in 2015, West Africa's population exceeded 370 million and is expected to double between now and 2050. The population is predominantly young with 44% below the age of 15. This implies a massive need for job creation in the coming years, as 80 million young people will enter the labour market over the next decade.

Urbanisation: Cities are growing fast. The level of urbanisation reached 46% in 2015 with seven countries reaching an urbanisation rate of 50% or more: Cabo Verde (50%), Côte d'Ivoire (50%), Gambia (56%), Ghana (52%), Nigeria (50%), Senegal (51%) and Togo (50%). At only 17%, Niger remains the least urbanised country in the world.

While the number of urban agglomerations increased from 150 in 1950 to 2 400 in 2015, urban growth has not been limited to large agglomerations. A network of small and medium sized towns have emerged and act as hubs for local and regional production as well as for the transfer of goods, people and information, linking local and regional economies to the global economy. The average distance between cities of over 10 000 inhabitants has decreased to just 33km. 80% of the rural population now lives within a 90km radius of an urban centre of at least 50 000 inhabitants.

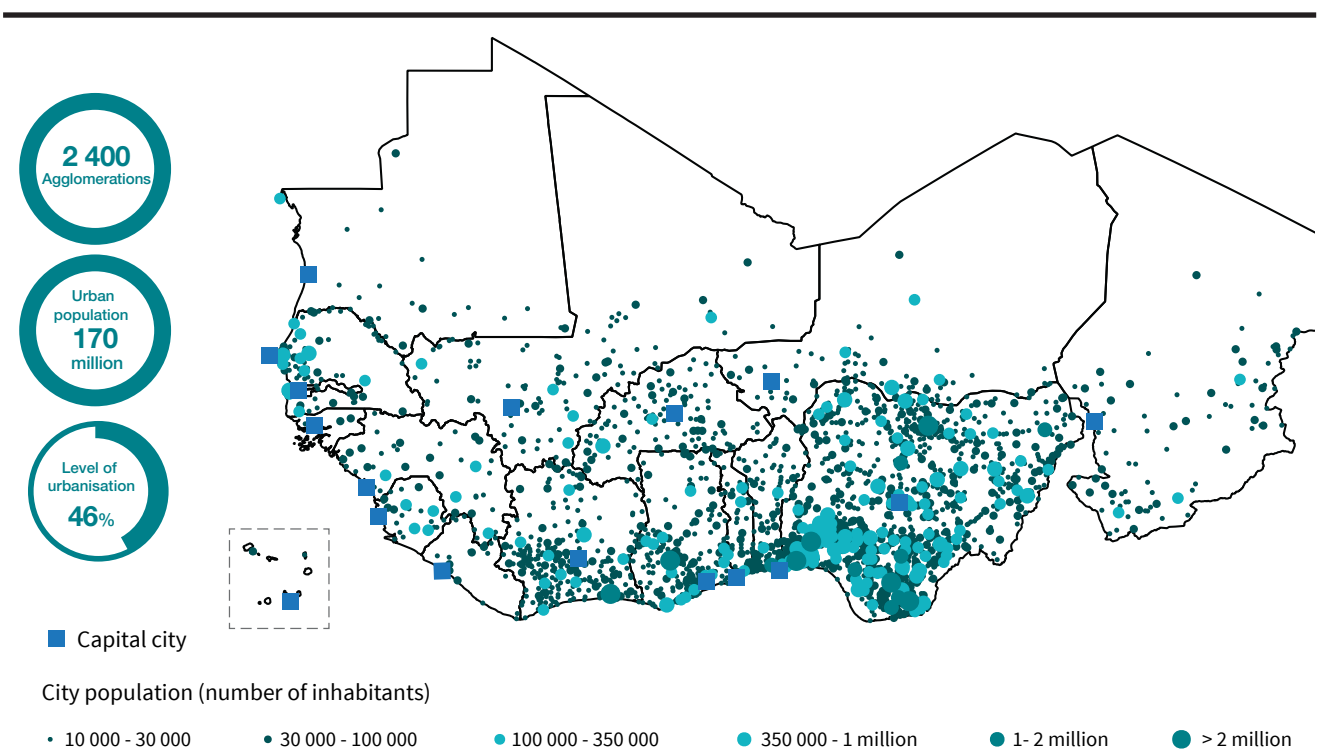
Figure 4

Rural and urban population trends, 1980-2015



Source: Africapolis I (SWAC/OECD), United Nations, World Population Prospects, 2017 Revision.

Map 3
Level of urbanisation, 2015



Source: Moriconi-Ebrard, F., D. Harre and P. Heinrigs (2016), Urbanisation Dynamics in West Africa 1950–2010: Africapolis I, 2015 Update, West African Studies, OECD Publishing, Paris.

3. MAKING A TERRITORIAL APPROACH A REALITY ON THE GROUND

How rural and urban territories are managed, now and into the future, will have major implications for FNS policies. People and places need to be at the centre of development strategies that create jobs and opportunities for investment in basic social services including health, education, water-sanitation-hygiene and family planning; accelerate demographic transitions and harness synergies between rural and urban areas, linking the most remote to the densest megacities, often through smaller towns and cities in between.

3.1 Prerequisites for a territorial approach

Understanding how the unique characteristics of a particular area influence its development potential is central to effectively implementing a territorial approach to FNS. Other key prerequisites include: a multi-level governance system, a multi-sectoral and multi-actor perspective, empowering local actors, and better data and tools. Political will and leadership are also paramount to steering processes for bottom-up planning to occur.

Multi-level governance system

The ability of different stakeholders (local, national and international) to co-ordinate their actions within a broad governance framework will help determine the success of a territorial approach to FNS. Policies need to be co-ordinated horizontally across sectors, as well as vertically across national and sub-national levels of government. A multi-level governance system should ensure coherence between local territorial dynamics, national policies and institutional structures. It should facilitate the establishment of partnerships, a clear accountability system, and an effective monitoring and evaluation process in order to promote effective and inclusive FNS policies.

Multi-sectoral and multi-actor perspective

A territorial approach must be highly multi-sectoral and multi-actor in order to respond to the varied and interconnected needs and expectations of local populations. Policies and programmes must go beyond agriculture; agricultural interventions are important, but not sufficient to adequately address FNS. Constraints around access to food, generally caused by economic, social, cultural and physical factors, and strongly linked to specific local conditions, must be addressed. This demands targeted public investments in soft (education, health, financial services, connectivity) and hard infrastructure (electricity, water, roads, schools, hospitals). It also means better-aligning FNS policies with changes in the food economy in terms of demand and structure. These changes provide major employment opportunities along food value chains for a young and growing population. A multi-sectoral, multi-actor lens involves strengthening the various segments of these value chains, connecting actors across urban-rural areas, enhancing trade, and facilitating diversification of rural economies and growth in employment.

Box 4

What is a territorial approach?

While there is no one, single definition it can be described as addressing the development of multiple sectors, implemented by a range of stakeholders and structured by multi-level governance.

- **Focus on poverty and inequalities:** recognises that all regions have development potential, not only urban areas.
- **Area-based:** starting point is the economy, aims to capitalise on the strengths inherent in a territory so that locally-based products and services drive development.
- **Scale:** determined by the social and economic make-up of a given territory; management is inclusive and starts at the grass-roots level to evolve into the multi-level governance network.
- **Key activities:** territorial analysis, livelihood analysis, negotiation, consensus building, conflict resolution, consultation.

Source : Adapted from Cleary, 2003; Janvry & Sadoulet, 2007; Cistulli et al., 2014.

Empowering local actors

Decentralising responsibilities without devolving power and equipping lower administrative levels with the necessary technical, financial and human resources will result in severe gaps in implementation. Local actors must have sufficient technical, analytical and planning capacity to ensure that policies can be effectively formulated, made coherent and implemented at the local level. The most sustainable means of designing appropriate territorial policies is with the participation of the people intended to benefit from those policies. Local ownership and leadership over the policy formulation process as well as the inclusiveness of all actors are therefore at the heart of a territorial approach. It's about strengthening the insertion of small farmers into markets, connecting people and places, generating employment opportunities in remote areas, and providing rural services (health, education, rural finance). It's also about enhancing opportunities for all, particularly for women and youth, and about targeting spending to the most vulnerable places and populations.

Implementing a territorial approach to FNS: The Case of Niger

The Government of Niger is implementing an ambitious agricultural transformation plan called the **3N Initiative** - “Nigériens Nourish Nigériens”. The Initiative is based on a number of principles, including the concentration of interventions at the local level. This approach, which is multi-sectoral and multi-actor in nature, ensures the effectiveness and coherence of interventions and promotes synergy and complementarity in the communal space to increase impact and strengthen the capacity of communes to take on their role in fostering development at the local level.

Communes are therefore major players in implementing the Initiative and are empowered by the State to manage, monitor, and finance projects. This is in line with Niger’s legal provisions on decentralisation (*Code général des collectivités territoriales*) which grants local authorities the roles of designing and implementing economic, social, educational and cultural development activities at the communal or local levels. Projects of regional scope or involving several local authorities are managed by regional councils.

The 3N Initiative developed the “**Communes de Convergence**” approach - an innovative way of building FNS at the local authority level based on geographical programming and operational convergence of activities. It promotes synergy of interventions and continuity between emergency and development activities. Local authorities implement action plans and the High Commission monitors operations.

The “**House of Farmers**” is another key component of the 3N Initiative anchored at the community level. Its objective is to improve the availability of and access to a range of services and infrastructure (Table 3) locally in order to help producers and agricultural enterprises improve productivity and increase incomes. This involves improving physical and economic access to agricultural equipment and supplies, training centres, information, financing as well as innovative technology and other services. The services are tailored to the needs of the local population and the ecological, cultural, and socio-economic context and are coupled with advisory and support services. The House of farmers operates on the basis of a number of key principles (Table 4), not least, the fact that it belongs to the communities and local actors responsible for its management and implementation. Services are provided on a needs-based assessment. Emphasis is placed on the sustainability of services and investments. Robust internal and external monitoring and evaluation systems ensure accountability and continuous improvement. Specific needs and services from a gender perspective are taken into account and synergies, partnerships and multi-actor dialogue enable co-ordination and mobilisation of the actors involved. Key actors include: the 3N High Commission, technical ministries and decentralised services, local authorities and customary leaders, producer organisations, Chambers of Agriculture, civil society, NGOs and development associations, private sector actors and technical and financial partners.

Table 3. **Range of services offered by House of Farmers**

SERVICES
1. Food security stock
2. Centre for agricultural supplies
3. Centre for livestock feed
4. Centre for repair & hire of agricultural equipment
5. Decentralised financial system
6. Community radio
7. Training centre
8. Administration centre

Sources : 3N High Commission, Niger (2015), *Les communes de convergence: de la théorie à la pratique*; Note de cadrage de la plateforme de services intégrés dénommée « La Maison du Paysan » (House of Farmers).

Table 4. **Key principles, House of Farmers**

PRINCIPLES
Local actors responsible for implementation
Needs-focused
Sustainability of activities
Sustainable financing
Engagement and ownership by actors
Systematic self-evaluation
Respect for the environment
Gender considerations
Complementarity and synergy among actors
Partnerships, dialogue, multi-actor consultations

Better data and tools

Better data at the sub-national level are needed to help policy makers adopt place-based approaches. Localised data would facilitate understanding territorial dynamics as well as identifying bottlenecks hampering food security. Gaps in data

collection and analysis need to be determined, and ways to capture more localised data through participatory collection and analysis, identified.

3.2 Political momentum for territorial approaches and challenges to overcome

In recent years, territorial approaches have gained momentum as a conceptual and operational framework for achieving more inclusive, social and spatial growth. Ambitions set out in international development frameworks involve local and regional governments who play an important role in meeting the goals set out therein.

However, do local and regional governments have the financial means to fully deliver on their responsibilities? To what extent does the decentralisation of cities and regions allow them to mobilise sufficient resources? Is the territorial organisation within countries adapted to the growing needs and circumstances of local governments? Answering these important questions requires an understanding of existing subnational government structures (SNGs) in the region. This is essential to not only designing and implementing effective territorial policies for FNS, but also to promoting dialogue between various levels of government and enhancing multi-level governance, as well as accountability and transparency at subnational levels.

A high-level overview of SNGs provided in Table 5 shows the variety of subnational governments across countries, in terms of the size and structure. The average size of municipalities varies across countries from 20K inhabitants in Togo to 229K in Nigeria. Size matters because it affects the ability of local governments to reap the benefits of economies of scale in terms of service provision. Municipalities are sometimes considered to be too small to carry out their tasks efficiently and realise these economies of scale. Where municipalities are large, there is often a structured network of sub-municipal entities such as villages and communities that support local governments in service delivery and other functions.

Other aspects of territorial organisation that merit further consideration include the financial, human and technical capacity at local levels compared to devolved responsibilities and the level of autonomy of SNGs in exercising their duties. Do they simply execute on behalf of central governments or act as independent policy makers?

Examples of international development frameworks promoting a territorial approach

- **The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)** are to be owned and implemented by all people, across different territories. This means that subnational, metropolitan, and local governments are as integral to SDG implementation as national governments. Multilateral organisations, the private sector, civil society organisations, philanthropic foundations and the media also have a critical role to play.
- **The 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan** emphasised the key role played by local governments in linking citizens with governments and in ensuring broad-based and democratic ownership of national development agendas.
- **The New Urban Agenda** places food security and nutrition at the centre of urban sustainable development. This is a fundamental step forward towards linking urban and rural communities in the planning and development of food systems that provide food security and improved nutrition for all.
- **The “Cotonou Declaration on Rural Futures”**, a key outcome of the first African Rural Development Forum organised by NEPAD, called for: inclusive and empowering people-centred development; the adoption of a multi-sectorial approach; fostering place-based strategies and territorial development; improving the knowledge base to inform context-specific policies and connecting the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of development.
- **The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Paris Agreement on climate change (COP21)** have also set a number of ambitious development goals which call for local and regional government action.

Table 5. Subnational government structures (SNG) in West Africa

COUNTRY	POPULATION MILLION, 2014	TOTAL NUMBER OF SNG**	NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL LEVEL GOVERNMENTS	NUMBER OF INTERMEDIATE LEVEL GOVERNMENTS	NUMBER OF STATE /REGIONAL LEVEL GOVERNMENTS	AVERAGE MUNICIPAL SIZE (INHABITANTS)
Benin	10.6	77	77	0	0	137 662
Burkina Faso	17.6	381	368	0	13	47 826
Cabo Verde	0.5	22	22	0	0	23 359
Chad	13.6	432	348	61	23	39 080
Côte d'Ivoire	22.2	230	197	0	31+2 [†]	112 473
Ghana	26.8	226	216	0	10	124 009
Guinea	12.3	341	341	0	0	36 070
Guinea-Bissau	1.8	37	37	0	0	48 649
Mali	17.1	761	703	49	8+1 [†]	24 324
Niger	19.1	273	265	0	7+1 [*]	72 075
Nigeria	177.5	811	774	0	36+1 [*]	229 295
Senegal	14.7	609	550	45	14	26 677
Togo	7.1	390	354	30	6	20 099

Source: OECD/UCLG (2016), Subnational Governments around the world: Structure and finance

Note: Data for Gambia, Liberia, Mauritania and Sierra Leone were not provided by the study

[†]Côte d'Ivoire: 31 regions + autonomous districts with special status

Mali: 8 regions + District of Bamako

Niger: 7 regions + urban community of Niamey

Nigeria: 36 States + Federal Capital Territory (FCT)

**SNGs = Subnational governments defined as decentralised entities whose governance bodies are elected through universal suffrage and which have general responsibilities and some autonomy with respect to budget, staff and assets.

OPENING UP THE **DISCUSSION**

PANEL 1: FROM THEORY TO ACTION: IMPLEMENTING A TERRITORIAL APPROACH



- What are the key challenges and lessons learned from implementing a territorial approach?
- What tools or methodologies are required for implementation?
- What steps would ensure that local actors, in particular women and youth, are empowered and have the capacity to define their own priorities?
- What prerequisites should be in place to effectively implement a territorial approach and how can successful territorial initiatives in the region be scaled-up?

PANEL 2: AGRICULTURE, FOOD AND EMPLOYMENT



- How are food economy employment, rural-urban linkages and spatial dynamics connected?
- What is the potential of the agri-food system in rural-urban transformation and job creation?
- What policies and investments are needed to improve job creation and productivity across value chains?
- How can different territories be more effectively managed to facilitate value chain development?