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**Biofuel expansion: Challenges, risks and
opportunities for rural poor people**

**Submitted by:
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)**

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Climate change, biofuel expansion and rising food prices are growing challenges for poor rural people. But these trends also present opportunities. IFAD held three round table discussions on these new challenges and opportunities for smallholder agriculture at the 31st session of its Governing Council on 14 February 2008.

Round Table 1 focused on the topic of "*Climate change and the future of smallholder agriculture*: How can the rural poor people be part of the solution to climate change?"

Round Table 2 – *Biofuel expansion*: Challenges, risks and opportunities for rural poor people

Round Table 3 – *Growing demand on agriculture and rising prices of commodities*: An opportunity for smallholders in low-income, agriculture-based countries?

The section that follows describes the proceedings of Round Table 2 "*Biofuel expansion*: Challenges, risks and opportunities for rural poor people" and includes a discussion paper on the topic.

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I. Biofuel expansion: Challenges, risks and opportunities for rural poor people

Questions to guide the round table discussion:

- What are risks and possible opportunities for rural poor people?
- What are the policy and other conditions for enabling the rural poor to seize opportunities and yet be protected from the risks?

Chairperson: M.S. Swaminathan, M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation

Facilitator: Eric Kueneman, FAO

Panellists:

1. Peter Hazell, Centre for Environment Policy
2. Jeff Tschirley, FAO
3. Rodney Cooke, IFAD
4. B.S. Chaware, Happy India

1. Opening remarks

The Round Table was facilitated by **Mr. Eric Kueneman**, Service Chief, Crop and Grassland Service, FAO, who presented the main issues, including the ongoing food-vs.-fuel debate; the increase in food prices; the challenges of the agricultural sector in trying to meet growing biofuel demand without compromising food security; and diversion of land and water from food for biofuel production. He also noted that notwithstanding these issues, biofuels presented opportunities for the small farmers and governments need to develop and implement certain pro-poor policies, for which the three Rome-based agencies could provide assistance. FAO is engaged in providing both technical assistance and policy advice to FAO Member Governments, including for issues related to bioenergy and food security strategies.

Professor M.S. Swaminathan, Chairman of the M.S. Swaminathan Research foundation, opened the round table by noting that the topic was not on biofuels per se but their potential impact, both positive and negative, on poor rural people. He added that this was particularly relevant with respect to IFAD's mandate and stated that any biofuel development needs to be pro-poor, pro-nature, pro-women and pro-livelihoods.

In guiding the round table, Professor Swaminathan emphasized the following points:

- **Impact of biofuels on food prices and food security.** One of the most discussed consequences of the growing demand for feedstock for ethanol production is the increase in prices of some food commodities. There are a number of reasons linked to this, but there is no doubt that biofuels are one of the main drivers. In most developing countries, this has implications for food security, especially the poor net food-consuming farming households, urban consumers and landless labourers. There is need to identify and adopt appropriate options and policies to mitigate these adverse effects.
- **Enabling poor rural people to access basic tools to benefit from biofuels.** As with any other opportunity for development, poor rural people would need to have access to a number of tools and services to ensure that they benefit. These include: (a) access to technologies, including the emerging second-generation technologies (which may need another five to ten years before they are ready for adoption); (b) basic infrastructure to ensure the economic development of biofuels; (c) training to facilitate the transfer of the technologies promoted; and (d) opportunities for producer-oriented and remunerative fair trade.
- **Organization of smallholder farmers and producers.** This is fundamental in the “bio-energy revolution” to facilitate their access to markets and enable them to commercially interact with large private entities engaged in the energy markets.

2. Panellist presentations

The first presentation was given by **Mr. Peter Hazell**, Visiting Professor, Centre for Environment Policy, Imperial College. Professor Hazell noted that Rapid growth in demand for biofuels will raise world food prices. Already prices have increased 50-100% in the last two years, although not all this increase can be attributed to conversion of food crops to biofuels. But note that even at today's prices, food is still only about half as costly in real terms as it was in the early 1970s.

History suggests that food prices increases will be tempered in the longer term by increased production as countries expand agricultural capacity through new investments. With the right investments, the world has lots of capacity to grow both more food and more energy. But how high food prices stay in the longer term will depend on the aggregate demand for biofuels. The current consensus amongst world food modellers seems to be that if the major oil consuming countries strive to replace 5% of their transport fuels with biofuels, the price increase should be manageable. But if they strive to replace 10% or more then this could induce a longer term world food crisis. The rapid development of second generation technologies for biofuels that can exploit non-food crops will help reduce the pressure on food prices.

Higher food prices will benefit countries that produce food surpluses that can be exported. They will also benefit farmers who are net sellers of food or who can shift

into the production of feedstock for biofuels. The potential losers to worry about are:

- Poor consumers, and this includes many small farmers who are net buyers of food. Because poor people spend large shares of their budget on basic foods, they are especially vulnerable to food price increases. Each 1% increase in world food prices adds another 16 million to the number of hungry people in the world.
- Food deficit countries with limited capacity to expand agricultural production. These countries face the double whammy of higher food and oil import prices, and will need special help from the rich countries and international financial institutions.
- The many African countries that have under-invested in agriculture in recent decades. These countries are already suffering from higher food prices and reductions in concessionary food aid. Turning this around to seize the new market opportunities that higher agricultural prices offer will require rapid changes in agricultural policies and much higher levels of public investment in agriculture. The imperative for a Green Revolution in Africa has never been greater.

Professor Hazell concluded his presentation by speaking about the great concern for the poorest countries in Africa. However, largely due to a general neglect of agriculture for the last 20 to 25 years, the problems in this continent are broader and precede biofuel development. Such problems include low investment in agricultural technology, weak infrastructure and weak marketing institutions. The main challenge and aim of Africa is not to become a big producer of biofuels/bio-energy, but to increasing productivity and production of food staples, as population growth will double in the next 20 years. He added that high prices in the agricultural sector stimulated by biofuels could provide an enormous economic incentive to invest in agriculture and improve its production.

The second presentation was given by **Mr. Jeff Tschirley**, (Chief, Environmental Assessment and Management Unit (NRCE), Environment, Climate Change and Bio-energy Division, FAO). Mr Tschirley began his presentation by stating that the fundamental shifts in agriculture are not necessarily related to bio energy/biofuels, but rather to prices, investment in agriculture and land use. He said that the main question in relation to biofuels and land is whether there is enough land to produce the bio-energy required. In general and theoretical terms, there is, but in practical terms, if the US and EU are planning to meet their energy requirements through renewable sources at a 10 per cent blending by 2020, there would be considerable additional pressure on land. This is already being seen in cases of developing countries converting land to produce biofuels in response to a significant market demand in EU and US. He explained that this is a general consideration, valid at global level. There is a need for a case-by-case, country-level analysis of land use issues as they are affected by biofuels. There is very limited information about that. The necessary analyses have just been initiated to build knowledge about the

potential of African, Asian or tropical countries, which have the greatest comparative advantage in producing biofuel feedstock, to increase feedstock production and to what extent.

Mr. Tschirley went on to speak about Africa, where only 25 per cent of good agricultural land is under permanent crops. Even if biofuels were eliminated as a topic, it is recognized that additional land must come into development in order for Africa to continue its economic development. If the bio-energy/biofuel market demand is added, the land requirements would increase. However, even when the bio-energy market demand is added, no significant pressure on land is expected in Africa. Mr. Tschirley then described the situation in Asia, where less land is available, most of the best land is already in use, and the governments have already started tapping their smallholders to produce some biofuel feedstock as a channel for developing a national sector for producing ethanol or bio-diesel. He emphasized that the model is very different in Africa than it is in Asia, which underscores the need for analysing the land use issues on a county-by-country basis.

Mr. Tschirley asked whether it made much sense from the point of view greenhouse gas (GHG) to produce ethanol from maize, which is a marginal crop, when sugar cane (especially in Brazil) can produce ethanol at a very high level of efficiency, and with very high positive GHG balances. He stated that GHG balances vary from crop to crop and the choice of crop for biofuel production is important from the point of view of the GHG mitigation agenda. He added that it will become increasingly important for countries wishing to export biofuels, as they will need to demonstrate and certify that the energy balances are positive in the next three to five years' time. Mr. Tschirley then listed a number of other issues: expanding lands to promote biofuel cultivation could cause soil degradation or loss of bio-diversity; water resources may not be sufficient and could be diverted away from food crops to fuel crops threatening food security. He added that IFAD, FAO and other agencies are looking at these environmental problems, which are not new, but need to be given a high priority to develop a sustainable biofuel sector.

Mr. Tschirley concluded his presentation by speaking about the important role that policy plays in shaping biofuel crops development. He brought up the trade barriers being established in EU and US, and distortions in the way the bio-energy market is developing. He explained that in order to protect the poor rural people and enable them to participate in the biofuel opportunity, governments in many developing countries have to address with the problem of land use and tenure, as traditional land use practices often constrain development of markets. Policies in developing countries also need to ensure that lower-income groups, more vulnerable groups, and poor farmers, are not penalized by the development of bio-energy/biofuels, but, on the contrary, are protected from larger interests and can benefit from this opportunity.

The third presentation was given by **Mr. Rodney Cooke**, Director of IFAD's Technical Advisory Division. In his opening statements Mr Cooke noted that IFAD is not about biofuels – IFAD is about rural poverty reduction. Whatever IFAD does, it

has to be pro-poor, pro-women, pro-environment and pro-livelihoods. He also stated that we must look at ways biofuels can be the latest cash crop opportunity for the rural poor, since biofuels represent a fast growing market for agricultural products. He added that many developing countries are suffering from the costs of rising fuel imports and some are spending six times more on fuel than on health.

Mr. Cooke described the need for IFAD to understand how to optimize the “biofuel revolution” to make it truly pro-poor. The type of approach that should be taken is to look at biofuel production *not* in prime land, but in marginal land, and look at crops that can avoid the food-vs.-fuel issue. He described a research grant that IFAD is implementing to test how to develop sustainable farming and production systems with selected biofuel crops, and to make sure rural people engaged in biofuel production can improve their livelihoods. The grant also aims to test processing systems and technologies at the local level, and to establish effective but responsible public-private sector partnerships. He added that IFAD is trying to empower the dryland poor with “smart” biofuel crops, under three cropping systems: sweet sorghum, which has a strong “pro-poor advantage” because it can be used for food, animal feed and ethanol; *jatropha curcas* and *pongamia pinnata*, whose seeds produce vegetable oils that can be converted into bio-diesel; and second-generation technologies, which would allow feedstock production to move away from principally sugar/starch-producing crops and minimize competition for land uses for food and fuel.

Mr. Cooke concluded by highlighting that policies are crucial to take these innovative ideas from research to action that will impact in socio-economic terms. Policies are needed that will favour local processing of feedstocks rather than heavily concentrated large-scale operations. Schemes for the mutual benefit of farmers and processors, the link between technology, training and trade, as well as the public-private sector partnerships have to be developed.

The final presentation was given by **Mr. Babasaheb Chaware**, Managing Director of Happy India, a small farmers’ organization that produces biofuels. He opened his presentation by stating that the increased demand for biofuel and associated price of feedstocks can benefit farmers, who, if the price is right, are more than willing to invest in agriculture to increase their income. There is a strong rationale for India and other developing countries to promote biofuels. He explained that with its rapidly growing economy and strong dependence on imported oil, India’s oil import is mounting and exceeds USD 70 billion annually. Any policy to develop a domestic biofuel industry will substantially reduce the oil import bill and the resultant savings could be diverted directly into rural areas to produce biofuels and green oil.

Mr. Chaware then described the history of Happy India, which was created as a farmer-owned corporation to produce bio-ethanol from tropical sugar beet, sweet sorghum, and sugarcane, with a view to increasing farmers’ incomes. After a series of initial meetings, as many as 12,300 raw material-supplying farmers joined the scheme as shareholders. Of these 9,500 are small and marginal farmers. The inclusion of farmers as shareholders ensures that their interests are protected. He said that Happy India hopes to generate employment opportunities for nearly

25,000 people in rural areas. Mr. Chaware then went on to explain the advantages of tropical sugar beet versus sugar cane for bio-ethanol as it requires only a fifth of the water and grows more quickly. Being a short duration crop, it frees up land to produce food crops in a crop rotation system. He then went on to describe some of the challenges to smallholders in developing the scheme, in particular raising the equity capital. He added that if farmers are to gain larger benefits from the biofuel market they need to be encouraged to acquire shares in such ventures. However, funding is always in short supply. There is need for support from the governments and organizations like IFAD and NGOs, which can bring their considerable experience and expertise to work with, and organize, poor rural communities and smallholder farmers.

Like Mr. Cooke, Mr. Chaware also emphasized the need for appropriate policies to be in place to ensure that the producers receive a fair share of the price. At present most of the margins are accruing to the oil distribution and marketing companies. Governments should support measures that would either allow a more equitable sharing of profit margins between the producers and the distributors or, alternatively, change policies to allow companies like Happy India to enter upstream marketing. These measures will allow producers and not just large corporate enterprises to gain a fair share of the financial benefits from the sale of biofuels.

3. Plenary discussions

There were approximately 200 participants in the plenary. Soaring food prices due to a complex interaction of multiple factors, including diversion of land from food crops to bioenergy production, is creating a worldwide food crisis. But large increases in demand for agricultural products in growth countries like India and China, low food stocks, and adverse weather resulting in poor harvests, are also major drivers of global price increases. The main issues that emerged during the plenary on bioenergy and food security discussions are summarized below.

Food security vs. energy security. Competition between food and fuel is part of the complex of factors putting many poor rural and urban people in great danger. Some developing countries may consider diverting resources for food production to an export-oriented business that will benefit developed countries while adversely affecting their own food security. The basis of production and income sources of farmers need to be protected as a fundamental issue. In this regard, policies need to be devised that do not pit food against energy security and take into consideration the kind of agriculture, energy, water and land use at country level, so that the both energy security and food security are achieved. They should look at import substitution through the development of their domestic biofuel industry.

Increased price of commodities vs. increased farm incomes. Increases in prices of agricultural commodities are often perceived to be detrimental to the poor rural people and the consumer. However, higher prices benefit farmers. Artificially keeping these prices low mainly benefits the urban consumers, some of whom can afford to pay higher prices, but prefer not to, often at the expense of the rural

producers. Adding value to manual labour whether for farmers or urban workers is the appropriate approach to increasing the income of the poor. The impact of price increases due to biofuels has been exaggerated. Higher prices offer farmers a significant opportunity to increase their incomes and need not be viewed as necessarily negative.

Land tenure and biofuels. Decisions on land use for biofuels are being taken by governments without consulting farmers. In some cases large areas of land are being made available to big corporations. Many of these lands will be used for production of export-oriented biofuel crops. Biofuel development could, without appropriate policy guidelines, increase pressure on land to the disadvantage of poor rural people. However, the problem of secure access to and ownership of land is a much broader issue in most developing countries and biofuels are not its main driver.

Water. One cannot discuss the issue of land without looking at water issues as well. There have been problems in quantifying the amount of water required for biofuel crops. Despite what it is often said about growing biofuel crops on dry and marginal lands, irrigation in low-rainfall ecologies is required for optimal yields. Low input gives low output. In addition, water salinity is a problem in many regions. Investing in irrigation, particularly in Africa, remains a crucial issue as it was 30 years ago when IFAD was founded. Not all bioenergy crops have the same level of water demand. For example, new sweet sorghum and tropical sugar beets can produce high sugar outputs with far less water than can sugar cane.

First- vs. second-generation technologies. Second-generation technologies are expected to replace first-generation technologies in the next five to ten years. Therefore, there careful analysis is required to determine, on a case by case basis, whether it makes sense to focus on first-generation technologies.

GHG emissions from biofuel crops. Whether biofuels decrease or increase GHG emissions is still under debate. It is of important to appraise the entire energy chain when comparing options and it is equally important to analyse the production and emissions based on best practices, including new innovative ways to manage crops and soils, such as zero-tillage approaches; and also examine forestry management that includes judicious forest use without burning and other activities that generate high emissions.

Importance of full participation by and support for smallholders. In some cases, countries have made available to investors hundreds of thousands of hectares of land without consulting small farmers and rural communities. Such gaps need to be addressed. At the same time, small farmers do not have the financial capacity or risk-taking ability to invest in crops such as *Jatropha*, which have long gestation periods before they become economically productive. Small farmers will need financial support before they can go into such risky ventures.

Private-sector involvement, but at fair conditions for farmers and producers. Large private companies are increasingly entering the biofuel market

and want to sign contracts with poor farmers and producers. However, large companies often take the lion's share of profits. More transparency is required from the processing and distributing companies, and farmers will need to understand the value-added to their produce so that they may claim a fair share of it. Organizations such as IFAD need to find solutions to protect the farmers, who risk losing their lands or signing contracts under adverse terms of trade. Policies must be implemented to ensure rights to tenure to rural communities, transparency and a mutual benefit between the smallholders and private companies.

Coherent country-specific national policies. For rural development to be effectively implemented, national policy frameworks must be favourable to pro-poor growth – a factor that is not just applicable to biofuels. In the context of biofuels, policymakers need to decide on issues such as allocation of water for food and fuel; how to handle losers in the biofuel market, such as poor consumers and the landless; and how to help people take advantage of new opportunities. Mechanisms are needed to deal with these issues.

International cooperation. International cooperation is a major subject that has not been adequately addressed. The powerful agricultural countries (US, EU, India, China and Brazil) need to take into account the effects of their policies on smaller countries. In addition, south-south cooperation needs to be expanded and supported by organizations such as IFAD.

Mr. Swaminathan closed the round table by reiterating that the biofuel revolution must ensure food security, livelihood security, environmental security and energy security. There can be no compromise on sustainable food security. He added that the international dimension of biofuel development requires that agencies such as IFAD assist its Member Countries to find appropriate solutions when one major country's policy ultimately harms other countries.

II. Summary of the round table discussion and recommendations presented to the Governing Council

Based on the round table discussion, a summary statement and recommendations was prepared and presented to the Governing Council. The summary is provided below.

Round table 2 – Biofuel expansion: Challenges, risks and opportunities for rural poor people

- Biofuel touches on diverse issues at local, national and global levels, including food security, the effect of increasing food prices on the poor, international trade, and domestic agricultural policies to protect the poor, especially issues pertaining to land tenure security and land rights.
- Development of biofuels can present opportunities for poor rural people, provided that development embraces the following conditions:

investment in research and appropriate technologies to develop competitive value chains

- provision of services for transferring the technology
- implementation of policies that would ensure that smallholders receive appropriate prices for their products
- provision of credit and other financial services such as insurance to protect smallholders from natural disasters and other unforeseen events.

III. Discussion Paper for Round Table

Biofuel Expansion: Challenges, Risks and Opportunities for Rural Poor People

How the poor can benefit from this emerging opportunity

Paper prepared for the Round Table organized during the Thirty-first session of IFAD's Governing Council, 14 February 2008

Prepared by: Vineet Raswant, Nancy Hart and Monica Romano

The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect official views or policies of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, except as explicitly stated.

Food versus fuel: Can the agriculture sector meet biofuel demand without compromising food security? Farmers might benefit from high commodity prices but what about net purchasers of food?

Climate change and environment: How effective are biofuels in mitigating climate change? Are we using the right yardstick to determine the amount of energy required to produce biofuels in developing countries where farmers are less likely to use nitrogen fertilizers and practice mechanized farming?

Land use and tenure security: Will the increase in biofuel demand increase land use competition between food and fuel crops and result in tenure insecurity for small farmers?

Impact on poverty alleviation: How does biofuel development affect the food security, energy needs and employment opportunities of poor rural people?

INTRODUCTION

On 2 January 2008, the cost of crude oil crossed US\$100 a barrel for the first time, raising global concerns. Continuing near-record oil prices, fears of unaffordable and rapidly depleting sources of fossil fuel and the desire to achieve energy security and mitigate climate change have combined to heighten interest in biofuel production as a cost-effective, alternative source of energy.

Many governments have developed policies meant to promote affordable, alternative energy sources capable of maintaining current energy consumption standards, supporting further economic growth and reducing oil dependency. In addition to producing energy from solar, wind, nuclear and marine sources, the policies also aim at producing biofuels to meet the ever expanding demand of the transportation sector, mainly bio-ethanol from grains, and bio-diesel from vegetable oils and animal fat.

In 2006, bio-ethanol production was around 40 billion litres globally with 90 percent produced in Brazil and the United States, and bio-diesel production was more than 6 billion litres with 75 percent produced in the EU – mainly in France and Germany. Brazil, the most competitive producer with the longest history of bio-ethanol production, uses about half its sugarcane to produce bio-ethanol.

Spurred by many of the same considerations as the developed countries, many developing countries are now launching biofuel programmes based on agricultural feedstocks: bio-diesel from palm oil in Indonesia and Malaysia as well as from oil-rich, inedible plants such as jatropha and pongamia in India; and bio-ethanol from sugarcane in

Mozambique and in several Latin American countries, such as Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.

Although assessments of the global economic potential of biofuels have just begun, current biofuel policies could, according to some estimates, lead to a fivefold increase of the share of biofuels in global transport energy consumption – from just over 1 percent today to 5 to 6 percent by 2020.¹ With increasing demand for biofuels, considerable land could be diverted from food to feedstock production. FAO estimates that the amount of land that would be used for the development of biofuels – at present about 1 percent of the world's arable land – could increase up to 3 percent by 2030 and as much as 20 percent by 2050.

Governments have provided substantial support for biofuel development to enable it to compete with conventional gasoline and diesel. The measures included consumption incentives (fuel tax reductions), production incentives (reduced taxes and direct subsidies) and mandatory blending standards. The private sector responded to these incentives, setting up processing plants for converting crops into energy in a relatively short time. Alarms were raised when the resulting increased demand for fuel crops contributed to increased commodity prices with adverse effects on consumers and environmentally sensitive land that was cleared for planting palm oil. These excesses raised some valid concerns about the impact of biofuel production on local environments, livelihoods of the displaced people and the global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions.

The impact of increased food prices, especially on the poor, has drawn considerable attention. Yet, the potential for biofuel production to enhance the national energy security for most of the low-income countries that are also net oil importers has had relatively little attention.

According to FAO, "biofuels accounted for the fastest-growing market for agricultural products around the world and was a billion-dollar business. Increasing oil prices in recent years had had devastating effects on many poor countries, some of which spent six times as much on fuel as they did on health. In that regard, the modern form of bioenergy could create great opportunity".

These negatives notwithstanding, as a renewable energy source, biofuels can help mitigate climate change and reduce dependence on oil in the transportation sector. They can also have a positive impact on the limited foreign exchange reserves of many developing countries. When well managed, they also offer large new markets for

¹ World Bank, *World Development Report (WDR) 2008*.

higher prices products for agricultural producers that could stimulate rural growth and farm incomes.

This paper considers the pros and cons of the debate over the potential social, economic and environmental impact of the increase in biofuel production. It also recognizes that the developing world has its own set of bio-energy issues, which can be different from those of the developed world.

ISSUES

1. Food versus fuel – high food prices

Biofuel production has pushed up prices of some food crops, an expected outcome when they are also used as feedstock. For example the price of maize increased by 23 percent in 2006 and some 60 percent during the past two years, largely because of the U.S. bio-ethanol program.² The U.S. is the world's largest maize exporter and when its biofuel expansion contributed to a decline in grain stocks, it also, inadvertently, contributed to an increase in world cereal prices. Similar price increases have occurred for oil crops such as palm, soybean and rapeseed because of bio-diesel production.

Some food price increases are anticipated but, as with most aspects of biofuel, estimates vary. The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) projects maize prices to rise 20 percent by 2010 and 41 percent by 2020, with similar increases for oilseeds (26 percent by 2010, and 76 percent by 2020), and wheat (11 percent by 2010 and 30 percent by 2020). FAO, on the other hand, projects that prices of coarse grains will increase by 15 percent by 2016, whereas the price of wheat would remain unchanged.

It should be noted, however, that although price increases are blamed on increased biofuel production, issues such as stock levels, exchange movements and weather, as well as intangible factors such as speculation also affect price increase in commodities.

Historically, agricultural prices have been affected by energy prices, especially in countries that employ intensive farming practices, because the increased cost of fossil fuel based inputs, such as diesel, fertilizers and pesticides eventually lower output. Now, with rising energy prices and improved bio-energy conversion technologies,

² WDR, 2008.

energy prices and feedstock prices are increasingly being linked. These linkages are more readily visible in the more integrated markets of sugar and bio-ethanol in Brazil but most probably will soon emerge in other feedstock prices as well.

However, as these markets become linked, the energy prices will place a “ceiling price” on feedstock prices, because feedstock prices account for more than 70 percent of biofuel costs. Thus, in order to remain competitive for the energy market, agricultural feedstock prices cannot rise faster than energy prices, which will limit price increases.

Moreover, the new second-generation technologies currently being developed would lead to efficient conversion of ligno-cellulosic biomass (from grasses and other biomass) into liquid and gaseous energy forms. This would allow use of cellulose-rich biomass to be grown on marginal lands that do not compete with food. It would also make many more species of plants potential sources of energy.

Impact on the poor. The development of biofuel as a source of energy, when grown on a large scale, could represent a paradigm shift in agricultural development. As with all shifts, there will be both winners and losers. Urban and rural landless households, wage-earning households, rural households that are net purchasers of food and urban consumers are all expected to suffer as food prices increase.

The general price increase in most commodities has led to some concerns about the impact on the poor. Usually, as one staple becomes more expensive, people replace it with a cheaper one. But, if the prices of nearly all staples go up, consumers are left with no alternatives. If this remains the trend, some nutrition studies show that the number of food-insecure people in the world would rise by more than 16 million for every percentage increase in the real prices of staple foods, meaning that 1.2 billion people could be chronically hungry by 2025 – 600 million more than previously predicted.

However, whether the impact of a rise in food price would be as severe as noted by the nutrition studies is uncertain. There could be considerable offsetting benefits from development of biofuels. From the point of view of poor farmers who have dealt with declining commodity prices for more than 40 years (see Chart 1), increasing food prices provide an opportunity for increasing benefits and intensifying production which could lead to increased food output.

Moreover, bio-fuels can also contribute to alleviating poverty through employment creation. Because biofuel production is labour intensive, there could be significant employment creation, offsetting the overly negative picture of the food security estimates quoted above. If mechanisms are introduced to ensure that much of the increase in prices accrues to the farmers, both biofuel and increased food prices can stimulate rural economic growth through additional capital inflows, create demand for goods and services that provide employment, reduce rural-urban migration, and create linkages and multipliers.

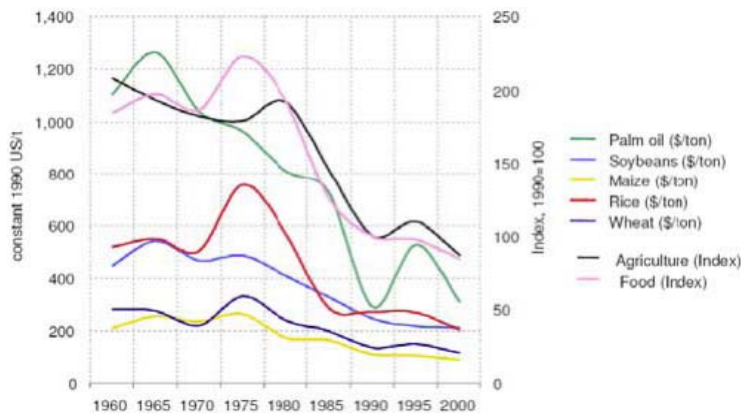
Biofuel production would add an estimated 9 million jobs in China, 1 million jobs in Venezuela by 2012 and up to 1.1 million jobs in Sub-Saharan Africa (S. De Keiser and H. Hongo, 2005).

This has been observed in Brazil where biofuel production in sugarcane-producing regions stimulated rather than competed with the other food crops and the income generated through agro-industrial activities related to sugarcane helped “capitalize” agriculture and improve conditions for producing other crops.³

Chart 1

The traditional market paradigm

A drastic decline in real prices for food and agriculture



Source: World Bank, “Pink Sheets”

³ S. Zarrilli, 2006, “Trade and Sustainable Development Implications of the Emerging Biofuels Market” in International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development *Linking Trade, Climate Change and Energy: Selected Issue Briefs* www.ictsd.org

2. Climate change and the environment

One of the big selling, but most debated, points of biofuel is its carbon neutrality. This means that the growing plants absorb carbon and, when harvested, release only the amount of carbon they absorbed. There is little doubt that most biofuels emit fewer greenhouse gasses than fossil fuels when used for energy, thus mitigating the effect on climate change.

The debate is over the *net* carbon savings which means factoring in the amount of fossil-fuel energy needed to produce the biofuel energy throughout its entire production cycle. At issue is whether the calculation should include only inputs used directly for growing the feedstock such as the nitrogen fertilizers or the energy used by farm machinery or if it should include even the energy used to make the agricultural machinery.

The results will vary, depending on the type of feedstock, cultivation methods, conversion technologies and energy efficiency.⁴ Sugarcane-based bio-ethanol saves between 80 and 90 percent of GHG emissions per mile while bio-diesel from soybeans can save 40 percent.⁵ In general, biofuels from grains have lower performance, reducing carbon emissions by 10 to 30 percent per mile or, in some cases, even producing higher emissions than fossil fuels.⁶

Energy parameters have been well researched for carbon savings based on agricultural practices in developed countries, but would it be correct to apply these analyses to developing countries without further study? Clearly, less use of fertilizer and labour-intensive farming feedstock production in developing countries is comparatively advantageous from the point of view of the mitigation agenda. However, the degree of advantage would need to be substantiated through further analysis.

The labour-intensive biofuel production capability of the developing world's small farmers appears to be relatively more environmentally friendly than large-scale, commercial, monocropping operations in the developed world. Due to, inter alia, low commodity prices, poor farmers of the developing world have had no funds and few incentives to buy fertilizers that emit GHGs, and they rarely use mechanized farm equipment that consumes polluting fossil fuels.

⁴ P. Hazell, *Bioenergy: Opportunities and Challenges*, presentation, Sweet Sorghum Consultation, IFAD, Rome, November 2007.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

Expansion of the agricultural frontier. When land is cleared for planting biofuel crops, the effect can be harmful to the environment, because expansion of biofuel crops can displace other crops or threaten ecosystem integrity by shifting from biodiverse ecosystems and farming systems to industrial monocultures. In Brazil, it is feared that future sugarcane expansion might involve fragile areas. In Indonesia and Malaysia, 14 to 15 million ha of peat lands have been cleared for the development of oil palm plantations. According to the EU, a change in land use such as cutting forests or draining peat land can cancel GHG emissions savings “for decades”.

Measures to control indiscriminate land use changes are underway. The EU is contemplating a policy proposal to ban imports of biofuels derived from crops grown on forestlands, wetlands or grasslands. Any country developing bio-fuels policy also needs to consider similar legislation to address indiscriminate expansion of land.

Soil and water management. Some feedstocks, such as sugar cane, require considerable quantities of water⁷ while others such as jatropha require less. In dry areas, the competition between food and fuel crops may become the overriding issue in the fuels vs. food debate and the issue could be addressed by investing in soil management and water saving technologies, some of which are uneconomical under present circumstances with declining commodities prices. Improvement in crop productivity as well as the shift from high water-use bio-fuel crops (such as sugarcane) to drought-tolerant crops (such as sweet sorghum) is also among options to address the issue of water scarcity.

The processing of energy crops into biofuels also requires water and, though new conversion plants offer options for controlling water pollution, existing processing facilities can discharge organically contaminated effluent. All agrochemical runoff and sediments are problematic, but these problems apply as much to food crops as they do to biofuel crops.

Impact on soil is another environmental concern that, again, is not unique to biofuels. For rural areas that fertilize with crop wastes and manure rather than external inputs, biomass production could lead to dramatic declines in soil fertility and structure. But, *there are also exceptions*. Biofuel plants such as jatropha and pongamia that grow on marginal lands have potential to improve soil quality and coverage and reduce erosion while their oilcakes can provide organic nutrients for

⁷ WWF, 2006, *Sustainability Standards for Bioenergy*, Germany.

improving soil.⁸ There are many different scenarios and rigorous lifecycle analysis of potential environmental impacts is needed of different biofuel production systems to ensure the development of environmentally friendly biofuel programmes.

Local-level environment. Amid concerns that biofuel cultivation, refining, combustion and transport can result in significant environmental problems that are likely to become more acute as biofuels production and trade expand, there is also belief that biofuel cultivation can have positive impacts in rural areas where poor people have limited options to meet their energy needs. Fuelwood is usually their primary household energy source, but its harvesting is usually unsustainable and can contribute to deforestation. Burning animal dung – another important energy source – can cause serious health problems. Substituting biofuels for fuelwood and dung can increase energy efficiency and decrease health risks. At the same time, biofuel cultivation, if combined with appropriate technologies, can open the door to sustainable, low-cost, off-grid electricity generation, with the added benefits of reducing women's domestic chores and increasing opportunity for rural industry and employment.

3. Land use and tenure security

In reality, biofuels are not different from other cash crops but high demand and rapid expansion of biofuel production could increase conflict over land rights and utilization.

If land tenure systems are weak, there is risk of appropriation of land by large private entities interested in the lucrative biofuels markets. The poor, who often farm under difficult conditions in remote and fragile areas and generally have little negotiating power, may be tempted to sell their land at low prices or where land is "*de jure*" owned by the state (typical in most African countries), find their land allocated to large, outside investors.

Appropriate policies for biofuels should be developed and integrated into a broader strategy of protecting land rights of the poor and disadvantaged, including Indigenous People, who are mostly at risk of becoming "bio-fuel refugees", to ensure that they retain ownership or usufruct rights to their land. Prioritizing improvement of land policies and land administration systems will be important to maximize the extent to which poor smallholder farmers can benefit (particularly

⁸ S. Kartha, 2006, "Environmental Effects of Bioenergy" in Hazell, P. and Pachauri, R.(eds) *Bioenergy and agriculture: promises and challenges* Focus 14, Brief 5, December. Washington, DC: IFPRI.

those with insecure or customary tenure) or, in some cases, to protect them.

It should be noted that competition for land uses between food and fuel is not as much an overriding issue in many developing countries, where land patterns, conditions and uses are different from those in the developed world.⁹ Africa's population density is lower than in Europe and the U.S., and land use is less a factor in production than the competing use of water.

Moreover, many developing countries have large areas of land better suited for biofuel production than for food crops. Marginal and unused lands in developing countries are suitable for cultivation of biofuel crops that grow under adverse agro-ecological conditions. India's Ministry of Rural Development reports that, of the 306 million ha of land, 173 million ha are under cultivation with the rest classified as eroded farmland or non-arable wasteland.¹⁰ A study conducted in the country determined that more than 30 million ha could be used to produce bio-diesel. Similarly it is claimed that by producing biofuel on 300 000 ha of its 4.6 million ha under crop, Tanzania could "match current fuel imports."¹¹

While some of the aforementioned claims are perhaps exaggerated and the production from these areas may be uneconomic unless more productive varieties of suitable crops are developed, the central point remains that there are other options in pursuing biofuel development. It is important to develop biofuel policies that avoid land use competition between food and fuel crops by producing biofuels from non-edible crops such as pongamia and jatropha that are suitable for degraded lands or from tropical sugar beet that can grow in alkaline and sodic soils, or by using multi-purpose crops such as sweet sorghum that allow both food and fuel to be harvested from the same crop.

There are other options to growing bio-fuel crops (other than food crops) and the issue in many developing countries, especially those that are both net importers of food and fossil fuel, is not food *versus* fuel. Instead, the issue is managing limited water and land resources to promote both food *and* fuel production.

⁹ R.Slater, 2007, *Biofuels, Agriculture and Poverty Reduction*, Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

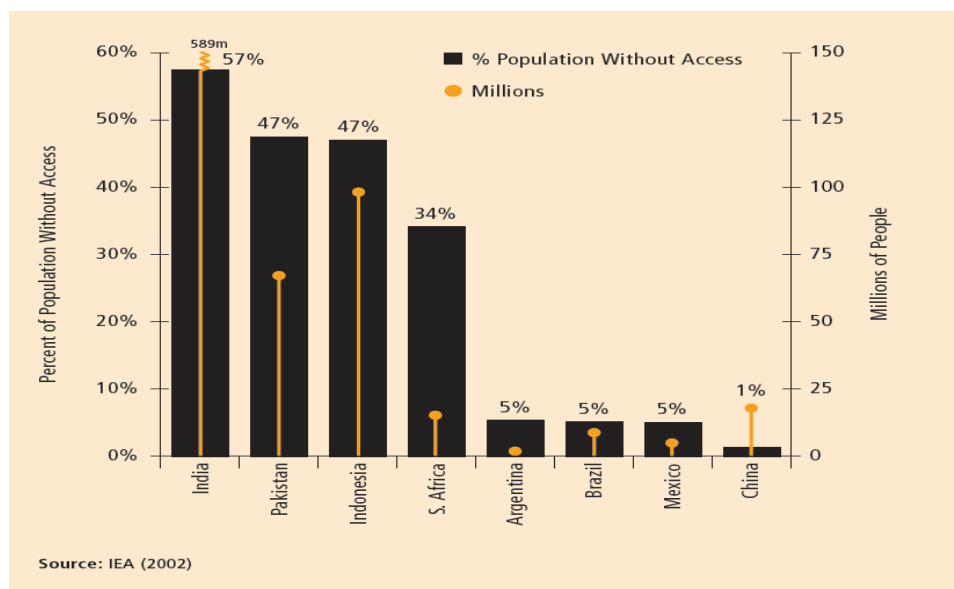
¹⁰ D. Fairless, "Biofuel: The Little Shrub that Could – Maybe", *Nature*, October 10, 2007.

¹¹ S. De Keiser and H. Hongo, 2005, "*Farming for Energy for Better Livelihoods in Southern Africa – FELISA*", Paper presented at the PfA-TaTEDO Policy Dialogue Conference on the Role of Renewable Energy for Poverty Alleviation and Sustainable Development in Africa, Dar-es-Salaam, 22 June 2005.

4. Impact on poverty alleviation

Poverty alleviation and energy provision are linked: availability of local energy is fundamental to intensifying agriculture and agricultural development is essential to poverty alleviation. Impact of rural electrification on poverty is best demonstrated by comparing the statistics between India and China (see Chart 2). In this context, FAO notes the insufficient emphasis on bio-energy as a solution to the needs of the 1.6 billion people who lack access to electricity and on its potential to improve the lives of the 2.4 billion who use traditional biomass, which accounts for 90 per cent of energy consumption in poor countries but is often unhealthy, inefficient and environmentally unsustainable.

Chart 2: Population without access to electricity, selected countries



Two thirds of the low-income food-deficit countries (LIFDCs) for which data exist are also energy-deficit, with 25 of the 47 poorest countries totally dependent on imported fuels, again showing the impact of energy (or lack thereof) on poverty. These countries use much of their available funds to import oil with little left to support economic growth. Oil-importing poor countries have been hit hardest by soaring oil prices that are worsening their balance of payments. Biofuels development can improve foreign exchange reserves of most of these countries, either by substituting for imports of oil or by generating revenues through biofuel exports. Eitherway, it would contribute to the

economic development of many of foreign-exchange strapped economies of many developing countries.

Biofuels provide an opportunity for developing countries to enhance national energy security by reducing their expenditures and dependence on oil imports and exposure to the volatility of international oil prices. Brazil initiated its biofuel programme when oil prices increased in the late 1970s, primarily because it could not afford the high

It is estimated that global biofuel production could expand from 50 billion litres to more than 250 billion litres by 2025, offering tremendous opportunity for the poor to participate

cost. The initial programme cost about US\$4 billion and required sustained government subsidies, but they have since been removed. Today, the programme has resulted in savings of more than US\$100 billion and made Brazil the world's largest exporter of bio-ethanol.

Biofuel production can be *especially* beneficial to poor producers, particularly in remote areas that are far from the consumption centres, where inputs are more expensive and prices lower, making food production, by and large, noncompetitive. In addition, agro-climatic conditions usually do not favour increasing the intensity of cropping systems. The challenge of providing poor rural people with meaningful income-generating opportunities remains largely unaddressed. Seeking solutions, projects often support niche products (apiculture, medicinal and aromatic plants, etc.), but these products usually have limited demand, long marketing chains and low producer prices.

Many of these farmers can benefit from the production of biofuels, especially from crops that do not compete with production of food crops (such as jatropha and pongamia) or multiple-use, low water-usage crops (such as sweet sorghum and cassava) that can meet the varied needs of small producers for food, cash income and animal feed. Other biofuel crops, such as tropical sugar beet, are as efficient as sugar cane in producing bio-ethanol but require far less water and, most importantly, can grow in alkaline or sodic soils that are basically unsuitable for food crop production.

POLICIES AND ISSUES IN SMALLHOLDER BIOFUEL DEVELOPMENT

Biofuel offers small farmers development opportunity...

While biofuels offer a potential source of renewable energy and large new markets for agricultural produce, the issue is how to meet the

energy and food needs of developing countries, many of which are both net food and fuel importers and suffer from acute shortages of foreign exchange. Agricultural policy encouraging growth of biomass in marginal rather than prime agricultural areas would serve the dual purpose of meeting national energy and food needs. It would also require: (a) improving both food and energy crops to ensure that the plants selected for production in remote areas have the productivity to be competitive: and (b) investing in soil and water conservation practices and infrastructure to ensure competitive development of biofuels. Such policies should also aim to develop an active rural energy policy as this would provide the basis for intensifying agriculture and with it, food security.

One challenge is to design and implement policy measures to ensure that the growing use of bio-energy is conducive to reducing poverty and hunger and, thus, that “bio-energy becomes pro-poor”. This will be the case if the production is labour intensive, the processing technology for provision of local energy is simple and there is promotion of public-private sector partnerships when producing for national or international markets.

Economies of scale are necessary for farmers and developing countries to take advantage of biofuel opportunity. Yet, small-scale farmers face obstacles in accessing supply chains, transporting crops to processing plants or selling through middlemen and policy measures would be required to ensure that small farmers are part of the national drive to promote biofuel production.

Existing institutions also have a crucial role in making bio-energy pro-poor. Cooperatives or producer companies, for instance, can bundle the interests of the poor, accumulate and attract capital and partnerships for the necessary investments, organize feedstock supplies in large quantities and, in turn, create a countervailing power to the larger firms operating in the energy market.

... but not without risks

Loss of access to land. The sheer speed of biofuel expansion may generate new pressures on land tenure arrangements, leading to alienation. There is considerable fear that the poor may either sell or be forced to relocate as the rush to meet increasing demand gathers momentum.

As biofuel development is taking place rapidly, this issue needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency – to move beyond debate and advise farmers and governments of the opportunities and risks associated with biofuel production.

Unfair business practices. Smallholder farmers and rural people engaged in supplying private companies with raw materials for biofuel processing often lack legal recourse in the event of reneged contracts. Pro-poor organizations are needed that can provide countervailing power to the affluent companies involved in up-stream processing and distribution.

Environmental risks. Agricultural practices that are not environmentally friendly could lead to soil degradation and depletion of natural resources. Policies promoting sustainable farming activities, such as conservation agriculture, can protect the natural resource endowments of the poor and avoid bad practices such as deforestation that would increase GHG emissions. The relative advantage of reducing GHG emissions following less intensive farming indicates that incentives need to be provided to developing countries, especially poor farmers, to encourage them to mitigate the effect of climate change.

Natural risks. Farmers involved in biofuel production are subject to the effects of extreme weather situations such as droughts or floods. These are natural risks and, as with all other crops, measures need to be considered to mitigate their effects through insurance mechanisms.

Advent of new technologies. As new second-generation technologies are developed, first-generation technologies may become noncompetitive. This is a normal business risk and, as with any other product, measures should be considered to ensure that value chains have the means and resources to adapt to emerging opportunities.

Decrease in price of fossil fuel. There is some risk that the price of fossil fuels could decline, rendering biofuels noncompetitive, although experts generally agree that with rising demand and depleting reserves, there is little probability of this occurring.

Paradigm shift could create losers. It is important for the donor community and governments to ameliorate the impact as biofuel production gather momentum.

Gender-differentiated risks. As it often occurs due to pre-existing gender inequalities, there is risk that women benefit less than men.

Bio-fuel development policies should be consistent with the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, to ensure that women engage in, and benefit from, this emerging opportunity.

Energy markets are much larger than the food markets. The emerging markets for biofuels offer an unparalleled opportunity to benefit the poor on a large scale through agriculture. While there are some risks, the key question is: Are they so insurmountable to deprive many of the poor from taking advantage of this opportunity to improve their livelihoods? In this context, is it time to move beyond the "food vs. Fuel" debate and not view it as just another trade-off.

WHAT IS IFAD DOING TO ENSURE PRO-POOR BIOFUEL DEVELOPMENT?

IFAD's new Strategic Framework (2007-2010) recognizes biofuel as an emerging market opportunity for the poor, especially those living in remote areas where almost 70 percent of IFAD's projects are located. In these areas, food production is challenging because the areas are remote from the consumption centres, inputs are more expensive and prices lower, making food production for commercial purposes, by and large, noncompetitive. In addition, agroclimatic conditions do not favour increasing cropping system intensity, and the challenge of providing meaningful income-generating opportunities for people remains largely unaddressed.

IFAD has financed, *inter alia*, two research grants to address these issues and enable poor rural people to take advantage of the huge market demand for biofuel production and meet their varied needs, while expanding employment and income-generating opportunities. The first grant, which was approved by the Executive Board in September 2007, is being implemented by ICRISAT and other partners, focuses on biofuel crops, such as jatropha, pongamia, sweet sorghum and cassava that can grow under adverse agro-ecological conditions that prevail in remote areas. It explores the potential for improving plant productivity and integrating these crops into smallholder farming systems. The grant will also study the economics of rural electrification and assess its impact on poverty. The second grant, which is being implemented in partnership with the Asian Development Bank, will identify strategies for developing biofuel crops to benefit rural poor households in the Mekong sub-region.

A third research grant will link smallholder farmers to agro-industrial processors in Cambodia, the Lao PDR and Viet Nam, using feedstock crops, such as cassava. This will be presented to the April 2008 Executive Board.

Other efforts to explore pro-poor options for biofuel development include: (a) establishment of private sector links to promote biofuel crops of special relevance to the poor living in areas affected by salinity and (b) global consultations organized in partnership with UN Foundation, FAO and ICRISAT to guide the research programme.

Other planned activities will focus on building partnerships with bi-lateral and multi-lateral donors and research institutions to mainstream biofuel development, and working closely with other International Land Coalition (ILC) members and other UN agencies to address land issues that might arise as biofuel development gains momentum. IFAD is also in the process of finalizing a corporate land policy and developing operational guidelines that can help guide the integration of activities aimed at strengthening land tenure security of its target group into new grant and loan projects and programmes.

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