

Meeting Farmer Demand?

An Assessment of Extension Reform in Uganda

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Chapter 1

The changing face of extension in Uganda

1.1 Introduction

The study on which this thesis is based was prompted by the on-going reforms in agricultural extension world-wide, particularly in developing countries. After years of predominantly public agricultural extension, the Government of Uganda (GoU) and its development partners initiated a reform of the country's extension system. This was undertaken within the context of wider policy reforms at the end of the 1990s seeking to alleviate widespread poverty through attempted transformation of the country's agriculture into a market oriented and/or commercialized sector. This process resulted in the creation, by Act of Parliament, of the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS). Launched in 2001, NAADS was tasked to contribute to poverty alleviation by ensuring improved access to agricultural knowledge, information and technology of its primary target group, subsistence farmers. The fundamental aim is to develop a demand-driven, client-oriented and farmer-led agricultural service delivery system, particularly targeting the poor, including women (MAAIF, 2000).

The NAADS initiative came about in a new era of donor funding for agricultural extension in developing countries at the end of the 1990s. There was a global change in perspective on the extension task, both in terms of scope of services offered and ways of working. Addressing poverty through market-oriented agriculture was a key aspect of this new way of thinking. Accordingly NAADS developed an extension strategy aimed at enhancing market-oriented agriculture among the rural poor (Hall and Yoganand, 2004). As will be shown in Chapter 2, the NAADS extension prototype features key tenets of this new extension model emphasising client- and/or demand driven extension. The approach, among other things, emphasizes i) deepening decentralization of extension services to make the service provision more accountable to smallholder farmers and other local level stakeholders, ii) changing the relationship between smallholder farmers and extension by increasing farmer influence over service providers, including participation by farmers in financing extension services, iii) assisting smallholder farmers to embrace market opportunities, and iv) contracting out of the provision of public sector funded services to the private service providers (Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004). Whereas these elements have featured in a number of recent donor funded extension projects, the NAADS initiative is perhaps the first attempt to implement the model on a national scale (Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004). Because it aims at large-scale radical transformation some consider NAADS to be as controversial as it is ambitious (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Nahdy, 2004; Kidd, 2001).

This thesis seeks to offer an account of how NAADS is functioning "on the ground". As such it will attempt to understand some of the complications NAADS has faced as it has come into contact with its target group in rural Uganda, where subsistence farming, market failure, poverty and other forms of social distress are continuing features of farming life. The kinds of

challenges NAADS faces are captured in two questions asked by two officials encountered in Kabale district early in the fieldwork:¹

‘...How can you commercialize agriculture in a situation where there are no markets to absorb farmers’ produce?’

‘...this is a formidable challenge...how can NAADS alleviate poverty among farmers with mere information, in an area [i.e. district] where farmers lack a single cash crop?’

While many associated with managing NAADS at the highest level talked about privatising the country’s extension system, ordinary farmers more often made statements like “what it is that NAADS is bringing to see [us]out of poverty”² (see also Kayanja, 2003). These concerns, widely echoed at community level, are pointers to a possible mismatch between policy aspirations as articulated at the highest levels in NAADS and the daily rural realities, as well as expectations of the NAADS target group.

The above practical concerns among the various stakeholders in the early days of the NAADS called for an empirically oriented study. The aim of the thesis is not to judge NAADS a success or failure as a whole, but rather to discover which elements of the NAADS’ ‘prototype’ may or may not work in the conditions experienced by its primary clients – subsistence farmers. This analysis is intended to support changes within the programme that make it better adapted to clients’ circumstances. Additionally, the thesis concerns itself with what rather than how NAADS delivers. In other words, the material content of the NAADS extension package is analysed. This choice reflects a concern that ‘how’ questions in policy implementation have tended, in the recent enthusiasm for reform, to detract from still unresolved questions about what extension should deliver to farmers. Focusing on ‘what’ issues is particularly relevant for the resource-constrained situation of rural Uganda, where clients exhibit a dependency syndrome derived in part from a history of top-down external interventions (including previous agricultural extension) (c.f. Brett, 1993; World Bank, 2000). Given this background, Ugandan farmers are sometimes willing – as a reflection of their extreme poverty - to accept anything on offer, however paltry the benefits.

This introductory chapter is intended to provide the background against which to understand the origin of the extension approach adopted by the NAADS. It also introduces the research problem and questions to be addressed, and then describes the research design, and methods of data collection and analysis used.

¹ I met these officials during the preliminary phase of fieldwork in early 2003. The first question was posed by a member of staff of a District Planning Office while the second was posed by a member of a District Local Council.

² Participants in interviews during the preliminary phase of fieldwork in early 2003

1.2 Situating the NAADS prototype in extension thinking

This section provides the background against which to understand the origin of the extension approach adopted in the NAADS initiative. This is based on a review of existing extension thinking (also referred to as ‘extension schools’ or ‘practitioner theories’).

1.2.1 Global trends in extension thinking

Agricultural extension traces its origins to the 19th century (Worth, 2006:180). Extension was a major component of thinking about post-colonial development from the 1960s in the the World Bank and elsewhere (Purcell and Anderson, 1997; Anderson and Feder, 2003).³ Extension has continuously received considerable aid support, despite financial and institutional constraints.⁴

The main debates on extension have centred on ‘what should be the role of extension’ and ‘how should extension work’ (Birner and Anderson, 2007; Davidson, 2007; Dormon, 2006; Worth, 2006; Neuchatel, 1999, 2006; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004 Leeuwis, 2004a; Sulaiman and Hall, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Garforth and Harford, 1997; Christoplos, 1996; Röling, 1996). Traditionally, extension is expected to play an intermediary role between technology development by researchers and farming communities. This typically involved communicating technical messages and educating farmers about how to apply technical knowledge and skills geared towards increasing agricultural production. Conventionally, extension efforts have been directed at farmers as the primary target group. Often – given the rural setting – it is largely a non-formal training activity. In a recent review Swanson (2008: ix-xi) indentified four major objectives of extension systems. These are 1) technology transfer, especially for staple food crops, 2) human capital development, especially regarding the technical and management skills and knowledge that poorly educated farm-households need to increase farm income, 3) building social capital, or getting farmers organised into groups or other types of farm organisations to carry out specific activities, and 4) educating farmers to manage natural resources sustainably. Other authors have argued for a broader agenda for extension such as ‘Extension for Rural Development’ or ‘Extension for Agricultural and Rural Development’ (Davidson, 2007; Rivera, 2006; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Leeuwis, 2004a; Sulaiman and Hall, 2004; Swanson and Pehu, 2004; Rivera and Alex, 2004b; Farrington et al. 2002; Sulaiman and Hall, 2002; Rivera, et al. 2001; FAO & World Bank, 2000).

These generic objectives of extension are also reflected in the definitions (see., e.g., Coutts, 1995) of extension, as well as in the different models or paradigms that have guided

³ For example, in the review of the World Bank’s experience in supporting the development of national agricultural research and extension systems in developing countries in the 1980s and early 1990s Purcell and Anderson (1997) report that through most of the 1980s extension received more Bank support than research. In the 16 years to the end of 1992 the Bank committed more than \$ 3.0 billion to extension compared to \$ 2.0 billion for research (ibid.). Accordingly, Anderson and Feder (2003:21) allege that extension operations over the past four decades may well amount to the largest institutional development effort the world has ever known.

⁴ Anderson and Feder (2003) also report lack of commitment and support from government officials as affecting implementation and funding for extension.

extension thinking and practice (see, e.g., Worth, 2006; Quamar, 2002; Röling, 1996; Haug, 1999; King, 2000).⁵ For example, Coutts (1995:17, see also Coutts [1994], in King, 2000:9)⁶ identified four broad categories of extension model: i) technology transfer, ii) advisory/consultancy (or problem solving), iii) adult education, and iv) human development.

Thus Coutts (1995) sees the definitions of extension as ranging from a persuasive 'technology transfer' model, to that of a facilitative 'human development' model, with other models such as advisory/consultancy (or problem solving and adult education) lying between the two extremes. The technology transfer definition implies a pre-determined technical or managerial improvement where extension has the task of increasing the rate of adoption. The human development definition, on the other hand, means that given the right conditions, information levels, mutual interaction patterns and opportunity, people can develop solutions to their problems. The role of extension, then, is to facilitate such interaction.

In an extensive review of extension literature Haug (1999:264-265) – drawing on the work of Pretty and Chambers - categorised extension theory into four different stages according to approach and major disciplinary influence (Table 1.1). Similarly, in an analysis of the changes that agricultural extension has undergone over the last 50 years, King (2000:13) identified specific extension 'world views', specifying the period during which each of these viewpoints was dominant, and linking each world view to a corresponding impetus (i.e. driving force), extension agenda and theoretical focus (Table 1.1).

In spite of a number of objectives that can be accomplished by and/or through extension, the primary focus of extension was (and has remained) technology transfer, based on a 'linear' or 'transfer of technology' (TOT) model (Worth, 2006; Dormon, 2006; Sulaiman and Hall, 2002a, 2002b; Röling, 1996). This entrenched view of extension is often noted as having been responsible for the top-down one-way linear relationship that for long characterised the interaction between (agricultural) research and extension and farmers. Agricultural research was 'seen as the fountainhead of technological innovations' which were then delivered by extension to farmers (Röling, 1996:1). Extension was thereby relegated to being a mere conduit for innovations from research to farmers, the latter being no more than users or recipients of such innovations (Röling, 1996). This model fits bureaucratic structures, the view that science discovers positive (objective) truth, and a focus on national priorities such as increased productivity (Röling, 1996). When extension's function was seen solely as technology transfer the extension agenda focused mainly on 'changing farms' (pre-1960s) and 'changing farmers' (post-1960s) (King, 2000:13). The notion of extension as technology transfer was also reflected in widespread reliance by donors on predicted levels of uptake of technologies as a basis for appraising national extension projects (Garforth and Harford, 1997; Christoplos, 1996). Whereas 'mechanistic' technology transfer may be successful in promoting simple technologies like crop varieties it offers poor prospects for more complex

⁵ Such extension models are at times referred to as 'schools of thought' in extension (Worth, 2006).

⁶ After Röling (1988), van den Ban and Hawkins (1988), and Bloome (1991).

changes to farming systems. These require the development of stronger management skills (Mullen, 2000:639).

The conventional top-down one-way transfer of technology lasted until the mid-70s when it was improved upon to allow for two-way communication in transfer of technology (Haug, 1999). A typical and famous example of this two-way extension model is the Training and Visit (T&V) extension system (discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2 below) embraced by the World Bank in the mid-70s (Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Anderson & Feder, 2003; 2004; Purcell and Anderson, 1997). The decade from 1975 saw increasing involvement by economists and agronomists who pioneered the promotion of Farming Systems Research (FSR) (Haug, 1999), as endorsed by USAID (Garforth and Harford, 1997). Later proponents of FSR recognised the role of extension, resulting in Farming Systems Research and Extension (FSR&E) (King, 2000). Farmers were increasingly recognised as important sources of information for technology design (Haug, 1999). With researchers increasingly developing new technologies in farmers' fields this approach was seen as a more holistic approach (as opposed to previous reductionist research approaches), and systems and holistic thinking and practices emerged as useful theoretical guides (Axinn, 1997; King, 2000). This resulted in increased recognition of inter-disciplinary perspectives in dealing with farmers' concerns (Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004). Extension practice was extended to include diagnostic and analytic functions (King, 2000: 4). Yet with the primary aim being to change farming systems, FSR, *at least* in its early forms, still retained many assumptions of TOT, and scientists maintained control over the research agenda (King, 2000). With the researchers mostly preoccupied by understanding the economic context, in order to tailor their designs to farming conditions, the research process remained largely extractive rather than participatory (Collins, 2001, cited in Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004:23). Consequently, too often, the technologies were not sufficiently adapted to the smallholder conditions of production and therefore did not fit the needs and interests of subsistence farmers (Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Axinn, 1997).

In fact the mid-1990s was a period in which extension theorists addressed the issue of how to link extension with economic and social development of rural areas more generally (Garforth and Harford, 1997).⁷ While underlining the integral relationship between theory and practice and models in extension, Röling (1996) pointed out that at a time when practice had become very diverse and where extension was being applied varied for very different goals, it had become essential to think about extension in a number of different ways. Röling (1996) classified extension models into three general categories, namely i) linear, transfer of technology; ii) advisory work; and iii) facilitation.

⁷ Garforth and Harford (1997) note that there has always been a debate on the proper balance in the public sector between economic and social goals.

Table 1.1: Different extension ‘world views’ during the 20th Century

Haug (1999)	King (2000)			
	Extension ‘world view’	Impetus	Agenda	Theoretical foci
a. Conventional top-down, one-way transfer of technology model (TOT) for production dominates extension theory (1900-1975) - Main disciplines include crop and animal breeding and genetics - Farmers seen as recipients of technology	Pre-1960’s Transfer of Technology	Extending research findings	Production (changing farms)	Message transmission
	1960’s The Diffusion of innovations Era technology transfer	Address poor uptake of technology result of differential adoption rates	Market-oriented farm enterprise (<i>changing farmers</i>)	Adult learning Nature of learning Adoption behaviour
Transfer of technology in a two-way communication mode (1975-1985) - Stage at which economists and agronomists pioneered farming systems research; - Farmers sources of information for technology design	1970’s Farming Systems Research	Heterogeneous environments (both physical and social)	Systems orientated innovations (changing farming systems)	Holistic thinking Systems thinking
Ecological stage (1985-1995) - Developed especially by anthropologists, agro-ecologists and geography - Farmers contributed traditional knowledge, and seen as victims and causes of environmentally unsustainable development - Conventional view of agriculture solely as a technical, income generating activity challenged Institutional stage (1995-onwards) - Developed by psychologists, organisational sociologists, political scientists, training specialists - Conventional view (agriculture a technical, income generating activity) challenged - Farmers, researchers, and extensionists seen as co-actors in agricultural production; farmers seen as experimenters, adopting/adapting technologies, and spreading innovations through their networks	1980’s Participatory Technology Development	Inequity Inappropriate technologies	Social Justice (South) Indigenous knowledge (North and South) (changing practice)	Power, community development, gender (South) Organisational learning, group work, team building (North)
	Early 1990’s ⁸ Facilitating participatory learning	Extension’s role and practice; questioned; farmer knowledge	Ecological Sustainability (changing institutions)	Communicative rationality
	Late 1990’s ⁹ Facilitating social learning	Systems are embedded in other systems	Merging social and ecological sustainability (changing relationships)	Systems thinking Cognitive processes Constructivism helped practitioners think critically about nature of knowledge

Source: modified from Haug (1999) and King (2000)

⁸ Around this time there was increasing recognition of extension as a component of an Agricultural Knowledge and Information System (AKIS) (see FAO & World Bank, 2000; Berdegue & Escobar, 2002), coined earlier by Röling (1986, in Berdegue & Escobar, 2002). FAO and the World Bank (2000) define an AKIS as ‘a system that links rural people and institutions to promote mutual learning and generate, share and utilize agriculture-related technology, knowledge and information’ (<http://www.fao.org/sd/EXdirect/EXre0027.htm>; Accessed 22-02-2002). According Berdegue & Escobar (2002:5) an essential element in an AKIS concept is that it reviews agricultural research and extension as necessary but, by themselves, insufficient elements in complex innovation-oriented institutions arrangements.

⁹ This period also saw changes in thinking about (agricultural) innovation-seen more as a collective/networked process simultaneous involving technical and institutional change – and subsequently more recent ideas on the role of extension (see for example, Leeuwis & Aarts, 2009; Dormon, 2006; Leeuwis, 2004a, 2004b; Sulaiman and Hall, 2004; Geels, 2002; Röling, 2002; Smits, 2002; Ison and Russell, 2000).

Compared to *transfer of technology*, where the focus is primarily on raising productivity, the model underpinning *advisory work* focuses on both raising productivity and improving the farm business as an enterprise. This second model assumes an active problem-solving farmer who seeks advice from outside sources. Innovation is driven by the *entrepreneurship* of the farm manager who takes decisions to optimise economic objectives. Farmer learning is basically achieved by improving a farmer's *problem solving* ability, with adoption of introduced technologies being just one of the many aspects of *entrepreneurial learning*. In advisory-type extension an extension advisor is *an expert* with a wide repertoire of knowledge drawn upon according to farmer's needs. Extension becomes a reactive expert (advisory/consultancy) function which is a means of assisting individuals to find solutions to technological or management problems which arise and are inhibiting their desired unit performance (Coutts, 1994, in King, 2000:9).

Facilitation (the third of Röling's approaches) differs from both technology transfer and advisory work in that here the primary focus is on *helping people learn to become experts* on their own farm through systematic regular guidance of the *learning process*. This entails discovery learning methods. These are participatory approaches where farmers are asked to draw their conclusions, and are guided to become researchers, observers and (collective) decision makers. This is in line with a human (resource) development view of extension where extension is seen as a means to facilitate and stimulate individuals and communities to take the initiative in problem definition, and in seeking solutions and expressing societal concerns/opportunities (Swanson, 2008; Roeling 1986, cited in Fleischer et al., 2002; Coutts 1994, cited in King, 2000:9). The emphasis is to develop the farmers' capabilities for problem solving, decision-making and management (Quamar, 2002). Extension is considered part of a broader human development programme that seeks to develop people through agriculture (i.e. it is people-centred) (Worth, 2006: 182).

It can thus be seen that since the 1960s, the understanding and practice of extension has evolved from a diffusion-based transfer of technology approaches to more facilitative, participatory modes of thinking and working. This development has, increasingly, led to greater acknowledgement of the need for interaction and dialogue, and greater recognition of farmer's expertise in identifying problems and selecting options for improvement (Garforth and Harford, 1997). This trend was particularly discernible during for the 1980s and '90s. In fact, Feder et al. (1999) refer to the 1980s as a transformative decade in bringing about increased emphasis on participatory approaches, and the 1990s as a decade in which a range of alternatives was piloted. A client and/or demand-driven approach to extension and pluralism in service provision increasingly became a reality (Swanson, 2008; Birner and Anderson, 2007; Davis, 2006; Neuchatel Group, 1999, 2002, 2006; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004).

Presently, understanding of extension goes beyond technology transfer to *facilitation* and beyond training to *learning* (Davis, 2006:16). Models of adult education have changed from teaching to interactive and reflexive learning (Garforth and Harford, 1997:25). These

developments have also seen extension increasingly engaged with assisting farmers to form farmer groups in order to deal with marketing issues and enhance economies of scale (Davis, 2006; Swanson, 2008). Extension specialists become facilitators of these processes (Swanson, 2008:26). This expanded understanding of extension has led to increasing use of the phrase “agricultural advisory services,” in place of extension, which is now seen to imply a narrow, top-down approach, ignoring multiple sources of knowledge (Davis, 2006:16).¹⁰

Leeuwis and van den Ban (2004) address the challenges for agricultural extension practice in the 21st century and call for ‘a new societal function for extension’ (Leeuwis, 2004a:17, 2004b). They suggest that in order to fulfil this new function extension will have to be reinvented in such a way that extension may be used for facilitating a process in a network of interdependent stakeholders through which access by farmers to a wider range of services becomes a reality. In this respect, they propose significant adaptations in the mission, rationale, mode of operation, management and organisational structure of extension. Likewise Sulaiman and Hall (2004, 2002a, 2002b) have called for a re-conceptualisation of extension as *extension plus*, so as to increase its relevance to contemporary agriculture and rural development. This, in their view, implies going beyond conventional technology transfer to the strengthening of locally relevant innovation systems, facilitating access to a range of services, including input and output markets, and the strengthening and support of farmers’ organizations. This view of extension reflects new challenges (funding constraints and changes in the agricultural sector) and the concern to promote sustainable livelihoods for the rural poor (Farrington et al. 2002; Swanson and Pehu, 2004).

At the same time it is recognized that rural people need more than knowledge and information about agriculture, since some in rural areas are part-time farm workers and many more are engaged in activities unrelated to agriculture while nonetheless requiring knowledge and information to succeed (Rivera and Alex, 2004; Berdegúe and Escobar, 2002; Farrington et al., 2002; Kydd, 2002; Bryceson, 2000). Hence, extension is increasingly seen as a ‘knowledge and information system’ and is being asked to go beyond the traditional economic goals of raising farm production and productivity to address social goals such as poverty alleviation (i.e. to increase farm/household income and rural employment), increased social equity, and better natural resources management (Rivera, 2006; Swanson, 2006; Rivera and Alex, 2004; Farrington et al. 2002; Rivera, et al. 2001; Garforth and Harford, 1997; Swanson et al., 1997). There has also been a renewed focus on food security – both an emphasis on national food self-sufficiency and on food security at the household and community levels (Garforth and Harford, 1997; Swanson et al., 1997). This expanded extension focus implies expanding the audience for extension beyond the community of farm decision makers (Mullen et al., 2000).

¹⁰ This appears to have been the reason for preferring to use ‘agricultural advisory services’ instead of ‘extension’ within the NAADS (see, for instance, Bahigwa et al., 2005). Some authors, however, use the two terms interchangeably (Swanson, 2008; Birner and Anderson, 2007).

The poverty focus in this broadened agenda for extension required pro-poor extension services as well as new approaches to delivery of pro-poor information (Farrington et al. 2002; Kidd, 2001; Beckman, 2004). These approaches emphasize new ways to link demand and delivery, and provide downward accountability through strengthening client demand for services via participatory approaches (Neuchâtel Group 2006; Garforth, 2004; Rivera and Alex, 2004; Chapman and Tripp, 2003; Farrington et al. 2002). Enhancing incomes through market-oriented farming is considered a key strategy for pro-poor extension services to address poverty (Farrington et al. 2002; Neuchâtel Group, 2006; 1999). This development has required a shift from 'supply-driven' to more 'market-driven' extension systems (Swanson, 2006:288). Yet concerns have also been expressed about this commercial orientation in pro-poor extension strategies. The poorest farmers are often in the worst position to participate in markets effectively, especially where isolated, in marginal and high risk areas for farming, and where transaction costs of engaging in markets are high (Farrington et al., 2002; Beckman, 2004).

1.2.2 Extension reforms with reference to Uganda in the 1980's and 90's

Moving from technology transfer to extension systems with broader goals based on improving farm income and rural employment requires significant changes in the focus, management structure and approach of planning and implementing extension programmes (Swanson, 2008:23). This focus has required major changes in public agricultural extension systems in developing countries, Uganda included.

The wide adoption of the Training & Visit (T&V) extension system was an attempt to overcome weaknesses inherent in African public extension systems (Anderson & Feder, 2004, 2003; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Purcell and Anderson, 1997).¹¹ T&V aimed to strengthen extension management by creating a coordinated institutional framework for technology transfer (Purcell and Anderson, 1997; Röling, 1996). It was an hierarchically organised method of extension management focusing on technology and delivery of selected, timely messages to farmers with strict regularity (Anderson & Feder, 2003; Purcell and Anderson, 1997). The management method provided for feedback on farmers' needs to the research system and maintenance of close links between research and extension (Purcell and Anderson, 1997). T&V systems were introduced widely in Africa from the 1970s, often in association with World Bank funded projects. In some African countries the T&V approach continued to steer national extension systems up to the late 1990s, albeit in modified form, as described for Uganda's Agricultural Extension Project in Chapter 2.

Nonetheless, the primary focus of T&V remained to encourage widespread adoption of externally-developed production-enhancing technologies. It thus ignored the possibility that

¹¹ They report the key features of the T&V model as including: (i) a single line of command, with several levels of field and supervisory staff, (ii) in-house technical expertise, whereby subject matter specialists are to provide training to staff and tackle technical issues reported by field staff, (iii) exclusive dedication to information dissemination work, (iv) a strict and predetermined schedule of village visits within a two-week cycle where contacts are to be made with specific "contact farmers", (v) mandatory bi-weekly trainings to emphasize key messages for the next two-week period, (vi) a seasonal workshop with research personnel, and (vii) improved remuneration and provision of transport (especially motorcycles and bicycles).

farmers can be active problem solvers (Röling, 1996). Generally, with the farmers having little influence with regard to setting of research priorities, T&V proved ineffective in meeting the needs of a majority of farmers, while leaving issues of accountability to farmers unresolved (Anderson & Feder, 2004, 2003).

In Africa, criticism of public extension services followed disenchantment among donors with large-scale public-sector agricultural extension, notably T&V and this led to reduction in public expenditure (Klerkx 2008; Klerkx et al., 2006; Davis 2006; Anderson and Feder, 2004, 2003; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Anderson and van Crowder, 2000; Feder et al., 1999; Haug, 1999; Zijp, 1998; Garforth and Harford, 1997; Farrington, 1994; Rivera and Gustafson, 1991). Discussion on extension reform followed the widespread imposition of neoliberal policies on African governments by the World Bank in the 1980s (Parkinson, 2008). The main concerns in this regard focused on the limited impact and high recurrent costs of national extension systems (such as T&V), lack of fiscal sustainability, poor coverage, ineffective and inefficient service delivery related to the uniform, centralized, bureaucratic and hierarchical top-down management systems. Moreover such management systems were characterized by lack of accountability to clients, poor coordination within the larger policy environment, poor interaction with other stakeholders, and ineffectiveness in providing favourable grounds for participatory approaches to service delivery. In general, paternalistic public agricultural extensions were deemed not to serve the needs of the rural people and lacked relevance (Klerkx, 2008; Klerkx et al., 2006; Zijp, 1998). It thus was clear that provision of extension could no longer be the sole preserve of a public extension agency, if extension was to meet the needs of all categories of farmers (Garforth and Harford, 1997).

To address shortcoming, and in light of ‘global forces of change’¹², African national agricultural extension systems have had to respond in various ways. Responses have, included improving extension management, focusing on single commodities, providing fee-for-service public extension services, empowering people through participatory approaches, establishing (institutional) pluralistic extension systems (mobilising other players), cost-sharing arrangements between governments and NGOs or farmer organizations, privatizing (or contracting out) some aspects, and decentralising extension service provision, (Davis, 2008; Swanson, 2008; Chapman and Tripp, 2003; Garforth et al., 2003; Anderson and van Crowder 2000; Kidd et al., 2000).

The NAADS initiative in Uganda embodied many of these features. In particular, it pursues a contract-type of extension where delivery of publicly funded advisory services is contracted out to the private service providers (Chapter 2). Privatisation of extension services was a result of political debate, about the role of the state as a mechanism for improving service provision in developing countries (Klerkx, 2008; Birner and Anderson, 2007; Klerkx et al., 2006; Sulaiman et al., 2005; Leeuwis, 2004a). As regards extension, the central idea in the

¹² According to Quamar (2001) such ‘global forces of change’ include globalization and market liberalization, privatization, commercialization and agribusiness, good governance, democratization and participation, environmental concerns, emphasis on sustainable development, information technology break-through, growing concerns about rural poverty, hunger and vulnerability, and the increasing recognition of the need for integrated, multi-disciplinary and holistic development.

privatisation debate is that farmers should be given opportunities to select the advice and information they seek from effective providers.(Kidd et al., 2000). Privatised extension covers a range of options from spontaneous private markets to forms that are guided by public support (Birner and Anderson, 2007; Chapman and Tripp, 2003; Garforth et al., 2003).

Privatisation of the NAADS sort is also seen as a strategy for making extension services more demand or client-driven; typically, small groups of farmers will contract a provider to address specific information needs (Neuchatel, 2006; Feder and Anderson, 2004). Under privatized extension farmers become clients, sponsors or stakeholders rather than beneficiaries (Neuchatel, 1999). However, privatised extension systems are associated with several drawbacks. These include the fact that fee-for-service often disadvantages poorer farmers (such as women farmers and farmers with smaller plots and less favourable land) for whom the value of the information may be lower, and cannot afford a market price. This is liable then to result in neglect of issues of most interest to resource poor groups, and limited room for learning within rigid output-oriented contracts. There may also be reduced prospects for open exchange of information in the national agricultural knowledge system, damaging of prospects for incremental change and innovation across a system. Fee-for-service arrangements may also lead to conflict of interest in contracting arrangements and loss of economies of scale in extension agent training (provider agents now have to update their skills individually or in small company teams)..¹³

The concept of ‘demand-driven’ extension is of particular importance for extension reform in Uganda. It is necessary to clarify both *whose* demands should provide the driving force and the concept of ‘demand’ itself. In this regard Leeuwis (2004a: 346) draws attention to two types of demand, namely ‘economic demand’ and ‘substantive demand’. The former is concerned with ‘whether or not there is sufficient economic buying power to pay for certain services required, as a condition for creating interaction between market parties’(p.346). The latter refers to “the interest that clients have in certain services and contents, and the questions clients pose” (Leeuwis (2004a: 346).¹⁴ Accordingly ‘demand-driven’ refers to finding a good fit between the knowledge and information desired by farmers and the services delivered by the extension service providers. This is often contrasted to top-down approaches (Klerkx et al., 2006:198). Therefore, demand-driven extension implies making extension services more responsive to the needs of all farmers, including women and those who are poor and marginalized. Yet as Birner and Anderson (2007: IV.) observe, identifying the reforms most likely to make extension more demand-driven remains a major challenge, despite wide international experience of such reforms.

In summary, the foregoing review of extension has exposed some key elements of contemporary extension thinking and practice, incorporated within the NAADS reform in Uganda. These are identified to include:

¹³ For recent critical reviews of privatization of extension see Klerkx (2008), Klerkx et al. (2006) and Leeuwis (2004).

¹⁴ Leeuwis (2004:346) notes that although policy discourses often suggest that the ‘substantive demand of farmers must be the driving force’, in practice, ‘policy measures are regularly concerned with economic demand’.

- Deepening decentralization of extension services to make the service provision more accountable to (smallholder) farmers and local level stakeholders;;
- Changing the relationship between (smallholder) farmers and extension by increasing farmer influence over service providers, including participation by farmers in financing extension services;
- Assisting (smallholder) farmers to link up with market opportunities (as a way of improving rural households incomes and livelihoods generally, and;
- Contracting out of the provision of public sector funded services to the private service providers.

The next section contextualises the research problem of the thesis, and outlines the research questions.

1.3. Research problem

1.3.1 Problem statement

NAADS aims to transform farmers from subsistence to market-oriented and/or commercial farmers as well as to develop their capacity to demand and control advisory services (c.f. Davis, 2006). This can be viewed as a somewhat problematic ambition in a country where subsistence farming, market failure, and poverty are major features of rural life. In such conditions agriculture serves a broad range of functions, including the primary function of meeting basic domestic food requirements. At a time when rural farming households now have fewer options for income generation in non-farm activities (Bahigwa et al., 2005),¹⁵ the idea of ‘self-sufficiency through the market’ (rather than through own production) might be regarded as abstract and alien to many farmers in rural Uganda. This concern should be seen in the light of suggested principles for a successful rural development strategy, namely the need to recognise the greatest diversity of rural situations (ODI, 2002:4). Moreover, it may also be questionable as to whether NAADS can be flexible and responsive to the needs of its clients if limited only to market solutions. This is especially the case, given NAADS dependency on the organisational set-up of the PMA. It is therefore important to study how the NAADS prototype for extension actually works out in practice, so far as NAADS’ primary target group – typical Ugandan subsistence farmers – is concerned.

1.3.1 Research questions

In view of the research problem stated above, the central issue in this study is whether and to what extent the strategy of market-oriented farming promoted by NAADS is accurately and effectively targeted on the rural farming conditions of its primary target group (the great mass of subsistence farmers in the country). In this regard the main research question addressed in

¹⁵ Bahigwa et al. (2005) attribute this state of affairs to lack of the required skills for participation in available non-farm activities.

this thesis is: *What elements of the NAADS' (extension) prototype work (or do not work) for different groups of NAADS' primary clients, and under what conditions?*

Arising from the above question, specific sub-questions posed are:

i) How did farmers (and other local stakeholders) in two case-study sub counties perceive the NAADS programme (and subsequently) respond to its activities? In particular, what explains the way the farmers perceived the NAADS programme and responded to its activities?

ii) What were the expectations of the farmers (and other local stakeholders) in the two study sub counties about the NAADS vis-à-vis the package of services offered to the farmers thus far? In particular:

What were the main concerns of the farmers (and other local stakeholders) about the package of services offered by NAADS so far?

How, if at all, did NAADS respond to the concerns expressed by different groups of farmers, and what constrains NAADS from responding to these concerns?

iii) What was the general assessment of farmers (and other local stakeholders) in two study sub counties concerning NAADS' achievement in respect of its primary mission (increasing farmers' access to knowledge, information and technologies)?

iv) What constrained farmers in two study sub counties in their use of the services availed by NAADS, and in participation in NAADS' efforts to foster 'farming as a business'? In particular, to what extent has NAADS managed to address constraints identified by farmers in respect of their inability to use and benefit fully from NAADS services, as well as to participate effectively in the NAADS-fostered drive towards 'farming as a business'?

v) To the extent that NAADS managed to include and benefit the women, what are the reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of women and youth in NAADS activities and services in the two study sub counties?

This thesis identifies three outcome areas which provide the basis for measuring farmers' response to NAADS and (their) satisfaction with its services and process hitherto. These outcome areas, which presumably indicate the key result areas for NAADS include: (i) increased access by farmers to knowledge, information and technologies for improved agricultural production and productivity (Chapter 3); (ii) enhanced linkage of farmers' groups to input and output markets for better access to services considered necessary in the process of 'modernising' the country's agriculture (Chapter 4); and (iii) inclusion of socially vulnerable groups (i.e. women and youth) in the process and benefits of agricultural development (Chapter 5).

1.4 Research design and methods

1.4.1 Research design

This research adopts a (simple) case study strategy. The case study is based on two sub counties chosen within one district. The rationale for sub-dividing the case study in this way is to include a range of conditions – e.g. farmers living closer to and further from roads and markets. This choice is explained further in chapter 2. Thus, although the two sub counties show internal variation, for the purposes of this study they constitute the two extremes of a single case. The main aim of the design was to capture sufficient variation in both NAADS approach and farmer realities to enable some understanding of likely causal processes triggered by a typical Ugandan rural context. There is no specific attempt at systematic comparison of the two study sub counties. Rather they should be seen as elements in a single extended case. In this study, the case is used as a method of data collection and as a unit of analysis. In this regard, case study research explores a phenomenon within its real-life context, being interested in both the phenomenon and its context, as well as in depth, using multiple sources of evidence and data gathering methods (Salminen et. al, 2006; Creswell, 1998; Yin, 1994; Stake, 1995).

The emerging nature of the field research involved a three-stage process. First, a preliminary study was undertaken to aid decisions regarding conceptual aspects of the study (i.e. research issue and questions). This guided empirical decisions on methods, including selection of the study district and sub counties for the in-depth study. Subsequently, this main study entailed two sub-studies ('phases'), differentiated both by their timing and research approach, namely a qualitative study and a quantitative study. As regards timing, the qualitative study preceded the quantitative study, with information from the qualitative study guiding the design of the quantitative survey. The (interview-based) qualitative study was conducted over a period of one and half years, and was mostly carried out in the third year of NAADS operation (i.e. NAADS 2003/04) and first half of its fourth year. Although the research activities for this phase started in Kasawo sub county, these activities, for the larger part, went on simultaneously in the two sub counties. This was necessitated by the need to follow up NAADS activities as implemented in both sub counties. This presented a practical constraint, since NAADS activities in the two sub counties followed the general schedule.¹⁶ The (questionnaire based) quantitative study, on the other hand, was implemented in the last half of NAADS' fourth year (i.e. NAADS, 2004/05). It lasted for two weeks in each sub county.

This 'multiple-methods' approach is also well in line with the realistic research design approach of Pawson and Tilley (1997) which encourages use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in deriving a clear theory of programme mechanism, context and outcomes. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was thus deemed to offer better grasp of the range of issues surrounding NAADS implementation in general and farmer conditions in particular. Chambers and Mayoux (2005), for instance, note the

¹⁶ This was because of the 'contract- type' nature of the (advisory and technology) services within the NAADS.

complementary between the depth and detail contributed by qualitative research and the greater objectivity contributed by survey research (White 2002; Kanbur, 2001; Silverman, 2000; Casley and Kumar, 1988). White (2002) accordingly stresses the need to pay attention to ‘productive synergy’ between the two approaches. Ultimately, as Culp and Pilat (1998) note, the richness of qualitative findings, augmented with quantitative data, provides clearer answers to research questions.

Although a mixed method study attention should be drawn to the overall qualitative orientation. Sociometry is here less important than the specific attention devoted to the socio-economic, cultural and political context of NAADS implementation. In this sense the study can be designated 'descriptive'.¹⁷ Descriptive, as used here, means that the data take the form of ‘words’ rather than numbers (Bogdan, & Biklen, 2007), rather than differentiation in terms of description versus explanation in terms of broad objectives of research (Silverman, 2000; Punch 1998). The qualitative methods were particularly useful in providing deeper insights into perceptions and feelings, interests, interpretations and experiences of the farmers as regards their interaction with NAADS, both individually and in groups. For the most part, therefore, the relevance of the quantitative findings is in providing support for the qualitative findings by, for instance, establishing the extent to which farmers’ perceptions, experiences etc. related to NAADS were shared (see Chapters 3 and 4). In other words, quantitative data were mostly used to amplify findings from the qualitative study. In a few other instances (mostly Chapter 5), the qualitative information is used to illuminate some numerical findings.

1.4.2 Data sources and methods

Interviews and, to some extent, direct observation constituted the main data collection methods. Interviews are of special relevance to this study since they involved treating both NAADS professionals and farmers experiencing NAADS as key informants. The relevance of this kind of information in evaluating agricultural research projects is noted in Casley and Kumar (1988:2).¹⁸ When conducted with project participants and other key informants qualitative interviews help in understanding the complex ecological, sociological, and cultural situations with which the project must deal (ibid.). These methods required the researcher to reside with the communities throughout the qualitative phase, facilitating some

¹⁷ The terms quantitative research and qualitative research are used here in a broad sense and not just to refer to the distinction between numerical and non-numerical (qualitative) data. The terms encompass distinct ways of thinking about social reality (Bogdan and Biklen (2007) identifies the following as key features of qualitative research: it is *naturalistic* (i.e. pays specific attention to context), *descriptive* (i.e. data take the form of words or pictures rather than numbers), *process-oriented* (rather than simply concerned with *outcomes* or *product*), *inductive* (i.e. does not search out data or evidence to prove or disapprove hypotheses; rather, abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered and grouped together, i.e. theory emerges inductively, from below.), and focused on the *meanings* and *experiences* of the research participants (i.e. qualitative researchers are interested in how different participants make sense of their lives). Kanbur (2001), on the other hand, differentiates qualitative (research) approaches from quantitative approaches, as follows: the qualitative approach involves analyses which are based on non-numerical information, involve active involvement from the population covered, use inductive methods of inference and operate in the broad framework of social sciences other than economics; the quantitative approach, by contrast, involves analyses based on numerical information, and which are general in population coverage, requiring only passive involvement of the population covered. Additionally, they are dependent on deductive (usually statistical) methods of inference and rely on neo-classical economic frameworks of explanation.

¹⁸ Casley and Kumar (1988) also acknowledge that hitherto the potential of this method has not been fully realized by monitoring and evaluation staff, mostly trained in agricultural economics and statistics and more familiar with quantitative procedures.

direct (non-participant) observation. Methods used to collect the qualitative information included key informant interviews with a range of NAADS implementers and stakeholders, group discussions/meetings with members of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups,¹⁹ community meetings with members of the farming community in the respective parishes, and observations made during attendance at various NAADS related activities. Additional information was collected through review of relevant NAADS planning, implementation, and review/evaluation documents, and participation in other NAADS commissioned, where the researcher was involved either as a consultant or resource person.²⁰ The researcher also quite frequently engaged in informal discussions with key NAADS implementers, including the SFF leaders and sub county and district NAADS coordinators. Occasionally, such conversations involved officers and managers of the NAAD Secretariat. These welcome occasions not only provided a chance to collect additional information but played a vital part in cross-checking and clarifying research impressions and preliminary conclusions. Details are presented below.

Key informant interviews

The key informant interviews formed a substantial part of qualitative phase. Such interviews are considered critical to the success of case study-type research (Yin, 2003:90). The various key informants were selected *purposively*. In total, fifty-nine key informant interviews were conducted - thirty-eight in Kasawo sub county, and twenty-one in Wakisi sub county.²¹ Interviewees included leaders and members of sub county farmer fora, leaders of NAADS affiliated farmer groups, community mobilizers and farmer group facilitators, other community members with responsibilities related to NAADS,²² sub county NAADS coordinators, NAADS service providers and concerned sub county technical staff, sub county local council officials and community leaders (both civic and political) and staff of participating NGOs. In the case of Kasawo, members of the various development committees within the Word Vision (-Uganda) Area Development Programme were also included.²³ A list of the key informants (including their affiliations and functions) is presented in Appendix 1.

Some informants were selected because the researcher perceived that they had special knowledge. This mostly applied to NAADS implementers. In other cases selection was based on a desire to capture diverse views and experiences of stakeholders and community members. This was mainly achieved by using the ‘contrast’ or ‘maximum variation sampling’ technique, as used by Ravnborg and Westermann (2002) (with modification).²⁴ Each key informant was, after the interview, requested to suggest one or two community member(s)

¹⁹ In a few instances, especially in Wakisi sub county, discussions were held with members of community/farmer groups with no (direct) link with the sub county NAADS Administration.

²⁰ Including NAADS PM&E pilot phased activities in Kasawo sub county and NAADS lessons learning study in both Kasawo sub county and Wakisi sub county.

²¹ There was no specific reason for conducting different number of key informant interviews in the two sub counties, except that this phase started in Kasawo sub county, and it was later realized that issues in the sub counties were generally the same.

²² Like the hosts of technology development and demonstration sites

²³ The NGO programme establishes community development committees at Village, Parish and sub county levels.

²⁴ ‘Modified’, in the sense that in this case the ‘contrast’ or ‘maximum variation sampling’ technique was only used for nominations, and did not involve the respective informants commenting on each other views.

they perceived as potentially having a different opinion about NAADS than their own. It is notable that the 'contrast' or 'maximum variation sampling technique' helped to include community members from different socio-economic strata, as well as those with different political views.²⁵ This way, the key informant interviews captured a more complete picture. Yet in other cases key informants were selected for their general knowledge of the situation in their respective areas. Usually this category of informants comprised either opinion leaders/or elders or people who played multiple roles in their individual communities.²⁶ An important group of key informants in this category in Kasawo sub county are the members of the various development committees within the Word Vision (-Uganda) Area Development Programme.

Interviewing was done by the researcher using interview guides consisting of either general topics or open-ended questions. The information in the interview guides and/or checklists was tailored to the type of key informant concerned. Nevertheless, these interviews were typically conducted in a semi-structured and conversational manner, and were quite in-depth. This was to enable the participants to express their point of view on an issue to the extent and in the detail possible. As much as possible (consistent with maintaining overall topic coverage) the interview process was shaped by the contributions of the participants (Kus, 2003).

Besides fulfilling their intended purpose the key informant interviews also helped to identify issues to be followed up during 'open' meetings at farmer group and community levels.

Community meetings and group discussions/meetings

Group interviews (focus group and community interviews) are commonly-used interviewing techniques (Casley and Kumar, 1988). The terms 'group' and 'community' are used here in the sense of a numbers of participants thought to be typical of the type of population to which they belong. Participants in community meetings were members of the general farming community in the different parishes, and were always met as a group of residents in their respective parishes (or villages). On the other hand, participants in the farmer group discussion/ meetings were typically from NAADS-affiliated farmer groups (and occasionally from other farmer/community groups). These too were always met in their regular group settings. To emphasise the nature of the interaction, the researcher prefers to use the term *discussion or meeting* instead of 'interview'.

Community meetings were used to collect information from a wide cross-section of parish farming communities. This provided opportunity to sample the general perceptions of farming community members about NAADS and its services in a community setting. At least two community-wide meetings were held in each of the six parishes in the two sub counties.

²⁵ Implementation of NAADS has always been politically charged, and it is not uncommon for those with different political opinions from those associated with the ruling party (the National Resistance Movement) to shun or campaign against government programmes (including NAADS).

²⁶ See, for example, Allen (2002) who, in an early study on forming farmers' fora within NAADS notes that some individuals hold several leadership roles at the same time, crossing boundaries between state and civil society.

In total of fifteen such meetings were conducted, eight in Kasawo sub county and seven in Wakisi sub county. These meetings were held two to three months apart, to enable the researcher to access new developments and follow up on issues raised in previous meeting(s).

A checklist based on broad topic outline guided the collection of information during these meetings (Appendix 2). Generally, however, such meetings were largely unstructured, with participants free to raise any issue of concern. This was mainly necessitated by the dynamics involved in an interview involving a large number of participants. This setting was also used to arrive at broad issues that could be followed up with other more focused techniques, notably key informant interviews. Such an approach, at times, drew the researcher's attention to unforeseen issues. Participants often raised issues related to NAADS activities specific to their communities. In particular, these meetings were instrumental in exploring the general response of the various categories of farmers to NAADS activities and related issues.

In addition to purposely arranged meetings the researcher also took advantage of opportune occasions to meet other members of the communities. This might occur, for instance, when farmers had gathered to attend NAADS related training activities or other community-wide events. Such occasions provided an opportunity to engage community members who might have been hard to access during the researcher's own schedule of community meetings.

Farmer group discussions/meetings were held mostly with members of NAADS affiliated farmer groups in the two sub counties. These meetings covered twenty three and twenty seven NAADS affiliated farmer groups from Kasawo and Wakisi sub county respectively. As is shown in Chapter 5, typical NAADS-affiliated farmer group in the two study sub counties is quite small of, on average, about 17 and 23 members for Kasawo and Wakisi respectively²⁷ and normally has more female members than male members (Table 5.1); with most members at above 35 years of age (Table 5.4). In Wakisi sub county, however, four additional farmer/community groups were involved.²⁸ The NAADS-affiliated farmer groups were selected purposively, on the basis of initial clues²⁹ about: time of formation of the farmer group relative to NAADS activities in the sub county (pre-NAADS or formed through NAADS activities), type of farmer group (in terms of composition by gender and/or age), main enterprise of interest around which members of a farmer group organised, and registration and/or co-funding status of a farmer group with the sub county NAADS Office.³⁰ The concern here was more to ensure diversity of farmer groups included, in order to capture

²⁷ Apparently, the farmer groups under NAADS are meant to be of a fairly small size –an official information suggested that farmers were advised to form groups of not more than 30 members. However, can be seen from the examples of the farmer groups presented in Chapter 5, some are actually much smaller while others are much larger than this.

²⁸ Two of these were predominantly youth groups, while the other two were women groups. In one of the youth groups, members were involved in income generating farming activities whereas members of the second youth group were involved in a stone mining project. One of the women's group was initially a traditional village wide group (*munomukabi*) with the members engaged in several income generating activities such as vegetable growing, poultry rearing and brick making.

²⁹ 'Initial' clues, because group formation and development was an on-going activity and, likewise, selection of farmer groups was an on-going exercise. The clues were adjusted as more accurate information about farmer groups became available through fieldwork.

³⁰ The registration and co-funding status were usually used by the sub county NAADS implementers as 'rough' indicators of level of 'activeness' or 'interest' of a farmer group in NAADS related activities.

a range of experiences. However, to the extent possible, effort was made to reach out to particular farmer groups where some unique characteristic of interest was involved.³¹ An effort was made, for example, to include farmer/community groups that, at the time, had no formal link with NAADS in either of the two sub counties. This was part of a desire to include independent views about NAADS, and the informative experiences of such groups. Such groups were, in fact, not only scarce but in some cases were reluctant to reveal their present status vis-à-vis NAADS activities, perhaps because of some had abandoned NAADS due to earlier disappointment or, in some instances, the association of NAADS with the state apparatus.³² Moreover, even where there was some possibility to access such groups, it was not always easy to arrange a meeting, especially in Kasawo sub county. Here, views of the members of such groups were captured indirectly, through key informant interviews, community meetings or informal conversations, usually in trading centres. This was particularly the case with some of the male youths.

Information from farmer group meetings was collected using a semi-structured interview guide with a limited number of topics (Appendix 3). This was both to remain open to promising leads and to give room for in-depth discussions. The themes discussed during group meetings included group characteristics and functional aspects (rules, norms, objectives, activities etc.) as well as contact with NAADS, and views of members about NAADS services. Although all groups received the same interview guide, to assess recurrence and seriousness of an issue, the guide was used flexibly. For instance, the extent to which the general topic outline was followed depended on the type of group and its contact with NAADS. For the few farmer/community groups that had no formal link with NAADS discussions followed a more open-ended format. Here, topics depended on what participants knew, or wanted to know or state, about NAADS.

In spite of practical shortcomings associated with 'public' interview methods,³³ the group discussions/meetings especially, offered some advantages. They enabled the sampling of collective opinions about issues affecting 'ordinary' community members. Given the long experience of the researcher in moderating such communal-type discussions/meetings the participants were usually able to arrive at a joint position about the issue(s) quite amicably. Special effort was, in this regard, put into involving the usually quiet /or less active community members, such as the elderly, or the young married women.

³¹ For example, the perceived socio-economic or social status of members (e.g. where all and/ or a majority of members were perceived as poor, elderly, etc).

³² This was in part because in some instances such groups had had some contact with NAADS activities in the sub county in the early days of NAADS.

³³ For instance, the interviewer usually has little control over the size of meetings (in terms of participants), as this generally depends on, among others, factors like time of the day, convenience, adequate notice and local interest. It is often difficult also to maintain focus and keep within time. For the case of community meetings the number of participants fluctuated from 15 or less to 25 or more participants. In the case of the farmer group meetings, it is worth noting that some farmer groups had large memberships (30 members and above), and where there was adequate and timely mobilization, and response, attendance might be as high as two-thirds of the membership. These were often too big to handle as focus groups, and became (in effect) community meetings. In addition, community meetings, in particular, were not always easy to schedule and realize, which explains the relatively small number of such meetings in each sub county).

Unstructured observations

Throughout the field research period the researcher attended a number of NAADS related activities. These included parish (i.e. farmer group) and sub county (farmer fora) participatory planning exercises and community level farmers' training meetings and NAADS stakeholders review meetings (popularly, 'workshops') at sub county and district levels, and occasionally at national level. These occasions were used as 'observation events' through which the researcher had the opportunity to learn (through hearing and seeing) what actually goes on during such activities, how things were done and how the different stakeholders interacted and perceived the different issues, and each other.

These observations were ordinarily 'unstructured', in the sense that the researcher captured important information as and when an opportunity arose. He preferred to appear as 'informal' as possible and therefore as someone more interested in 'learning' what was going on than in (merely) acquiring information in an 'extractive' sense. At times, especially in the early stages of field research, some community members associated the researcher with the NAADS Secretariat. This was because of his occasional involvement in some NAADS-commissioned activities, and membership of a university agriculture faculty. But the researcher overcame this constraint by focusing on matters of interest to participants, concerning NAADS. These occasions also often presented opportunity to seek the opinion of some individuals regarding issues that divided opinion among participants. These were usually people who seemed not to have been satisfied with a particular issue or who failed to find an opportunity to express their opinions earlier; this helped the researcher to understand dissenting views and to know minority opinions. This interaction with participants, coupled with a long period of stay within the communities improved the quality of information overall.

Quantitative data

The *quantitative* data were collected via a cross-sectional survey involving a stratified proportional random sample of respondents. The survey targeted two categories of farmers, namely members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups (i.e. farmer group members) and farmers with no membership in such groups (here referred to as 'non-group informants'). It is worth recalling here that NAADS requires farmers to form groups as a primary means to access services and participate in programme activities more generally (above). Nonetheless, its services, including training on agricultural topics by contracted service providers, have thus far been of a community-wide nature and generally open to all farmers in a particular community (i.e. parish/village). Hence all interested farmers (members or non-members of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups) have thus far been free to attend such training activities. The study, therefore, sought to get the views and experiences of these two distinct categories of farmers in regard to their interaction with NAADS. It was also of interest to acquire information regarding the expectations and concerns the two categories of farmers have about NAADS and extension in Uganda more generally. Moreover in regard to NAADS the study was particularly interested to understand pertinent issues related to involvement of farmer group members and non-group informants.

Sampling and sample size

Selecting respondents for the quantitative survey involved a two stage process, ringing into consideration parish of residence, membership status in NAADS groups and gender. The parish has hitherto been the basic unit for implementing NAADS activities in a sub county. Under this arrangement farmer groups are presumed to reside in a parish. The parish, therefore, formed the first level of sampling. Three parishes were selected randomly from the six parishes in each of two sub counties. With the assistance of the parish community mobilizers (for NAADS activities) the researcher, together with two locally recruited assistants, then generated a sampling list for each of the parishes. The potential respondents on the respective lists were then stratified, based on membership status with NAADS affiliated farmer groups. This resulted into two separate lists of members and non-members for each parish. This stage was informed by both official records on farmer membership of NAADS-affiliated groups, available in the NAADS office for each sub county, and the community mobilizers' knowledge of the residents in their respective parishes.

Next, for each parish, sampled farmers in each of the two categories were stratified based on gender. As noted previously, gender is a key consideration in the farmer targeting strategy of NAADS. The number respondents in each gender category sampled was determined according to the gender proportions of the respective lists. The respondents were then selected randomly using the n^{th} (random) sampling technique. One hundred respondents, divided between members and non-members of NAADS groups (i.e. 50 respondents per category), were selected from each of the three parishes in each sub county. This resulted into a total of three hundred (300) respondents, including 81 women in each sub county and 115 youths (i.e. 38 female and 77 male) in Kasawo and 101 youths (i.e. 49 female and 52 male) in Wakisi. Further details on the socio-economic characteristics of respondent households are presented in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4).

Quantitative data collection

Quantitative data were compiled using a pre-tested, individual structured questionnaire. This instrument was based on insights from the qualitative interviews. Two separate questionnaires, one for the members of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and one for the non-members, were applied (Appendices 4 & 5). The questionnaire comprised both closed, fixed choice and open-ended questions. The closed-choice questions were mainly used to collect information on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents and their respective households. The open-ended questions were used to reduce risks of researcher bias where responses could not be predicted in advance and, as importantly, to enable probing of issues in greater detail. Overall these open-ended items produced rich 'qualitative-type' data, nevertheless susceptible of quantification. This was the case for information on, for example: a) status of respondent households' contact and satisfaction with NAADS activities and services/benefits (including their expectations for the NAADS and extension service generally), b) issues related to the respondents contact/involvement with, satisfaction with, and perception of NAADS farmer institutions, and c) history/status of contact of individual respondents and their households with external development initiatives.

The questionnaire was administered by trained enumerators. The interview technique was, first and foremost, preferred because of the need to overcome barriers related to low literacy levels (Chapter 2, Table 2.1). Some of the questions were of a technical nature and required clarification for respondents. Interviews were conducted mainly with heads of household (either male or female), but in exceptional cases any responsible member in a household (e.g. a big son or daughter or any other adult member) could be interviewed (See Chapter 2, Table 2.1).

1.4.3 Data analysis

The approach to data analysis, pursued in chapters 3 till 5, is thematic. This is in order especially to minimise repetitions, as many the relevant themes were found to be common to both study sub county data series. In addition, this format is well in line with the greater emphasis in this thesis on the ‘big picture’, since detailed comparison between the case study sub counties is not, in itself, an objective of the study.

Analysis of the qualitative material was done by hand. However, an ordinary word processor allowed some basic thematic analysis, through linking key words with themes raised by informants. The process aimed to ‘discovering’ what was in the material, rather than testing any pre-determined hypothesis. Collection of material and analysis by and large went on concurrently. Thus, especially during the initial stages of the qualitative phase, no distinction was made between data collection and analysis in the strict sense. Indeed some authors note that whereas a clear distinction between data gathering and data analysis is common in quantitative research,³⁴ such a strict division between the two activities is problematic for many qualitative researchers (Thorne, 2000; Creswell, 1998; Myers, 1997). This is because the two activities are interdependent.³⁵ Patterns emerging in provisional analysis affect further data gathering efforts. It is for this reason that Myers (1997) proposes that it is more accurate to speak of ‘modes of analysis’ rather than ‘data analysis’ as such. This interaction between data collection and analysis, in my experience, is a skill that is hard to acquire for novices in qualitative research.

As could be expected, the qualitative material, notably interviews, was ‘bulky’ and required extensive examination through an iterative process of ‘writing and reading.’ This was to both reduce the material to manageable proportions and to foster better understanding. In the initial stages the process of analysis entailed reducing the material to descriptive summaries (Lewins, Taylor & Gibbs, 2005; Creswell, 1998; Huberman & Miles, 1984; Casley and Kumar, 1988), based on what informants said, or what was observed. Analysis then entailed sorting and organizing the material into common response categories (focusing on certain

³⁴ James K. Doyle (Handbook for IQP Advisors and Students: <http://www.wpi.edu/Academics/Depts/IGSD/IQPHbook/ch11.html>, consulted 9/8/2002). This source stresses that even for qualitative research it is important to keep data collection and analysis separate and that conclusions should not be drawn until all data are in place.

³⁵ According to Myers (1997), it is assumed, from a hermeneutic perspective, that the researcher’s presuppositions affect the gathering of the data; e.g. questions posed to the informants significantly determine what it is possible to find out.

themes and/or sub-themes). Eventually, this resulted in manageable and more relevant 'data sets,'³⁶ involving some subjective judgement, as is to be expected in a manual exercise.³⁷ This was followed by a more demanding stage in which an attempt was made to conceptualise, refine and interpret themes and patterns (Huberman & Miles, 1994; Creswell, 1998).

For the most part, the qualitative materials are presented descriptively in a narrative form in the running text. This is often accompanied with excerpts from conversations with informants or groups to support a theme. Use of direct quotes from informants is recognized in qualitative data analysis, and helps bring the voice of the participants into a study (Creswell, 1998:171).³⁸ Yet Bernard (1995: 363) warns qualitative researchers that lengthy quotes often lack analytic value,³⁹ underlining the now well recognised research reality that 'data do not speak for themselves.' This, in Bernard's view, requires the researcher to develop his/her own ideas and analysis about what is going on, and draw upon quotation (as in the present case) only as a means to illustrate a theme. The sizeable number of key informants and the semi-structured nature of the key informant interviews might have allowed for some simple frequency-based quantification. Nevertheless, more emphasis was here put on deeper understanding of the informant's perspectives, as well as on the diversity of their views. The material from interviews with farmer groups was used in two ways. The first was to illustrate certain scenarios. In other cases, the information is used to confirm that certain views and/or issues are widespread among the groups covered. Group discussions were summarized in terms of consensus views. It is recognized that there may actually be silent dissenters. Sometimes dissent was taken into account through subsequent follow-up interviews, as explained above. Where (in what follows) a view is attributed to a group this is taken to be the consensual view of the meeting, but the reader should bear in mind the caveat just mentioned.

The *quantitative* data were analysed using simple descriptive statistics and the Chi-squared (X^2) tests of significance. Initially analysis involved the researcher, assisted by some of the enumerators, grouping (manually) the open-ended responses by categories. Afterwards, both closed choice responses and categories (derived from open-ended responses) were given numerical codes for data entry. Subsequent analysis, for most part, entailed deriving

³⁶ James K. Doyle (Handbook for IQP Advisors and Students: <http://www.wpi.edu/Academics/Depts/IGSD/IQPHbook/ch11.html> date 9/8/2002) notes that one of the main purposes of qualitative interview analysis is to reduce the unwieldy amount of verbal data that usually results from recording and transcribing interviews to a more manageable level, with the goal of identifying and extracting the most important, meaningful and interesting parts of the interview text. From my experience this is especially difficult for a novice qualitative researcher, who finds it often hard to make judgments about what is important.

³⁷ Nonetheless, as Thorne (2000) notes, despite the increasing availability of qualitative analysis computer programmes, none are capable of the intellectual and conceptualizing processes required to transform data into meaningful findings.

³⁸ Richardson (1990, cited in Creswell, 1998: 171).

³⁹ The appropriate length of a quote remains a matter of debate. For example, one of the key criticisms of qualitative research concerns the problem of reliability which, according to Bryman (1988, cited in Silverman, 2000: 10), arises because extended transcripts are rarely available, with the result that many qualitative studies provide readers with only brief, persuasive, data extracts. Richardson (1990, cited in Creswell, 1998:171), on the other hand, notes that while longer quotes are used to convey more complex understandings, they are nonetheless difficult to use because of both space limitations (in publications) and because they contain many ideas blurring the central idea the writer wants the reader to see.

proportions (i.e. frequencies and percentages, and, where applicable, average values) using the relevant descriptive techniques within the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) (Windows 12 Version). Answering the question ‘who is included in and excluded from NAADS’ (Chapter 5) required establishing whether the difference in the proportions within the different gender and age groups in relation to their status of contact with the NAADS activities as well as satisfaction with NAADS services was statistically significant. For this purpose the Chi-squared (X^2) test of significance was applied.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises six chapters, including this first introduction chapter. Chapter 2 describes the context for which the NAADS (extension) prototype was developed, including rural conditions in the two case-study sub counties. The chapter starts with a description of developments in the national extension service in Uganda, related to the analysis of contemporary extension reform in developing counties outlined above. It then presents the broad national agricultural and/or rural development strategy within which the NAADS is embedded. Subsequently, the chapter offers a normative description of the NAADS programme (i.e. an account of how NAADS is supposed to work), focusing specifically on key features of the extension prototype. The chapter ends with a description of the study area in which the two sub counties studied are located, and hence of the specific rural conditions in which the NAADS extension prototype is supposed to function.

The findings of the thesis are presented in three empirical chapters (3, 4 and 5). Each of these chapters focuses on a key aspect of the NAADS ‘extension technology’. These elements, taken together, then constitute the mechanism through which NAADS attempted to deliver its services and to generate intended target-group outcomes.

Chapter 3 provides the entry point to understanding the NAADS’ service package, and the *mode* of its service provision. The aim is to examine a possible mismatch between supply and demand, by considering the *scope* of services offered in relation to what an average farmer expects from the extension service. This is demonstrated by looking more closely at how NAADS tried to balance between ‘knowledge’ and ‘artefacts’ within its service package. First, the chapter offers a general assessment of farmers’ perceptions of NAADS as a ‘new’ programme for extension. Next, and more specifically, attention is paid to the balance between knowledge and material technology inputs within the NAADS’ service package. This is assessed via an in-depth analysis of farmers’ reactions and responses to those programme components through which NAADS tries to address farmers’ advisory requirements and technology needs.

Chapter 4 considers how NAADS has tried to link farmers to input and output markets, as part of a drive to promote ‘farming as a business’. It analyses how NAADS has undertaken to contribute to the national goal of ‘commercializing’ (hence ‘modernizing’) the agricultural sector, while taking account of the realities of farming in the two case-study sub counties.

The intention is to demonstrate how access to markets and inputs impacts on farmers' ability to use and benefit from extension services. In this respect, the chapter examines experiences of farmers in accessing markets for their produce as well as other enabling services, notably (technological) inputs and production credit. It does this first by exploring a selection of examples of what public extension services contribute to the capacity of farmers to manage their access to output markets. Second, it investigates in more detail two enterprises set up under NAADS: vanilla and cattle.

Chapter 5 is the core of the thesis. The chapter addresses the question 'who is included and excluded from NAADS' in the two study sub counties. The aim is to establish whether there has been any gender- or age-based marginalization of NAADS beneficiaries, and overall whether the NAADS 'prototype' is accurately targeted upon the needs of different gender and age groups, the women and youth in particular. First, in this respect, the chapter deals with the question of response to, and/or involvement in, NAADS related activities within the local communities by women, older men and youth as key target groups. The chapter then attempts to discover the reasons (i.e. 'incentives' and 'disincentives') for observed responses within the different gender and age groups of the NAADS target group.

The final chapter (6) starts with an overview of findings, and then attempts a synthesis directed towards the central question of the study. This synthesis offers a digest of key points from each of the three main empirical chapters (3, 4 & 5). The aim of the synthesis is to pinpoint implications for policy and extension practice in Uganda.

Chapter 2

NAADS in context: national extension history, NAADS prototype and study area

This chapter describes the context in which NAADS is being implemented and presents the NAADS prototype for extension (i.e. NAADS in ‘normative’ terms). Section 2.1 describes the development of the national extension service in Uganda within the context of the on-going extension reforms discussed in Chapter 1. This is followed (in section 2.2) by a brief description of the agricultural and rural development strategy within which the NAADS is embedded. Section 2.3 then offers a description of the NAADS programme as designed, focusing specifically on the key features of the NAADS extension prototype. Finally, section 2.4 describes the study area – specifically, the two sub counties in which data were collected and the specific rural (farming) conditions which the NAADS extension prototype is supposed to address.

2.1 Developments in Uganda’s agricultural extension service up to the end of the 1990s

Historically, agricultural extension services in Uganda have been organised, managed and provided to farmers through the public extension system. In general, the historical development of the national agricultural extension service during the last half of the 20th Century followed a similar trend to that in other developing countries (as described in Chapter 1). Kidd (2001) and Semana (2002) report that public financing of agricultural extension can be traced as far back as the early years of the 19th century. The first African agricultural research stations were established early in the colonial period, and new cash crops introduced. In Uganda, this was mainly to meet the interests and financial requirements of the then British Protectorate (Semana, 2002). Kidd (2001) has summarised the chronological evolution of Uganda’s national agricultural extension service (Table 2.1). For present purposes, the historical development of agricultural extension in the country during the 20th Century can be broadly divided into two periods, prior to and during the 1990’s.

2.1.1 Prior to the 1990s

Up until the mid 1950s, the national extension service focused on promotion of export crops, and adopted a coercive approach, in which sanctions and punishments were enforced through local chiefs. This was later replaced by an emphasis on inducing progressive farmers to adopt commodity approaches during the 1960s. In this period the extension service put emphasis on providing technical knowledge/advice together with support in terms of inputs and credit to selected larger-scale farmers. This effort, it was hoped, would have a demonstration and multiplier effect within the farming population at large (Byekwaso et al., 2004). The government extension service of the 1960s is generally considered to have functioned well (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Kidd, 2001; Opio-odongo, 1996). However, progress could not be sustained due to political turmoil and economic decline during the 1970s and 1980s. The near

collapse of the formal sector of the economy provided an early opportunity for Community Based Organisation (CBO) and NGO initiatives to encroach on territory traditionally controlled by conventional agricultural service delivery organisations (Opio-odongo (1996). This was also a period in which farmer organizations, such as cooperatives, broadened the scope of their services to members including, among others, training and input supply (ibid.). Public research and extension systems only resumed in the early 1990s (Hall and Yoganand, 2004).

Table 2.1: Chronological evolution of events in Uganda’s national agricultural extension service

Period	Description
1812-1900	Colonisation and concentration on promotion of export crops
1920-56	Extension through local chiefs, with enforced production of cash crops
1964-71	Commodity approach with demonstration farms for transfer of technology
1971-92	Political crisis, civil war. Disruption of economy, centralisation. Confusion. Some transition and recovery
1992-98	Government Agricultural Extension Programme (AEP), with a ‘unified extension’ system introduced in phases to 27 districts. Criticism of public extension services (e.g. World Bank, 1996). Various other donor bilateral financing arrangements and extension approaches. SIDA funded ‘Export Promotion of Organic Produce from Africa’ programme (EPOPA)
1998	‘Village Level Participatory approach’ (VLPA) introduced into the public extension service (towards end of the AEP), and death throes of the T&V system. Criticised within the World Bank as being too much rural development and not enough extension. VLPA put on hold. Introduction of Graduate Specialist Scheme by central government, with responsibility for extension devolved to districts. Pluralism, increasingly, a reality. NGOs contracted public agents to deliver services in many areas, effectively privatising the management of extension services. Support for advisory service delivery by farmer organisations through the DANIDA–Agricultural Sector Support Programme.
1999-2001	Finalisation of the Policy for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA): Eradicating Poverty in Uganda, concentrating on food security through commercialisation. Preparation of the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme, based (mainly) on public finance, private delivery, contracting out, demand-orientation, farmer-‘ownership’, cost sharing, decentralisation to sub counties. Basket financing arrangements supported by a number of donors. Support for advisory service delivery by <i>decentralised</i> farmer organisations. National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) introduces Outreach Programme. Various experiences with private sector development in service delivery, with support to advisory services for vertical integration and commodity systems approach (e.g. USAID-funded Investment in Developing Export Agriculture’ (IDEA) project of the Agribusiness Development Centre (ADC).
2001	2001 NAADS Bill passed by parliament and the NAADS Secretariat established as a corporate body. Phased introduction of the NAADS programme linked to broader decentralisation of capacity-building initiatives, initially in 6 trailblazing districts (beginning with a couple of sub counties in each district). Graduate Specialist Scheme phased out.

Source: Kidd, 2001

2.2.2 During the 1990s

After close to two decades of nearly collapsed formal research and extension systems, the government of Uganda in partnership with the World Bank⁴⁰ initiated a process to rebuild

⁴⁰ Through its International Development Association (IDA).

formal sector research and extension services in the country. These two systems were to remain separate entities administratively (Hall and Yoganand, 2004). On the side of research, this process saw the creation, by Act of Parliament, of a public research agency – the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) – in 1992, which has since spearheaded agricultural research in the country.

Until 1991 the delivery of public extension was achieved through parallel extension services in different government ministerial departments. Extension was thus characterised by duplication, conflict and confusion (Semana, 2002). In order to address these shortcomings, a new government policy sought ‘unification’ of the service in 1990, leading to creation of a new Agriculture Ministry (ibid.).⁴¹ Specifically, unification of the service was intended to rationalise and integrate use of scarce resources, while also being aimed at professionalising extension education through learning and teaching (Semana, 2002). As part of this effort the World Bank funded Agricultural Extension Project (AEP) started in 1992 (MAAIF, 1998a, 1998b)⁴². Implemented until 1998, the AEP aimed at improving the organisation and management of extension service in Uganda. This included an attempt to move from centralised planning of extension programmes towards a more bottom-up process;⁴³ ensuring a single line of command, and regular staff and farmer training activities, with farmer training achieved via scheduled staff visits; and emphasis on strengthening research-extension linkage through involving relevant stakeholders. Apart from a few adaptations (discussed below), the AEP was modelled around the basic principles of the Training and Visit (T&V) extension system,⁴⁴ which from 1987 became the predominant mode of public extension in Uganda (Aben et al., 2002). It was a variant (Kidd, 2001) of an approach that had already been widely criticised (Hall and Yoganand, 2004⁴⁵).

The main distinguishing features of the AEP concerned the extension approach adopted. In line with the mission of the newly created Agriculture Ministry (MAAIF) the AEP used a unified extension approach (UEP). The unified approach to service provision was deemed best suited to address farmer extension needs in a more holistic manner. This approach required that a single Field Extension Worker (FEW) handled all aspects of three key agricultural sub-sectors within the mandate of the country’s Agriculture Ministry⁴⁶, namely crops, livestock and fisheries production (MAAIF, 1998; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004). This was intended to avoid sending conflicting messages to farmers through different extension agents working on crops, livestock, and fisheries.

⁴¹ This involved a merger of two previous Ministries, the Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Animal Industry and Fisheries. This followed a recommendation by Group B-a Task Force on improvement of Agricultural Extension in Uganda, with financial support from the World Bank.

⁴² Mukono district was one of the AEP pilot districts.

⁴³ Previously, planning for extension was exclusively in the hands of the officials of the Agriculture Ministry at its headquarters.

⁴⁴ Conceived by Daniel Benor, a former Special Advisor to the World Bank President. For detailed discussion and critique see Davis (2008) and Purcell and Anderson (1997).

⁴⁵ After World Bank, 1996.

⁴⁶ In order to reflect the ‘unified extension approach’ the Agriculture Ministry was (re-)named Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF).

A FEW's area of jurisdiction (operationally a parish) was re-defined and renamed "circle", and consisted of 250-500 farm families (Aben et al., 2002). In keeping with the principle of promoting partnership and participation through dialogue, the approach embraced the *systematic clientele consultation* methodology of involving beneficiaries in problem identification (MAAIF, 1998a, 1998b). This was achieved through the group approach. The contact groups comprised selected farmers among those in direct contact with a FEW (MAAIF, 1998a). These groups also served as a means for FEWs to reach other farmers in their areas.

Together with pre-season planning workshops for agricultural activities, clientele consultation was intended as a bottom-up planning process, thereby improving the relevance of the services. This kind of 'participatory' approach was also seen as a way of tapping into farmers' indigenous knowledge, in a process that apparently involved working closely with research (Semana, 2002). Also, this period saw a revival of the educational approach to extension, involving appropriate training methods (Semana 2002). Efforts to improve extension at field level also included the introduction of the Graduate Specialist Scheme by Central Government, requiring local governments to recruit a graduate agricultural officer in each sub county (Aben, et al., 2002; Kidd, 2001). These officers were each provided with a motor-cycle for field operations. There was a new emphasis on Subject Matter Specialists (SMSs) in areas such as agronomy and crop protection. These SMSs were supposed to provide technical backstopping to the FEWs, in close linkage with research and technology development activities. The scheme was overtaken by events, since plans to transform the public extension service into a NAADS-type extension system via the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) were already at an advanced stage.

In these new plans agricultural extension was seen as critical factor in modernising Ugandan agriculture, an aspiration now gaining increased policy emphasis (MAAIF, 1998b)⁴⁷. Policy attention shifted from increasing agricultural production (with no direct link to market trends) to a market-oriented approach, including emphasis on post-harvest handling of agricultural produce. The marketing objective was seen as a springboard for commercialising the agricultural sector. Extension was seen as a way of linking the researcher, the farmer, the input supplier and the policy maker. By 1998 Uganda's Agriculture Ministry (MAAIF) identified some of the cardinal roles extension could play towards the efforts to modernise agriculture in the country. Extension was tasked with participation in technology generation and transfer, and with programme development and implementation, albeit this time with specific emphasis on fostering stakeholder interactions in technology generation and transfer activities, *bottom-up* planning and *systematic* monitoring and evaluation of extension activities (MAAIF, 1998b). Besides these established tasks, extension was also now expected to provide advice and technical guidance on extension interventions and methodology, to

⁴⁷ At this time the idea of modernizing agriculture was conceived 'adapting farming to the prevailing economic, ecological, technological and social conditions so as to increase agricultural productivity by striking a balance between the improvement and transformation of the existing farming systems' (MAAIF, 1998b). The increasing recognition of the importance of agricultural marketing (within a re-organised agricultural extension service) by MAAIF led to the creation of the Marketing and Agribusiness Unit (MAU) within the Directorate of Agricultural Extension.

steer human resource development and management efforts, and to initiate human and social capital development at farmer level.

A mid-term evaluation of the AEP reported some visible achievements, especially regarding farmer awareness and adoption of recommended practices and technologies. It also revealed some shortcomings in the systemic consultation strategy and the approach generally (MAAIF, 1998a, 1998b). The report noted i) inadequate involvement of farmers in extension programme development (i.e. limited only to problem identification); ii) limited coverage of the farming population (i.e. concentration on members of contact groups, while these groups failed fully to deliver a multiplier effect), and iii) the narrow scope of farm-level problems addressed (i.e. primarily focused on production-related problems).

In order to ensure greater inclusion of beneficiaries in extension planning and implementation a new approach – the Village Level Participatory Approach (VLPA) –was incorporated into the project in August 1997.⁴⁸ Uganda’s version of VLPA was based on the Village Participation in Rural Development model seen to have been successful in a number of West African countries (World Bank 1998, see also Chabeauf et al., 2004). VLPA aimed to support bottom-up planning through stimulating self-development processes within communities and improved delivery of extension services; with an overall objective of involving the rural population in planning and implementation of local activities (World Bank, 2000; MAAIF, 1998b). Because of its bottom-up approach and self-development aims it was anticipated that VLPA would provide a foundation for a demand driven extension service (MAAF, 1998b).

Unfortunately, the VLPA initiative was only short-lived. The World Bank funding for the AEP stopped towards the end of 1998. Despite some achievements (World Bank, 2000, 1998), mainly related to mobilising communities and giving farmers the opportunity to determine the extension agenda, the overall objective of empowering the rural population for self- development was never realized.⁴⁹

A key question unresolved by the VLPA experience was ‘how grassroots organisations can be empowered to gain effective control over their front line extension staff’ (World Bank, 1998). Addressing this issue was seen as the key to a genuinely demand driven extension. Nor was demand generated during the process ever accompanied by development of appropriate systems to address farmers’ need for high quality advisory services, inputs, and credit and marketing facilities, thereby leaving farmers’ expectations largely unmet resulting in widespread frustrations (World Bank, 2000). This raised an important issue in participatory intervention: the need to differentiate between *relevance* of a service (associated with target group involvement in needs identification through use of PRA-type tools) and the *responsiveness* of a service to the needs of the target group. The VLPA experience also provided a litmus test for a *multi-sectoral approach* to agricultural and rural development

⁴⁸ The VLPA pilot districts were Masaka, Iganga and Nebbi. It was later expanded to five other districts, namely Mukono, Jinja, Bushenyi, Mbale and Kibaale.

⁴⁹ For a detailed analysis of the VLPA experience see Najjingo-Mangheni, Bukenya & Nkuba (1999).

planning as coordinated by the district agricultural production department. Real difficulties regarding coordination and cooperation among staff of the different relevant sector line departments became apparent (World Bank, 2000, 1998).

More generally the evaluation of the AEP pointed to several deficiencies in the service delivery performance of T&V-style public extension systems. Key areas of concern revolved around the limited farmer coverage (MAAIF, 1998a, 1998b), the heavily centralized and bureaucratic administrative system, and the efficiency and sustainability of the funding (Byekwaso et al., 2004; MAAIF, 1998a, 1998b), as well as inadequate technical support to field staff, who also lacked the necessary facilitation skills to deliver training with practical impact (Aben et al., 2002). AEP did not adequately put farmer demand at the centre of service provision, in part because of too narrow a focus on agriculture (MAAIF, 1998b), and because of lack of tangible new technologies from research (Aben et al., 2002). Indeed this was the time of mounting criticism and disillusionment by donor agencies concerning the traditional public extension services, usually modelled around the T&V system.

Committed to a policy of decentralisation⁵⁰, the government embraced proposals to break up the previously centrally-controlled agricultural extension service and reorganise it into a series of District Extension Services, in the hope of addressing existing shortcomings. Decentralisation meant devolving decision-making power to lower levels and a substantial transfer of political, financial and planning responsibility to local governments (Farrington et al., 2002; Kidd, 2001). The intention was to promote popular participation and the empowerment of local people in development planning and decision-making (Kidd, 2001).

The process of decentralising the extension service was completed in 1997. Agricultural extension services increasingly became a responsibility of District Local Governments (DLGs). This implied that, henceforth, the decision to make (or not to make) a budget allocation to extension belonged to the District Councils, i.e. to a group of representatives elected by the rural population in their respective districts (World Bank, 1998). Around this time the GoU with World Bank support launched the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) to devolve budgets and test alternative ways to deliver rural services (World Bank, 2002). Besides increased participation of local stakeholders, it was hoped that decentralisation of extension services would lead to improvements in service management (World Bank, 1998). There were some achievements in these areas, particularly as regards stakeholder and beneficiary involvement (see Najjingo-Mangheni et al., 1999, for examples). In fact Uganda is recognised for having implemented the most radical experimentation in decentralised extension among the countries surveyed in a recent study (Farrington et al., 2002).

Yet decentralising extension was not without complications. At the local/community level, for instance, the intention for promoting popular participation was apparently often

⁵⁰ Decentralisation in Uganda started in 1993 (See, Onyach-Olaa, 2003, for instance).

misunderstood as one of abandonment of rural areas by the centre (Farrington et al., 2002). At the institutional and operational level, on the other hand, decentralization of extension services had some negative impact on extension training and field performance (Semana, 2002). These negative impacts were linked to undesirable effects of other radical policy reforms, such as liberalisation, privatisation, down-sizing and retrenchment.⁵¹ In most instances, districts not only lacked capacity to steer extension but also to develop staff and provide logistical support for field operations. Combined with reduced recognition and reward for staff performance, such difficulties led to a drastic loss of staff morale and, ultimately, to reduction in their contact with farmers.⁵²

After a period of weak linkage with public research and extension, the late 1990s saw growing formal involvement of NGOs with other players in the system (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Kidd, 2001). Pluralism in agricultural extension became a reality (Kidd, 2001), as donor-funded NGO projects in agriculture and rural development mushroomed. The period witnessed a closer working relationship between NGOs and local government departments, extension in particular. There were several cases of NGOs contracting public extension agents to deliver services in their programme areas (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Friis-Hansen and Kisauzi, 2004; Kidd, 2001; Anderson and van Crowder, 2000).⁵³ These arrangements enhanced salaries of the extension agents involved, while also providing them operational support (Anderson and van Crowder, 2000). A typical example was that between a CARE Agricultural Innovations Project and two Local Governments (Bushenyi and Ntungamo districts) (Najjingo-Mangheni et al., 1999). This experience showed that such collaboration was not without challenges and/or constraints. These related to inadequate financial capacity on the part of the local government department, varying levels of staff facilitation and motivation, dissatisfaction with NGO project allowances, and differences in and attitudes to work (ibid.). The period was characterised by a range of extension approaches, including the farmer field school, and various strategies of farmer involvement, especially through group-based approaches (Aben et al., 2002)⁵⁴.

The overview above shows that over the years there have been several attempts to improve the country's public agricultural extension service. These have, involved a gradual shift from

⁵¹ Aben et al. (2002), for example, report that due to the Structural Adjustment Programme, the public extension service in Soroti district was reduced to a quarter of its previous size in 1995, leaving only 93 FEWs who couldn't adequately serve the 100, 000 agricultural households in the district using the previous [unified extension] approach.

⁵² For a more recent analysis of the challenges inherent in Uganda's decentralized structure and how this can constrain the functioning and performance of extension see Muwonge (2007) (Local Government Financing and Provision in an Institutionally Constrained Decentralized System: The Case of Agricultural Extension in Uganda. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Georgia State University).

⁵³ Anderson and van Crowder refer to an arrangement where an NGO contracts public extension workers to deliver services on in the area of operation of the NGO as 'contracting in' as opposed to 'contracting out' whereby a public agency (such as extension) outsources the services of private service providers (as in publicly funded and privately delivered extension services). At the more general level Opio-odongo (1996) refers to the tendency among voluntary organisations (such as NGOs) involved in the agricultural or poverty programmes to employ professional agriculturalists or to contract their services from the public sector as a reflection of their sensitivity to the need to ensure quality service. Generally, public extension staff were believed to be relatively better equipped with technical knowledge/skills on agriculture and related areas compared to most NGO staff, although these were usually less equipped with facilitation skills for participatory and other process-related intervention and learning activities.

⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion of the Farmer Field School Approach in Uganda see Isubikalu (2007).

conventional extension approaches, based on the diffusion of innovation and transfer of technology (ToT) models (typically of the T&V extension type) to approaches that embrace pluralism and participation of local level stakeholders and target beneficiaries of services. Decentralization of the national extension service has been a central element in this shift, albeit accompanied by challenges and/or constraints. It is notable in this regard that Bahigwa et al. (2005) have shown that (over-) reliance on decentralization as a mechanism for poverty reduction is misplaced in the current political context of Uganda. In terms of objectives – and in spite of the reforms embraced in the 1990s (Sulaiman & Hall, 2002, 2005) – extension’s role has continued to be viewed primarily as that of ‘technology transfer’ almost exclusively focused on improving farm level production activities. Institutionally, in spite of reorganisation of both the research and extension systems, the broad hierarchical features of both research (i.e. technology development and testing) and extension (i.e. technology transfer) have remained largely unaltered (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Hall and Nahdy, 1999). The same can also be said of the relationship between extension and the farmer, where accountability and relevance remained weakly developed (ibid.). In the case of extension, for instance, T&V-based extension approaches were not particularly interactive with farmers, or responsive to their needs, being constrained by the largely one-way transfer of pre-designed extension messages and technology packages (Aben et al., 2002).⁵⁵ Hence farmers generally remained passive recipients of a service not particularly responsive to the needs of resource constrained farmers such as women and youth. The situation was exacerbated by existing marketing and physical infrastructural constraints (Opio-odongo, 1996). For research, on the other hand, Opio-odongo (ibid.) noted a tendency unfairly to blame the extension service for having failed to “sell” technologies even when such technologies were irrelevant to the socio-economic circumstances of potential users. In respect of future strategies to ‘modernise’ Uganda’s agriculture to address the widespread rural poverty, Opio-odongo (1996) noted the need for the agricultural service agencies clearly to understand why those who depend on agriculture for their livelihood continue to live in poverty.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ For example, Aben et al. (2002), report the bias of the T&V [-based extension] programme in Soroti district towards crop production (with focus on a few priority crops for commercialization) and lack of attention to livestock and agri-business components important in the Teso farming system.

⁵⁶ After a decade of noticeable progress in the country’s macro-economic performance.

2.2: NAADS within the broader policy context

2.2.1 Uganda's vision for agriculture: *The Plan for Modernization of Agriculture*

To correct inadequacies in the public extension system (as discussed in 2.1) and to address persistent poverty the GoU initiated a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) in 1995 as a component of the country's Comprehensive Development Framework (World Bank, 2002). Uganda's PEAP fitted well with the change of focus within the World Bank from promoting Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPS) towards greater support for poverty reduction and social progress in developing countries. This showed increasing acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, as manifest in Washington-driven pro-poor initiatives such as participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) (Farrington et al., 2002). Although the PEAP pre-dated this change towards PPAs and PRSPs, and is largely seen as home grown, it contained many compatible provisions, including increasing the voice of the poor in the design of interventions, administrative decentralization and efforts to make officials downwardly accountable to service users (Farrington et al., 2002). It was therefore accepted by the International Donor Community as Uganda's PRSP (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Farrington et al., 2002; Kidd, 2001).

Since the launching of the PEAP in 1997⁵⁷ poverty eradication has become the primary government policy focus. This long-term vision has, since the year 2000, been pursued through the PMA, which is itself a key pillar of the PEAP. The PMA is the central mechanism through which the third pillar of the PEAP⁵⁸ – directly increasing the ability of the poor to raise their incomes – is supported (Kidd, 2001). It elaborates a long-term vision for the transformation of agriculture in Uganda (GoU, 2006; MAAIF&MFPED, 2000). In fact, the PMA proposes that 'modernising agriculture' will contribute to increasing the incomes of the poor by raising farm productivity, increasing the share of agricultural production marketed, and creating opportunities for employment (both on-farm and off-farm) while also lowering food prices (Kidd, 2001; Bahigwa et al, 2005). Engagement with the market is thus seen as a key strategy for improving livelihoods of poor farmers constituting the majority of the country's rural population (MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000). This is reflected in a mission focused on eradicating poverty by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture (GoU, 2006; MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000). The PMA notes that transforming the country's (subsistence) agriculture requires addressing two types of constraints, namely productivity-related and governance-related constraints (Kidd, 2001; MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000). The productivity-related constraints range from lack of sufficient food, lack of land and soil infertility, insecure land tenure rights, poor husbandry and lack of skills and knowledge, limited access to technical advice, low use of improved inputs, lack of capital and access to credit, and poor roads, transport networks and marketing infrastructure. The broad governance constraints include insecurity of persons and

⁵⁷ The PEAP has since undergone several revisions (for instance there is PEAP 2001 & 2004). This is in response to recent increases in rural poverty from 35% in 2000 to 38% in 2002.

⁵⁸ Following the more recent reviews of the PEAP (PEAP, 2001 onwards) the PMA addresses the second PEAP pillar – enhancing production, competitiveness and incomes (PMA, 2004).

property, corruption, lack of accountability and transparency, poor delivery of basic public services, weak local leadership, and lack of voice among the majority of farmers. Good governance and security (the second PEAP pillar) are seen as important preconditions for agricultural modernisation (MAAIF, 2000; Kidd, 2001).

The broad strategies for achieving PMA objectives include:

- Deepening decentralization for efficient service delivery;
- Reducing public sector activities and promoting the role of the private sector;
- Supporting the dissemination and adoption of productivity-enhancing technologies;
- Addressing food security through the market, rather than emphasizing self-sufficiency;
- Enhancing and strengthening stakeholder consultation and participation in planning;
- Designing and implementing gender-balanced programmes; and,
- Ensuring the coordination of multi-sectoral interventions to remove any constraints to agricultural modernisation (MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001; Kidd, 2001)

The multi-sectoral approach to overcoming the identified constraints to agricultural modernisation adopted by the PMA recognises the integrated and reinforcing nature of such limitations. As such, agriculture can only develop if roads, markets and market information, processing capacity, financial services for farmers, technology development, and training and agricultural services are all improved, so that farmers have better business opportunities and the means to take advantage of them (Garforth et al. 2003). Accordingly the PMA consists of seven main programmes⁵⁹ (MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000; Bahigwa et al, 2005; Nahdy, 2004) comprising:

- Research and technology development
- Agricultural advisory services
- Rural finance
- Agro-processing and marketing
- Agricultural education
- Sustainable natural resources use and management
- Rural infrastructure

The PMA interventions are anchored in government policies of decentralisation, liberalisation, privatization, empowerment of people in decision-making for development process, and increasing public sector co-ordination and accountability (MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; MAAIF, 2000). According to Bahigwa et al. (2005:483) although the PMA interventions cover many of the same areas of support that governments in Uganda have traditionally applied to agriculture, the PMA adopted a different approach to implementation –vis-à-vis the ‘demand driven’ approach.

⁵⁹ There are other PMA intervention areas/programmes, notably the (PMA) Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG), also referred to as the PMA Grant. The funds under the NSCG can be spent on the PMA priority areas following agreement by the Local Governments, who are assumed to best know their constraints to agricultural production and productivity (see, for instance, PMA, 2004).

2.2.2 The rationale for the NAADS programme

Adoption of the PEAP and (subsequently) the PMA have been seen as key institutional changes with fundamental implications for both research and extension services in Uganda (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Nahdy 2004; Kidd, 2001). Improving the delivery of agricultural advisory-cum-extension services is one of the crucial investment areas of the PMA, and a key focus of its vision (Hall and Yoganand, 2004; Kidd, 2001)⁶⁰ – hence the NAADS (programme). This is because the PMA document identifies the key factors undermining agricultural productivity in Uganda as including poor husbandry, low use of improved inputs, and limited access to technical advice (MAAIF, 2000; Kidd, 2001).

The main rationale for putting in place the NAADS was the perceived failure of the established extension approach to bring about greater productivity and expansion of agriculture, despite previous costly government interventions (MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001). This failure has been attributed to shortcomings and /or constraints in the earlier extension approach, such as weak research-extension-farmer linkages, ‘externally’ driven, uncoordinated and non-participatory service provision, high levels of bureaucracy in service provision, low responsiveness to farmers’ needs, and lack of financial and performance accountability. A new approach was required to address the identified institutional constraints undermining farmers’ access to knowledge and productivity-enhancing technologies, and to incorporate best practice features to make extension deliver more efficiently and effectively (MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001).

The NAADS was designed in accordance with the overall government policies of agricultural modernization, poverty eradication, decentralisation, liberalisation, privatisation, empowerment of people in decision-making for development process and increasing public sector co-ordination and accountability (MAAIF, 2000; Nahdy, 2004). The fundamental aim of the programme is to develop *a demand-driven, client-oriented and farmer-led* agricultural service delivery system, particularly targeting the poor and women (MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001). From a governance view point, extension is here seen as linking objectives for poverty and vulnerability reduction in which lack of voice and disempowerment are important aspects of poverty (Kidd, 2001). In this regard *client-oriented* extension and governance mechanisms are seen as a possible means to address the power relations that generate poverty, hence the decentralised service delivery approach adopted by NAADS (Nahdy, 2004; Kidd, 2001). Agricultural extension is given a new lease of life in the PMA, which recognizes a central role for decentralized, demand-driven extension services in the sector’s development (Kidd, 2001). NAADS is in this regard tasked with providing advisory services that respond to farmer needs, and accountable to farmers through the local contracting of private sector service providers (Garforth et al. 2003). This implies a ‘two-way exchange’ between the farmer and the service provider, hence the change of name from agricultural extension to agricultural advisory services (Bahigwa et al. (2005: 484).

⁶⁰ Hall and Yoganand (2004) suggest that the PMA vision puts relatively more emphasis on extension than research.

NAADS was mainly established 'to increase the security of rural livelihoods with sustainable improvements in the agricultural productivity and household incomes' (Kidd, 2001:20). NAADS is hence supposed to contribute to the poverty eradication vision of the PMA by specifically addressing one of the underlying factors of poverty in Uganda: poor access to agricultural information, knowledge and technology (MAAIF, 2000).

2.3 The NAADS (extension) prototype

The process of operationalising the PMA resulted in NAADS in 2001. This process was spearheaded by a Task Force of experts put in place by the GoU to design the NAADS programme (MAAIF, 2000).

2.3.1 NAADS mission and principles

NAADS is a 25-year programme with a mission “to increase farmer access to information, knowledge and technology through effective, efficient, sustainable and decentralised extension with increasing private sector involvement in line with government policy” (MAAIF, 2000:4). NAADS aspirations are articulated through a number of guiding principles that underpin its operations and processes during implementation (NAADS, 2001; MAAIF, 2000), namely:

1. Farmer empowerment: empowering the farmers in agricultural advisory processes and building their demand for both research and agricultural advisory services through the development of (grassroots) farmer institutions
2. Deepening decentralisation: making sub counties the lead local government organs for planning, implementation, funding, monitoring and evaluation to bring the control of research and advisory services closer to the farmers
3. Fostering participation: introducing participatory processes in planning, contracting, monitoring and evaluation
4. Increasing institutional efficiency: contracting out to the private sector the provision of agricultural services (i.e. privatisation), and better linkages between research, advisors and farmers to improve the responsiveness of the agricultural services to farmers needs and effectiveness of farmer participation decision-making processes
5. Poverty targeting: targeting agricultural services to poorer farmers (especially women) constituting the majority of farmers
6. Commercialization (of agriculture): shifting farmers from subsistence to market-oriented production, including improving market linkages and access, and intensification of productivity, specialization and profitability
7. Mainstreaming gender issues: making all NAADS interventions gender-responsive and gender-focused such that both men and especially women are uplifted
8. Managing natural resources productivity: transforming agricultural production and productivity without degrading the environment
9. Harmonization: synchronisation of donor supported (agricultural) development projects with the principles espoused in the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA)

It should be noted that some of these principles reflect government policy, in particular, decentralization and privatization of service delivery, and participation and gender mainstreaming in governance and development interventions. In the case of governance, for instance, representation of women, youth and persons with disabilities was by now well established within the existing local council system. But for decentralisation, NAADS design has the intention to deepen the decentralisation process from district to sub county level. This also involves going beyond the existing government practices and requirements, which have hitherto limited decision making powers within the local council structures, to shift some powers directly to farmers through the sub county farmer fora further down to grassroots farmer groups. This is a key aspect of farmer empowerment and participation, intended to empower farmers, particularly the poor farmers and women, as well as to enhance accountability of (extension) service providers which had hitherto eluded decentralisation arrangements (Farrington et al., 2002; Kidd, 2001).

Besides the institutional changes related to the principles of farmer participation and empowerment, there are other institutional changes anticipated from the national wide reform process initiated by NAADS (Nahdy, 2004; Hall and Yoganand, 2004). Key among these is the role of public sector vis-à-vis private sector in the financing and delivery of services, as well as the scope and organizing principle for service provision. As regards service financing and delivery NAADS proposes creating options for financing, involving a shift from an exclusive role for the public sector towards greater participation by the private sector. Service financing is to be separated from service provision. Public finance is to be used to contract privately delivered advisory services while there is a gradual reduction in the share of public financing of farm advisory costs. This shift implies creating new arrangements, including developing private sector and professional capacity to provide agricultural services. Hall and Yoganand (2004: 117) in particular highlight the change regarding the scope and organizing principle for service provision (Table 2.2).⁶¹ They note the change from the dominant ‘technology transfer’ approach to an ‘advisory’ approach that promises a flexible learning approach⁶² (a departure from T&V-based predecessors) aimed at ‘supporting livelihoods’ through modernization and commercialization of agriculture (see also Kidd, 2001).

⁶¹ Hall and Yoganand (2004) analyse the NAADS from the perspective of agricultural research and development (R&D), noting that NAADS is a clearly ambitious initiative with significant implications for institutional arrangements for R&D.

⁶² For a detailed analysis of NAADS from a learning organisation perspective see Sarah Parkinson (2008), *Learning Participation in Rural Development: A Study of Uganda’s National Agricultural Advisory Services*, PhD thesis, University of Guelph).

Table 2.2 Key institutional differences between conventional agricultural extension and NAADS

Institutional features	Conventional extension	NAADS
Funding	Public only	Combination of public and private from farmers
Delivery	Public (some times through de facto privatization)	Multiple service providers from public and private agencies
Scope	Technology transfer	Advisory, including technology and market information
Organizing principle	Technology transfer	Livelihoods support through modernization and commercialization of agriculture.
Programme planning and implementation	Centralized, by public agency	Decentralized with participation of farmers and local government at the sub- county level
Accountability	To central bureaucracy	To farmers through decentralized governance structures
Role in research	Promoting findings	Supporting client initiated priority setting and resource allocation through 'innovation funds'
Sources and modes of institutional innovation	External. Donor-driven through introduction of blueprints	Indigenous. Designed through consultation. With provision for learning and the development of situation specificity
Role of donors	Funding and policy intervention	Funding and policy support through sector-wide approaches

Source: Hall and Yoganand (2004)

Some of these principles are particularly relevant to the purpose of this study. These include farmer empowerment and participation, poverty targeting (including gender responsiveness) and market-orientation and/or commercialisation of agricultural activity.

Through the principles of *participation* and *empowerment* NAADS commits itself to embrace participation so that it empowers the recipients of its services. As such, NAADS promises to actively involve all categories of farmers in identifying agricultural advisory service needs, setting priorities, formulating plans, and monitoring and evaluating outputs and outcomes. It is hoped, thereby, that farmers will acquire necessary skills and capacity to articulate demands and manage the NAADS process. The empowerment principle on the other hand means that farmers are to be enabled to control structures and processes that transform their natural resource assets into desired outcomes. This is to be achieved by facilitating farmers to organize and create institutions through which they can *act collectively* and get their voices heard within a deepened, decentralised decision-making process. Besides increased responsibility for planning of services to be delivered by NAADS, farmers and their respective local governments are expected to make financial contributions towards service delivery through a matching grant arrangement. Contributing to the cost of services, popularly referred to as 'co-funding', seeks to stimulating farmer and local ownership of the NAADS programme. Farmers will no longer be seen as mere beneficiaries but more as users and clients for a service. It is hoped that this will enhance the capacity of the farmers to demand research and agricultural advisory services and to access information and resources

to influence policies that affect them, and hence have control over the services delivered through NAADS. Farmer participation and empowerment are at the core of a strategy to develop a *farmer-owned* and *demand-driven* extension service. Yet delivering a demand-driven service presents an important challenge for NAADS, as well as the farmers. Farmers must not only be able and willing to articulate their needs but should be allowed to do so. Equally, NAADS should not only be able to provide for the needs expressed by the farmers but must also exercise the necessary flexibility to remain responsive (and hence relevant) to the needs of its target group in general and the needs of specific sub-groups within that target group. It is in this regard that this study, first and foremost, concerns itself with what it is that NAADS provides to its clients – and the material aspect of the NAADS extension package, in particular, bearing in mind the resource-constrained situation of rural Uganda. Although specific attention is given to this issue in Chapter 3, it is a theme that runs throughout this thesis.

The principle of *poverty targeting* recognises that the poor farmers, especially women, constitute the majority of the farming population. Formulated specifically to address what is seen as one of the underlying factors of poverty in Uganda – access to agricultural information, knowledge and technology – the agricultural services under NAADS (are to) primarily target poor farmers. The poverty targeting aims of NAADS (and government policy more generally) recognise the gender-based nature of poverty in Uganda, a recognition that is indicated in the intention of NAADS to make all its interventions gender sensitive and gender-focused. It also recognises the need to uplift men and women, the greater attention to women notwithstanding. In addition to the special attention paid to women NAADS documents also make reference to other categories of the poor – notably the youth and people with disabilities, who are acknowledged as being less socially connected and thus more likely to require particular effort on the part of programme staff to reach (see NAADS, 2001, for example). For this reason these groups (women inclusive) are commonly referred to as ‘special interest groups.’ Overall, through this principle, NAADS seeks to ensure inclusion of its target group within its processes and practices. Yet NAADS also recognises the difficulty it is likely to face in trying to involve and directly benefit people with few or no assets – notably land for farming – and that these groups might therefore require some kind of social safety net intervention. In this respect, NAADS sees more prospects in targeting and benefiting the ‘economically active poor’ –i.e. poor farmers who have some limited assets, skills and knowledge to create a livelihood. This is the category of farmers generally described as ‘subsistence farmers’ and considered by policy to constitute the majority of country’s largely rural-based farmers. In the intention to target the poor, as espoused in Uganda’s current national development framework – the PEAP – NAADS foresees a clear relationship between poverty and the social/gender position of its target group (MAAIF, 2000). It is for this reason that this study pays close attention to gender-based and age-based inclusions/exclusions within NAADS, with particular reference to women and youth as an important issue for investigation (Chapter 5).

Commercialisation is a key aspect of Uganda's plan for modernising the agricultural sector. It is the main strategy for achieving NAADS' main objective – increased security of rural livelihoods through sustainable improvements in the agricultural productivity and household incomes (Kidd, 2001). Promoting market oriented agriculture as envisaged by NAADS as a means to change the mode (and therefore goal) of farming on the part of Ugandan cultivators. Production will then be demand- driven (NAADS, 2004c). Unlike in the past, when increased farm area provided the main engine of agricultural growth, commercialization will drive increased productivity through demand for new knowledge and production technologies. Increasing the productivity and profitability of farmers' activities hinges on provision of market information and linking farmers to research outputs and markets. Yet, apparently in keeping with its poverty- and gender-sensitive targeting approach, NAADS promises to disaggregate the needs of different groups of farmers when providing agricultural advisory services (NAADS, 2001; MAAIF, 2000). It should be noted, however, that rural communities in Uganda are characterized by subsistence farming, extreme poverty, market failure and other forms of socio-economic distress. This state of affairs is likely to challenge the NAADS strategy of addressing poverty through market-oriented agriculture. Besides it should be obvious that in such situations agriculture and the entire agricultural value chain continues to serve a broad range of functions, many of which centre on household and local subsistence requirements.

2.3.2 NAADS Structure and Functioning

Programme organization, management and coordination

NAADS is a semi-autonomous public agency within Uganda's Agriculture Ministry (MAAIF), created by Act of Parliament (The NAADS Act, 2001). This act stipulates the major institutions within NAADS and their respective roles. At the national level, MAAIF has the national oversight of NAADS. NAADS has a Board of Directors, an autonomous body, constituted under the MAAIF, and charged with coordination and guiding programme policy and strategy, working together with other government bodies. The Board is supported by a NAADS' Secretariat⁶³ in the day-to-day management of NAADS business, providing policy guidance and operational support, as well as ongoing evaluation and national-level planning.

At the operational level NAADS' administrative and coordination structures are integrated into the local government system in accordance with the existing decentralised administration and service delivery framework (Figure 2.2).⁶⁴ The respective Local Governments Councils at District and the sub county level (i.e. LC5 and LC3 respectively) have the political oversight responsibility for the programme (MAAIF, 2000; Nahdy, 2004), especially in regard to use of public funds. This is ordinarily achieved through joint stakeholder programme monitoring and reviews. Besides the political oversight role, the district and sub county local

⁶³ The Secretariat is comprised of an Executive Director, three senior managers, several middle managers and support staff, all hired on a contractual basis.

⁶⁴ The structure is presented in an inverted form to depict the hierarchy of control higher than sub county level within NAADS primary farmer institutions. It does not indicate farmer institutions such as the Parish Coordination Committees (PCCs) which were implemented from 2005 onwards.

governments are also expected to contribute 5% towards their respective annual NAADS budgets.⁶⁵

However, from a technical and administrative point of view, the overall responsibility for programme management and coordination in the district falls under the offices of the heads of civil administration at the district and sub county levels, namely the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and the Sub county Administrative Officer (SAO) respectively.⁶⁶ Within the NAADS set up, however, the day-to-day programme coordination is the responsibility of the district-based District NAADS Coordinator (DNC) and the locally-based sub county NAADS Coordinator (SNC).⁶⁷ These two work hand in hand, on a day-to-day basis, with their respective heads of Civil Administration and the (District and sub county) farmer fora, to coordinate implementation of programme activities. In executing day-to-day responsibilities the DNC reports directly to the CAO, while the SNC reports to the SAO. They are in this regard expected to work hand in hand with the farmer fora, as well as staff of the relevant departments at the respective levels. Especially the district-level staff is occasionally involved in technical audits of goods and services contracted under NAADS, and in monitoring and evaluation activities.⁶⁸ At the sub county level, other than the SAO (and the sub-accountant), involvement of other technical staff varies according to availability and capacity. Often, however, community development officers/assistants have participated in farmer institution developmental activities, usually working together with staff of the participating NGOs.

As noted earlier the NAADS Act provided for the creation of farmer institutions which are the core institutions in the NAADS, charged with the responsibility of implementing the NAADS programme.

At the time of NAADS inception, two farmer institutions were put in place, namely the grassroots farmer groups and the farmer fora (SFF).⁶⁹ The grassroots farmer groups are recognised as the basic farmer institution under NAADS. Being avenues for farmer participation and empowerment the farmer groups have a crucial responsibility to implement NAADS programmatic ideas. They are also primary clients of the advisory services (Nahdy, 2004; MAAIF, 2000). To be registered under NAADS (and become NAADS-affiliated) a

⁶⁵ At the launch of the NAADS programme in 2002 Uganda had 56 districts. Since then new districts have been created. In 2007, Uganda had 79 districts. According to the Bureau of Statistics (UBOS, 2006) each district had, on average, 17 sub counties with about 25,000 persons each.

⁶⁶ The two officers are the Accounting Officers for public funds at the respective local government levels; the Sub county Administrative Officer is sometimes known as the 'Sub county Chief'.

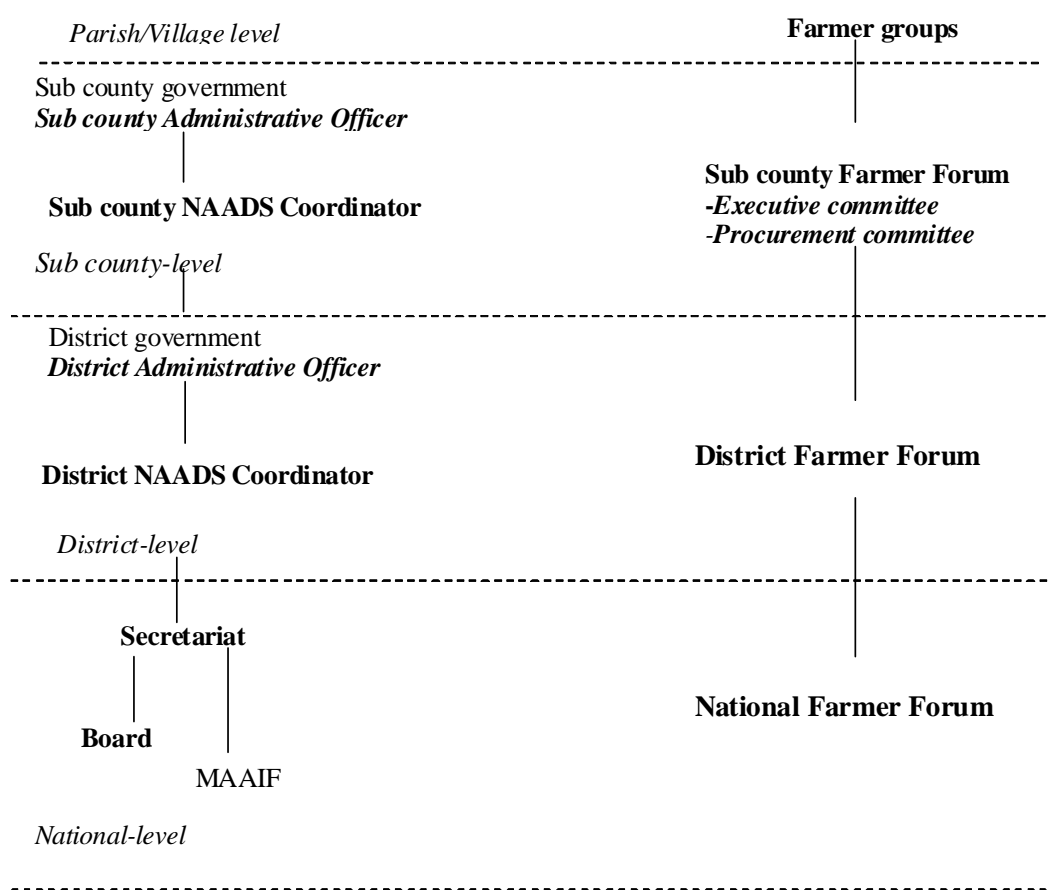
⁶⁷ The DNC is a contracted district employee recruited by the District Service Commission in close collaboration with the NAADS Secretariat, and paid from the district NAADS budget. However, the SNC is a regular local government employee who has hitherto been selected by the CAO (usually on the recommendation of the District Production Coordinator or District Agricultural Officer) from the existing sub county extension staff and assigned to coordinate NAADS activities in the respective sub county.

⁶⁸ In principle, these responsibilities are supposed to be accomplished through earmarked technical audit committees and M&E committees. In practice, however, this responsibility is discharged by individual staff members, usually considered subject matter specialists in a given area.

⁶⁹ A key institution that has since been incorporated into the farmer institutional structure is the Parish Coordination Committee (PCC). The PCCs were only introduced into NAADS in 2005, towards the end of the major phase of field work for this research. Their creation followed the widespread and growing concerns by members of farmer groups about the large (communication) gap between the SFF and the farmer groups.

farmer group is required to meet a number of criteria. This, initially, included (would-be) members sharing common farming interests around a particular enterprise, having an Executive and a Constitution (specifying especially the objectives of the group and a clear leadership structure), and payment of a registration fee.⁷⁰ In addition, in the course of participation in NAADS, groups are required to make contributions towards the collective co-funding obligation of farmer groups of 2% of the total sub county NAADS budget. The contribution by individual farmer groups averages 10,000 to 30,000 Ush. per group per annum, but the actual amount varies according to the amount of money the sub county received from NAADS and the number of groups formed.⁷¹

Figure 2.1: NAADS Organizational Structure



⁷⁰ Others included evidence of membership of the group (including holding of regular meetings) and having a distinct physical address. On registering, a group is supposed to be issued a certificate by the Office of the Sub county Chief/Administrative Officer. The NAADS Master Document (NAADS, 2000) expressed a desire to give special support to the women and youth farmer groups so that they become eligible for registration.

⁷¹ Approximately US\$ 6.00-18.00. Although there is no officially recommended size for a NAADS affiliated farmer group, such a group usually consists of >10 and <30 members.

The farmer fora, which represent farmer groups at the sub county, district and national levels⁷², hold most power under the NAADS Act. They are major points for interaction between farmers, service providers, government officials, and the wider stakeholder community. The way the farmer fora relate to the various levels of government is seen as a core control mechanism for the NAADS programme (Farrington et al., 2002; Kidd, 2001). A sub county farmer forum is (presently) made up of two representatives from each registered farmer group. These representatives are supposed to meet twice a year to plan and review progress in NAADS implementation. This forum is supposed to have an elected Chairperson, two committees (namely an Executive Committee and a Procurement Committee) whose members are elected in a general assembly of the SFF.⁷³ Most of the powers of the forum reside in these two committees, the specific and distinct roles of which are spelt out in the NAADS act. Although the NAADS guidelines require that at least one third of the positions on the two committees are to be filled by women, in practice, this requirement seemed to have been applied more strictly in respect of membership on the Procurement Committee.⁷⁴ Membership on this committee also required a minimum educational attainment of Senior Four (i.e. an Ordinary Level secondary Certificate).⁷⁵ Although all elected positions are voluntary, members have since received a token allowance for attending scheduled meetings and for participating in programme monitoring and other related work.

With NAADS founded on an interface with farmer groups at the sub county level, the sub county is (institutionally) the most critical level for implementation (MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001; Ramirez, 2005). The specific mandated roles and functions of the farmer groups and the sub county farmer fora (and their committees), together with the general responsibilities of the Sub county Administration and their respective local councils are presented in Appendix 6.

NAADS programme components and activities

Since its launch in 2001 NAADS' activities have been implemented through earmarked programme components, five of them specified in the initial programme design (Table 2.3).⁷⁶ Generally, NAADS activities focus mainly on organizing and strengthening farmer

⁷² The district and national level farmer fora are primarily comprised of the chairs of the sub county and district fora respectively. The formation of these two bodies has been slow, and has followed the progressive roll out of NAADS into more districts and sub counties.

⁷³ The NAADS act requires that the Executive Committee consist of three members elected from the general SFF, including the SNC, the Secretary for Production (an elected member of the Local Council 3 [LC3], the main link between the LC3 and the SFF), and the chairperson of the SFF. The Procurement Committee, on the other hand, consists of three members also elected from the general SFF, the Chairperson of the SFF and the SNC.

⁷⁴ See, for instance, NAADS implementation guidelines Vol.4 (January, 2004). But I witnessed the elections of the members of the two SFF committees in the four NAADS trailblazing sub counties in Mukono at the end the interim period of the SFF in 2003 during which events the requirement of at least one third of the positions on the committees being women was only applied to membership on the Procurement Committee.

⁷⁵ Implementation experience has shown that meeting this requirement proved difficult in many rural sub counties – particularly in regard to women. This was, for instance, the case in Wakisi sub county, where a previous woman member of the interim SFF was elected to the Procurement Committee of the substantive SFF on the basis of her hard work and commitment to community service. It was, however, later realized that she did not have the required level of education and was dropped. Efforts to replace her with a suitable candidate proved difficult and the exercise had to be postponed.

⁷⁶ It should be noted that the NAADS' design components have since changed. For instance, after the NAADS' Mid-Term Review (at end of the fourth year, i.e. NAADS 2004/05) an additional component on farmer institutional development (previously an activity within the first component) was formally included in the NAADS design.

institutions, contracting private service providers to implement group/community level training and demonstration activities, provision of inputs through technology promotion and/or multiplication (‘technology development’), and planning, monitoring, regulation and capacity building at various levels.

Table 2.3 NAADS programme components

1. Advisory and information services to farmers (initial allocation of the total budget: 65%) Generic output: appropriate advice and information made available to differentiated categories of farmers in a cost effective manner
2. Technology development and linkages with the markets (initial allocation of the total budget: 6%) Generic output: appropriate technologies available to meet identified farmer needs
3. Quality assurance –regulation and technical auditing of the service providers (initial allocation of the total budget: 1%) Generic output: quality of advice and information provided by service providers assured
4. Private sector institutional development (initial allocation of the total budget: 3%) Generic output: capacity of private sector service providers to meet the identified farmer advice and information needs sustainably enhanced
5. Programme management and monitoring (initial allocation of the total budget: 15%) Generic output: appropriate institutional structures and capacity developed at all implementation levels to operate NAADS effectively

Source: MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001

This study focuses specifically on some of the activities of two NAADS’ components, namely the advisory and information services and technology development and linkages with markets components. These are, respectively, the components via which farmers’ needs for advisory and information services and needs for technology related inputs are addressed, in line with farmer enterprise interests. An overview of relevant activities under each of these components is provided below.

2.3.3 Overview: main activities of the advisory and information services component

Under this component, the NAADS facilitates activities related directly to provision of services to farmers. These activities include farmer orientation and mobilisation, farmer group and fora formation, participatory planning (for enterprise selection and needs identification), contracting advisory and technology related services, and monitoring of NAADS activities. As noted earlier, the key principles behind these activities are farmer empowerment and participation. Farmers in collaboration with their respective sub county administrations contract agricultural advisors to deliver priority services using funds availed through a matching intra-governmental fiscal transfer mechanism from the national and district governments (Kidd, 2001).

Farmer group and farmer fora formation

Often preceded by farmer orientation and mobilization activities, the farmer group and farmer fora formation activities involve capacity building intended to facilitate farmers to organize themselves to demand agricultural advisory and other services, and to monitor their own performance and that of the service providers. These activities, commonly referred to as

‘farmer institutional development’⁷⁷, are seen as providing mechanisms for mobilizing the farmers to acquire basic attitudes and capacities that will enable them to appreciate NAADS principles and procedures and, ultimately, effectively to control NAADS. The main areas of capacity building in this regard include training farmers in skills related to institutional development (group dynamics, leadership, conflict resolution, constitutionalism and democratic methods of work in the groups, business and market orientation etc.) as well as facilitating key programme activities, such as participatory planning, as specified in periodically issued NAADS guidelines. The farmer institutional development activities are supposed to be facilitated by participating NGOs, which enter into collaboration with the sub county NAADS Administration on signing a Memorandum of Understanding specifying the terms of engagement.⁷⁸ In principle it is preferred that for an NGO to qualify to participate under this arrangement it must be operating in a given sub county at the time it first shows interest. This requirement is based on thinking outlined in the NAADS Master document (MAAIF, 2000) justifying the involvement of NGOs in implementing NAADS activities on the basis of, for example, their expertise in mobilizing local communities and implementing participatory approaches. An NGO already operating in an area is presumed to familiar with the situation in local communities.⁷⁹

Participatory planning: enterprise selection and service needs identification

The selection of enterprises is a step-wise process in which farmers (in their respective parishes) are guided to choose enterprises that have a competitive advantage, including market potential and low risk. As mentioned at various points NAADS embodies the principle of participation in all its processes and activities at various levels, including planning. It is important to note that in line with its commercialization strategy for modernizing the country’s agriculture NAADS adopted a commodity focused or ‘enterprise’ approach as the basis for generating and meeting the farmers’ advisory and technology services needs.⁸⁰ Since the enterprise approach is based on the idea of promoting ‘farming as business’, which targets advisory and technology services to priority enterprises in each sub county, is a key feature of NAADS operations (Byekwaso et al. 2004). An enterprise here refers to any farming and /or production activity, in the area of crop and livestock production (including related processing activities), which enable farmers to earn an income from their produce.⁸¹

⁷⁷ For an in-depth analysis of the NAADS’ Farmer Institutional Development’ process and activities see a study by the Coalition for Effective Extension Delivery (CEED) (CEED, 2004).

⁷⁸ Over time, however, this requirement became less stringent and its application varied from place to place depending on the presence of NGO activities. It was therefore not uncommon for such activities to be performed by government staff, especially the Community Development Officers.

⁷⁹ In those sub counties that had been in NAADS for more than a year such activities were often performed by government staff.

⁸⁰ Although the first NAADS design documents do not make specific reference to the enterprise approach, several subsequent NAADS documents do (See, for example, NAADS Annual Reports for 2001/02 and 2002/03; and NAADS Implementation Guidelines, Volume 4, January 2004). Choice of the enterprise approach was also justified by the need for more focused funding provision of agricultural advisory services to achieve better efficiency and effectiveness in the use of funds (NAADS Annual Report, 2001/02).

⁸¹ Obaa et al. (2005:2) comment on the term ‘enterprises’ as commonly used by farmers at participatory planning exercises, where it used to refer to ‘crop and livestock species about whose production or post-harvest management farmers may require advice’. It is important to note that use of the term ‘enterprise’ is constantly being adjusted, as NAADS continues to

After the capacity building related activities (described above) farmers – as members of groups within their respective communities – engage in a participatory planning process which is likewise facilitated by staff of the participating NGO. Essentially, this process is comprised of exercises during which farmers collectively select priority enterprises and identify the related constraints (actual and/or perceived). Enterprise selection describes the process through which the farmers (as farmer groups and farmer fora) prioritize enterprises based on guidelines issued by the NAAD Secretariat (NAADS criteria for enterprise selection). The guidelines specify both the number of enterprises allowed and the relevant parameters to be considered in their selection. With the exception of the second year of NAADS implementation (2002/03) the maximum number of enterprises supported with NAADS funds in a sub county is three.⁸² These guides are meant to ensure that the participatory planning processes at all levels take into consideration NAADS’ principles and objectives, and thus provide some kind ‘standardisation’ for these processes.⁸³ The enterprises identified (usually through ‘majority vote’) by participants are subjected to weighted criteria in a ranking exercise. On the basis of greater weight given to the ‘profitability’ and ‘marketability’ of an enterprise the NAADS’ criteria favour commercially viable enterprises, notwithstanding the attention still to be paid to the level of cost and risk involved (Table 2.4)⁸⁴.

Table 2.4: A simple enterprise selection process matrix for farmers (at the farmer group level)

Enterprise	Low risks* (Weight=1)	Low financial outlay**	Marketability***	Profitability****	Total score
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
Etc.					

Guiding questions for the facilitator

* How many farmers agree that the risks in undertaking this enterprise are low

** How many farmers agree that the financial outlay for the enterprise are low?

***How many farmers agree that the products from the enterprises are easy to market?

****How many farmers (know) that this enterprise is profitable?

Score = (frequency x weight)

Source: adapted from NAADS implementation Guidelines, Volume 4 (January, 2002)

broaden its focus from a near exclusive focus on farm level production activities in its earlier years towards a greater emphasis on processing and value-addition activities.

⁸² During the second year of NAADS implementation (NAADS 2002/03) in the NAADS trailblazing sub counties the number of enterprises was raised from three to six after widespread concerns by farmers about excluding many enterprises of interest to farmers in the first year (NAADS, 2001/2002).

⁸³ However, observations in the field revealed that actual application of the NAADS commissioned criteria in particular sub counties (or even parishes within) varied to a certain extent, in part depending on the facilitating NGO or even an individual facilitator.

⁸⁴ In the earlier years this criteria also included “farmers’ *experience* (or knowledge)” with a particular enterprise (See, for example, NAADS implementation Guidelines, Volume 3. November 2002).

The participatory planning process begins in a community meeting which brings together the farmer groups in the respective parishes to express their preferred enterprises.⁸⁵ It is then carried forward and concluded at the sub county level. Here in a meeting which brings together the farmer fora leadership (and often a cross section of farmer fora representatives) and the technical and administrative staff of the sub county the participants come up with the final list of priority enterprises for the sub county. In principle, qualification of a particular enterprise to remain on the final list depends very much on its sub county-wide rating as per the outcome of the process at the parish level. In practice, however, as will be revealed in Chapter 4 decisions in this regard were at times influenced by certain administrative and practical considerations.

At this stage the constraints identified earlier (at the parish level) in respect of enterprises selected from the sub county priority list are subjected to further scrutiny. It is here that such constraints are passed for translation into agricultural advisory and/or technology service needs which form the basis for the advisory service contracts and related technology 'development' contracts. Although the earlier documents refer to technology-related activities as technology 'development' these activities are in practice meant to demonstrate an improvement based on existing practices. This might, for example, involve introduction of a new animal breed or crop variety, with related management and agronomic practices.

The farmers' participatory planning activities follow the NAADS annual planning cycle and are in line with the broader local government decentralized bottom-up planning framework. With the enterprise selection process repeated on an annual basis the sub counties can choose the same or new enterprises each year⁸⁶. This potentially allows some flexibility and a possibility to broaden the scope of the enterprises (and hence farmer groups) that would, over time, benefit from NAADS services.⁸⁷

2.3.4 Overview of the technology development and market linkages component

Technology development and enhancing linkages with markets are key aspects of the commercialisation strategy for transforming the agricultural sector. In this regard NAADS emphasises the need for increased availability and use of productivity enhancing technologies

⁸⁵ Operationally, 'community' refers to a parish. Administratively, a 'Parish' is the lowest administrative unit with the lower (i.e. Sub county) local government and is comprised of several villages (i.e. LC1s); in terms of NAADS implementation structure it is also the lowest operational unit in which the farmer groups are presumed to be resident. Although in principle the participatory planning process was meant to start right from the individual farmer group, until recently, it has largely been a community-wide affair, and typically starting at parish level. This was the experience in the two case-study sub counties, especially Kasawo sub county.

⁸⁶ For nearly five years of programme implementation on which the findings in this thesis are based the farmers in the both Kasawo sub county and Wakisi sub county had been involved in participatory planning exercises up to 5 times.

⁸⁷ In practice, however, there has been a high tendency for the same enterprise(s) to be selected over several years, as the case of the dairy cattle enterprise, in Kasawo sub county, for example, selected for four consecutive years from 2001/02 to 2004/05 (although a decision was then made to drop it from the 2004/5 list). Where this happened it led, in some instances, to the quite wide ranging concern amongst some farmers about repetition of the same topics over and over again, and was partly responsible for the training fatigue' expressed by farmers (see Chapter 3). Conversely, whenever certain enterprises fell off the list too soon, there was at times expression of dissatisfaction with the process and about lack of continuity. This, for instance, was the case with banana and coffee in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties, which had early in NAADS implementation been adversely affected by devastating diseases – banana bacterial wilt and coffee wilt respectively. This scenario indeed presented a puzzle for the Sub county NAADS implementers (as discussed in Chapter 4).

by farmers. To realize this, NAADS has intention to build the capacity of farmers to enable them drive the process of technology generation and development based on their expressed needs.

As noted earlier, the technology needs of farmers are identified, together with the advisory services needs, in respect of the priority enterprises. The technology development contracts are likewise developed by the sub counties and issued to qualifying service providers⁸⁸ for implementation.

It is envisaged that meeting the farmers' technology needs may require technology development or testing and adaptation of available options. Technology development involves creating awareness about a new technology, and increasing farmers' access and capacity to use and adapt it. The aim is to create demand for and increase adoption of the promoted technologies. This aim is seen as best achieved if effective linkages are established among farmers, advisors, and researchers as well as with relevant markets. Accordingly, NAADS has under this component allocated funds to support the establishment of technology development sites (TDSs) at various levels, namely farmer group, sub county and district levels. Two kinds of technology development activities are identified in this regard, i.e. on-farm and strategic technology development.⁸⁹ The on-farm TDSs, to be hosted within farmer group, are considered focal points for technology multiplication and/or demonstration, as well as serving as sites for practical training.⁹⁰

In principle the TDSs are hosted within farmer groups and are deemed to belong to the groups. It is therefore the responsibility of members to maintain the TDS. However, a host farmer within the group (usually the land owner) is presumed to have overall responsibility for day-to-day management of the site.⁹¹ NAADS support for TDSs is limited to advice and basic technology packages, paid for through technology development contracts. Decisions regarding disposal of produce are also the responsibility of group members.

2.3.5 Approach to funding and delivery of (agricultural) services

Funding and delivery of agricultural services under NAADS is based on new mechanisms for financing and delivery of extension services, in which responsibility is gradually shifted from the public sector to greater involvement of the private sector. In NAADS this shift in funding is anticipated to be a gradual process, whereas the shift in service delivery is to be more immediate, albeit still phased (MAAIF & MFPED 2000; Kidd, 2001; Bahigwa et al. 2005; Nahdy 2004).

⁸⁸ NAADS documents cite a range of possible service providers in this regard, including individuals, private companies, NGOs and public research institutes.

⁸⁹ The strategic technology development activities were targeted at district-wide (or national-wide) priority enterprises, and were to be supported under the district NAADS technology development funds.

⁹⁰ These TDS were also intended to provide entry points for adaptive research activities and hence serve as interfaces between farmers and adaptive researchers.

⁹¹ This was especially for the case of the earlier TDS, as revealed in the NAADS implementation guidelines, Vol. 3 (November, 2002).

Funding

The NAADS design proposes a budget for the NAADS programme raised under a co-funding arrangement.⁹² The relevant funds are expected to come from central government, local governments (at District and Sub county levels) and contributions from Development Partners⁹³ and farmers (MAAIF, 2000; Nahdy 2004). Under initial arrangements government and farmers are expected to provide 20% of the total NAADS budget and development partners 80%. Central government share 8%, and District and Sub county Local Governments will each contribute 5%. Farmers will contribute 2%.⁹⁴ The donor funding is to be pooled and passed through the government's general budget (the 'common basket') in the Finance Ministry (MFPED). It is then to be periodically disbursed to districts and subsequently to sub counties (MAAIF, 2000; NAADS, 2001; Nahdy 2004).⁹⁵ NAADS envisages that within a 25-year period public financing for the advisory service will reduce to 50%, with the rest expected to come from contributions by farmers (MAAIF, 2000).

Up to 77% of NAADS money is ear-marked for the sub counties,⁹⁶ the bulk of which is pay for advisory services to farmers (Nahdy, 2004). The high share of NAADS funding that goes to the sub county administrations is intended to support implementation at lower levels, in line with government's decentralization policy (Nahdy, 2004). Moreover, allocation of NAADS funds to sub county administrations, who worked together with farmer for a and made contracts with the private service agencies, reflected a partial reversal of the flow of funds, a mechanism that is considered to strengthen the accountability of the service agents to the clients (Kidd, 2001:21).

Services delivery

NAADS has adopted a radical approach to the development of advisory services that goes beyond 'business as usual,' particularly in regard to the type of advice sought and the role of different actors (Kidd, 2001:18). NAADS particularly intends to expand the content of the advice to beyond the 'traditional advice on productivity enhancing technologies and soil conservation,' to include marketing, storage and agro-processing information (ibid.). This is in accordance with the aim of changing the mode and goal of farming from subsistence to a market orientation.

⁹² The initial total budget estimate for implementation of the NAADS programme over the first seven years was \$108,000,000.

⁹³ Including IDA, IFAD, EU, DFID, DANIDA, Irish aid, and Dutch aid (DGIS).

⁹⁴ The respective contributions are projected to change over the planned 25-year period, with increasing levels of support from district and sub county governments and farmers, and a reduction in national government and donor support.

⁹⁵ Apparently other funding mechanisms were later introduced, notably the project mode by the EU and DANIDA, following a funding deficit during NAADS FY1 (2001/2002) – see NAADS Annual Report (2001/002). It should be added that over the years of implementation local governments and farmers have regularly fallen short of their expected funding contributions. For the local governments, this failure has in part been due to the abolition of graduated tax a few years ago, which reduced greatly their capacity to meet their obligations.

⁹⁶ It is worth noting that for most sub counties NAADS funding was by far their largest source of funding. Hence the high levels expectations and interest raised by NAADS in such sub counties. Yet because NAADS funds did not go through the normal sub county funding channel, funding issues often generated conflict between direct NAADS implementers and local council officials charged with oversight responsibility for NAADS.

As already noted, farmers are to gain increased responsibility for planning the services they need, including monitoring and evaluation of contracts. They are to become clients for a service rather than mere beneficiaries – thus shaping a demand driven and farmer-led advisory service (NAADS, 2004c:7). The ability of the farmers to articulate their needs and make effective demands for advisory services (and implicitly for government funds) will depend very much upon their ability to organize themselves in groups (Bahigwa et al., 2005).

Service provision is to be ensured mainly through contractual arrangements with private sector providers/agencies, a strategy intended to increase relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of service provision (Nahdy, 2004). Award of service contracts, is (in principle) by means of competitive mechanisms,⁹⁷ based on needs expressed by farmers through their representatives in the farmer fora (MAAIF, 2000; Kidd, 2001; Nahdy, 2004). Offering farmers a chance to buy advisory and research services from any organizations of their choosing is viewed as a key novelty in the NAADS approach (Hall and Yoganand 2004). The (private) service providers may be individuals, small groups of advisors, professionals, professional companies, para-statal, academic institutions or commercial companies,⁹⁸ as well as companies or individuals active in agricultural trading, input supply, produce marketing, processing and manufacturing. Civil society organizations (CSO) are also expected to have a strong role in NAADS activities through partnerships and letters of agreements.⁹⁹

NAADS implementation started in six NAADS trailblazing districts, including Mukono district, the district in which the two case study sub counties are located.¹⁰⁰ At commencement in 2001/02 Uganda had 56 districts, with the NAADS trailblazing period planned to last for two years. Since then, NAADS has been rolled out to cover all 79 districts in the country at the end of the first phase (2007/08). This rapid expansion of coverage, often cited as an important indicator of NAADS progress, has at times raised concerns about the somewhat haphazard manner in which NAADS has grown, apparently contrary to the original plan. This has been attributed to political pressure as well as to adjustment in the initial criteria for participation in NAADS by districts.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ In practice, however, shortage of (suitable) private service providers for some services has not resulted in the anticipated competition in bidding for service contracts. This has in part been because of the delay in implementing of the planned capacity building programme for the private service providers, a programme that it was also hoped would draw upon the existing pool of staff from (previous) traditional public extension system (Nahdy 2004).

⁹⁸ Interested private service agencies have been required to register with the NAADS Board through the District Production Coordination Office in the respective NAADS Districts, as part of a quality assurance measure concerning privately provided services.

⁹⁹ At sub county level these are commonly the Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) between the sub county administration and participating NGOs.

¹⁰⁰ The other NAADS trailblazing districts are Arua, Kabale, Kibaale, Soroti and Tororo.

¹⁰¹ Initiation criteria for selection of NAADS trailblazing districts emphasized regional representation and compliance with the Local Government Development Plan. Besides political pressure from Members of Parliament to have their own constituencies benefit from NAADS, a section among the donor community was concerned about the possible exclusion of the poorer districts obviously disadvantaged by the Local Government Development Plan compliance requirement, which emphasized certain capacities largely absent in poorer districts. This reportedly led to some adjustment in the earlier criteria and inclusion of a poverty index.

2.4 Study area

This thesis draws on field research carried out in two NAADS sub counties, namely Kasawo sub county and Wakisi sub county, located in Mukono District in the Central region of Uganda.

2.4.1 Choice of study area

Both the district and the two study sub counties were selected purposively. The selection was guided by both the findings of preliminary study¹⁰² as well as some practical considerations. First, Mukono district was one of the first six NAADS trailblazing districts in the country. In addition, preliminary study revealed factors making Mukono district particularly relevant for the purposes of this study. These include:

- the relatively orientation towards group culture among the people in the Central region (including Mukono), particularly as regards farming-related activities
- high social-cultural diversity within the population
- a relatively high 'political tension' during the early stages of implementation of NAADS

The level of group culture is considered pertinent in this study because NAADS seeks to achieve farmer participation and empowerment through the primary institution of farmer groups as a means to generate a demand-driven advisory service (as seen in 2.3.1). The generally low group culture among the people in this area would thus indicate a major challenge NAADS implementation was likely to face. The high social-cultural diversity of the population in Mukono district provided opportunity to engage elements in the population with different farming and social-cultural backgrounds. Members of the respective ethnic groupings are known to have migrated into the district from several regions of the country. On the other hand a 'politically charged' environment was considered useful in revealing some of the governance and political issues surrounding NAADS implementation. This seemed an especially important consideration given that NAADS had been underway for barely two years, but was a major aspect of a more general plan to reshape the rural political economy.

At a more practical level, Mukono district provided advantages that the researcher was already familiar with the local culture and language. This is an important consideration for any study based on largely qualitative methods, requiring intensive discursive interaction with informants.

¹⁰² The preliminary study was carried out at the beginning of 2003, during the first quarter of the second year of NAADS implementation (i.e. NAADS 2002/03). It aimed to identify the key issues in implementing the NAADS programme hitherto, and subsequently guide the selection of study sites for the in-depth study. It was conducted over a period of about two months (January 28th to March 26th, 2003) and covered three (out of the six) NAADS trailblazing districts, namely Kabale in the South-western region, Mukono in the Central region, Soroti in the North-eastern region. This survey covered all four NAADS trailblazing sub counties in Mukono district and Soroti district and three (out of four) such sub counties in Kabale district. The four sub counties in Mukono district were Kasawo, Kyampisi, and Nakisunga and Wakisi sub counties. Final selection of two sub counties for further research was purposive, but decided only after nearly all other candidates had been examined.

The main focus of the thesis is on the apparent gap between the NAADS approach and the conditions of farmers in the case study sub counties. The two sub counties were chosen to broaden the picture, not to provide a basis for detailed comparison. In other words the sub county data sets are to be viewed in additive not contrastive terms. It should also be noted that Mukono district has a number of urban areas. Compared to the other sub counties (in the district) covered during the preliminary study, Kasawo and Wakisi sub- counties offered the best opportunity to study NAADS under typical rural, subsistence farming conditions.¹⁰³ In both sub counties people experience widespread agrarian poverty and similar bottlenecks with regard to production inputs, credit, and markets for produce. Nevertheless there are some differences to be noted. On account of both its more favourable location and a longer history of 'modern' administration Kasawo sub county can be said to be relatively more developed, and to have better marley opportunities than Wakisi sub county. Moreover, farmers in Kasawo seem less constrained by land shortage than their counter parts in Wakisi. On the other hand the population in Wakisi sub county seems to have a stronger group culture (and greater ethnic diversity) than Kasawo sub county.

2.4.2 Description of study area

To put the two study sub counties into a broader context the general situation in Mukono district is described while the specific situation in each of the two sub counties is detailed where necessary.

Location, climatic conditions, and administration

Mukono district is located in Central Uganda within the historical region of the Buganda kingdom (Figure 2). It shares borders with three commercial and industrial districts, namely Wakiso and Kampala districts to the south-west and Jinja district to the east. It also borders Lake Victoria to the south.¹⁰⁴ Mukono town, about 21 km. east of Kampala City, along the Eastern Highway, is the administrative and commercial centre of the district. Close to Kampala, the district has a fairly well-established communication system including a reasonably good road and telephone network, and internet connectivity (a recent development). This location and connectivity favours economic activities such as trade, industry and commercial agriculture. As a result Mukono has a high potential development, and is in fact one of the (economically) fastest growing districts in Uganda. It occupies an area of 11, 764 km² of which approximately 69% is under open water, Lake Victoria forming the main water body, while 4.2% percent is covered with forest. This area available for agriculture is an estimated 2529.43 km², one-third of which (i.e. 834 km²) is currently under cultivation.

Mukono District lies on a high plateau 1000–1300 m above sea level; 75% of the land has less than 60° slope. The northern part of the district is flat with higher relief in the south, where some parts reach 2440 m. The rainfall is fairly well distributed, averaging 900 to 1100

¹⁰³ Apart from not qualifying on this criterion, Nakisunga sub county, one of the two other possible sub counties, had just been included in a study of NAADS in Mukono by an MSc. Student of Wageningen University (Kayanja, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ Other districts with which Mukono district shares borders include Kayunga to the North, Luweero to the Northwest, Mayuge to the East and Kalangala in the South.

mm with two peaks in March to May and September to November. Temperatures range from 16°C and 28°C.¹⁰⁵ These conditions support rich tropical forest/savannah mosaic vegetation characterized by patches of dense tropical rain forest in the south and scattered trees, shrubs and grassland in the north. The gentle relief and generally good climatic conditions in the district favour a range of cash and food crops, and provide opportunity for commercial farming enterprises such as horticulture and floriculture. Two other important physical features are the Mabira forest and the river Nile. The area within and around the forest offers good weather conditions and fertile soils for crops. The Nile provides fertile river banks, a dependable source of water and some scope for fishing activities. Kasawo sub county is found in the northern part of the Mukono district.¹⁰⁶ It is located 44 km. from Mukono town, off the Kampala-Jinja road, and about 65 km from Kampala. It is connected directly to Mukono town and other commercial centres by a main tarmac road.

Wakisi sub county is located in the south-east of the district,¹⁰⁷ about 67 km. from Mukono town. It is c. 100 km. from Kampala. The Wakisi sub county headquarters is 16 m. From Jinja, a major regional centre. Wakisi sub county is traversed by a main tarmac road linking with various urban centres. Wakisi has no direct and convenient means of transport to Mukono town or Kampala, however. This makes travel to the district HQ costly and time consuming.¹⁰⁸ Moreover its peripheral location in Mukono district is a disadvantage.¹⁰⁹ Wakisi sub county is quite remote in administrative and other practical matters.

Both Mabira forest and the river Nile are important in the lives of the people in Wakisi sub county. Mabira forest (bordering the South-western and North-eastern sides) provides a major livelihood source.¹¹⁰ Besides providing forest products such as charcoal and firewood, people use land claimed from forest to grow a number of crops such as banana, cassava and sweet potato.¹¹¹ However, about 1996/7 the National Forestry Authority began banning people in communities on the forest edge from farming and other livelihood activities in the forest reserve area. This is reported by local leaders to have aggravated a serious land shortage problem in the sub county, raising concern among affected people.¹¹² In the late 1990s a government hydro power scheme on the Nile displaced farmers dependent on fertile riverine land¹¹³ adding to land shortages in the sub county.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁵ See, for instances, Mukono District PAF News (Issue No. 07 Vol.01, June-September 2004)

¹⁰⁶ In Nakifuma county.

¹⁰⁷ In Buikwe county.

¹⁰⁸ Wakisi has no designated motor vehicle collecting point or even '*boda boda*' stage, despite the fact that the popular '*boda boda*' provides the most dependable means of transport within the sub county.

¹⁰⁹ That is, Jinja, Mukono and Kayunga districts. In fact the recent creation of Kayunga district, carved out of Mukono district, left Wakisi sub county isolated at the far end of (present-day) Mukono district. Some residents in one remote parish (Kalagala) on the border gave vent to their feelings of exclusion to the researcher, and would have preferred to be part of Kayunga district.

¹¹⁰ Especially in Konko, Kalagala and Nakalanga parishes

¹¹¹ According to elders in the area, people started using the forest for crops in the 1950s after areas had been cleared for charcoal burning and firewood collection

¹¹² Such people had no alternative but to return to small and usually over-cultivated pieces of land elsewhere. According to elders in the sub county most of the area occupied by present day Wakisi sub county once belonged to Mabira forest. Many people still feel the forest is part of the community patrimony, open for human settlement as in the past (field interviews, November 2004).

¹¹³ The Bujagali hydro-power dam.

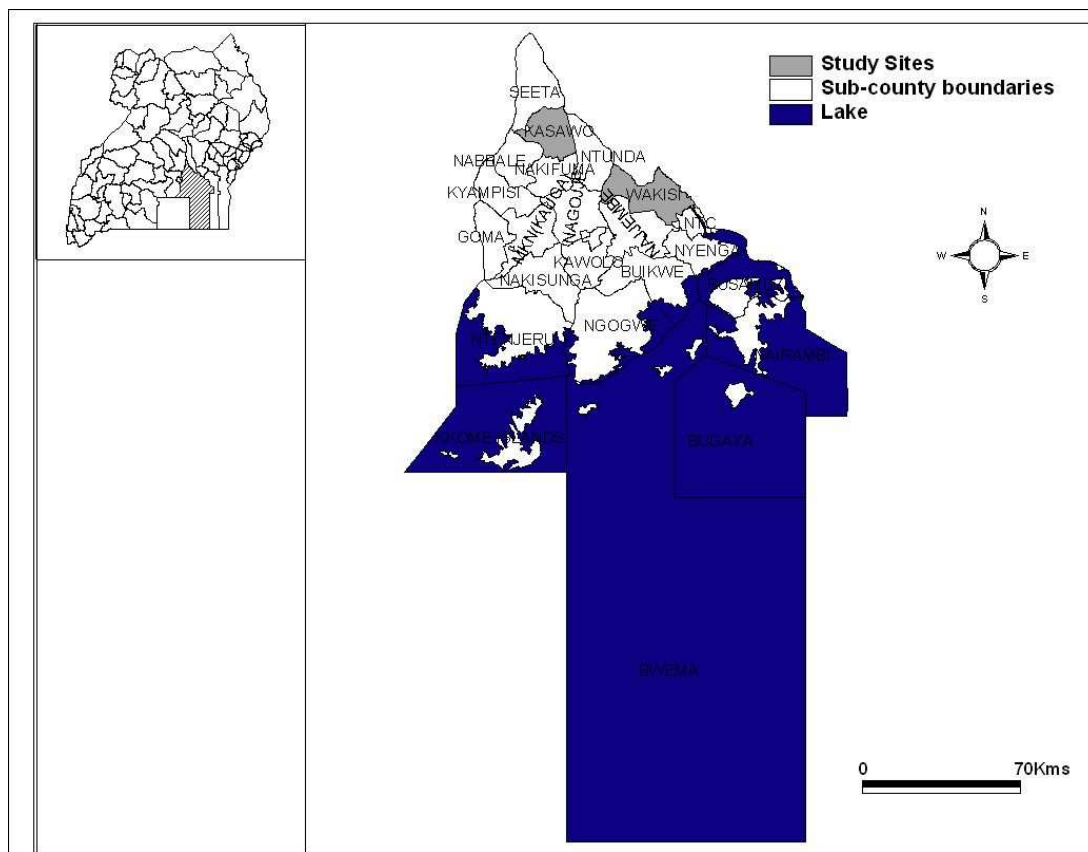


Figure 2.2: Map of Mukono showing the study sites.

Mukono district is administered under a decentralized system comprising district and sub county level local government¹¹⁵. This also provides the framework for service delivery and implementation of government programmes. Local councils are committees of elected leaders at various levels, beginning with the village.¹¹⁶ The district Local Government consists of Local Council V (LC V) while the sub county Local Government is Local Council III (LCIII). These two levels of local governments are presided over by a elected District Chairperson and a Sub county Chairperson.¹¹⁷ Apart from providing political leadership and participating in political decision-making (including planning processes) local council officials have also to implement various government programmes, by mobilising communities and providing political oversight.

This political leadership structure runs alongside the civil service, comprising technical and professional personnel. The district civil service is headed by a Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), with assistants at County, Sub county and Parish levels.¹¹⁸ These officers are

¹¹⁴ Particularly in Malindi and Naminya parishes. Apparently the affected people were compensated and resettled.

¹¹⁵ See Golooba-Muteebi (2004) and Deva & Grant (2003) for a for a detailed discussion on Uganda's local governance system.

¹¹⁶ The local council committee members are elected by universal suffrage

¹¹⁷ Commonly referred to as LC V Chairperson and LC III Chairperson.

¹¹⁸ Currently, Mukono district has 4 Counties, 28 Sub counties (including 4 Town Councils), 145 Parishes (LC IIs) and 1120 villages (LC Is).

supported by the staff and heads of various technical departments, responsible for day-to-day activities.

Kasawo and Wakisi sub county local governments comprise three levels of Local Councils, each headed by a Chairperson.¹¹⁹ Each Sub county has a headquarters. The head of the civil/technical administration is the sub county Administrative Officer,¹²⁰ in charge of both financial and technical matters. The AO is assisted by community-based Parish Chiefs. Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties each have six parishes.¹²¹ From a political viewpoint, all technical staff in the sub- county (including AO) are accountable to the Council and Chairperson of Local Council III.

Kasawo sub county has existed for longer than Wakisi. Kasawo sub county was once part of the Buganda Kingdom's administration during the 1960s. Wakisi is more recent.¹²² Attaining sub county status in the mid-70s Wakisi saw little subsequent development due to political and economic turmoil over the next 20 years or so.¹²³

It is also worth adding that Mukono district has a history of poor leadership linked to political rivalries within the district. These rivalries have affected government programmes, as experience of NAADS will show.¹²⁴ Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties are no exception in this regard.

2.4.3. Social-economic context

Population and state of human development

The 2002 Population and Housing Census estimated the population of Mukono district at 807,923, comprising 396,250 (49.8%) males and 399,143 (50.2%) females. Mukono is ranked 5th among the most populated districts in the country.¹²⁵ The population density averages 264 persons/km², higher than the regional average in the Central region (179 persons/km²) and the national average (126 persons/ km²). The population growth rate is

¹¹⁹ I.e. Local Council III (Sub county level), Local Council II (Parish level) and Local Council I (Village level).

¹²⁰ Generally referred to as the 'Sub county Chief.'

¹²¹ Kasawo sub county comprises Kabimbiri, Kakukulu, Kasana, Kigogola, Kitovu and Namaliri parishes; Wakisi sub county comprises Kalagala, Konko, Malindi, Nakalanga, Naminya and Wakisi parishes.

¹²² Wakisi sub county was previously a parish of Nyenga sub county – then known as Konko parish. On the periphery of the former Nyenga sub county the area that now constitutes Wakisi sub county was generally inaccessible. It was separated from the rest of Nyenga sub county by a portion of Mabira forest, a big commercial sugarcane farm and the Kampala-Jinja highway. According to key informants, this was a reason for the residents and leaders in the former Konko parish to ask for sub county status. Wakisi sub county was named after one of the central villages in the former Konko parish – Wakisi village – which itself was raised to parish HQ status, henceforth being known as Wakisi parish in Wakisi sub county. Many of the present-day Parishes in Wakisi sub county were created from previous villages in former Konko parish.

¹²³ According to a retired senior civil servant resident in Wakisi sub county.

¹²⁴ My experience in the three districts covered during the preliminary phase in the second year of NAADS implementation (in 2003) suggested that Mukono district suffered more from 'bad politics' than neighbouring Soroti and Kabale districts. In 2003, a member of top management at the NAADS Secretariat recalled that a vehicle allocated to the Mukono district NAADS Coordination Office was used for political campaigns in the districts. Shortly before the NAADS mid-term review the President ordered an investigation into the use of NAADS funds in the district, again following allegations of misuse. These abuses seem to have been linked to 'political rivalry' among some politicians.

¹²⁵ Uganda's total population was estimated at about 22 million.

2.7%, and a mean household size is 4.2 persons.¹²⁶ As in many other areas in Uganda the high population density is mainly explained by high fertility rate as well as a low marriage age for women (17 years on average) (UNDP, 2007). For Mukono, however, an additional factor has been a long history of inflow of people from other parts of the country seeking employment, land, fertile soils and, at times, security. Kasawo sub county contributes close to 4% of the total population in the district making it among the 12 most populated sub counties in the country. Females constitute a slight majority (51.2%) of Kasawo's population. It is estimated to have 6,692 households and an average household size of about 4.8 people per household. Wakisi sub county constitutes 4.2% of the district population,¹²⁷ with females 50.5% and males 49.5%. The average size of its 7,336 households is 4.6 people.

Up to 56% of the Mukono's population is below 19 years,¹²⁸ while the elderly constitute only c. 5% of the population. This indicates a high dependency ratio (especially of younger people) on the economically productive age groups. Moreover, although Mukono district is reported to be 17.6% urbanized,¹²⁹ majority (over 75%) of the population resides in rural areas. According to district planning documents, this situation requires agricultural and poverty alleviation programmes targeted on rural households.¹³⁰

On the basis of Uganda's Human Development Report (UNDP, 2007) Mukono district is among the most developed in the country. The human development index (HDI) and human poverty index (HPI) for Mukono in 2005 are 0.598 and 18.2 respectively.¹³¹ In spite of these apparently quite favourable indicators, the population in the district shares the widespread poverty experienced by the majority of Uganda's rural population. Reportedly, 49% of the district's population still lives below the poverty line, with this figure rising to 56% in the worst hit areas.¹³² People in the district have also experienced the adverse effects of disease - notably malaria and HIV/AIDS. Both affect the productivity of the adult population.¹³³ The negative impact of HIV/AIDS on the livelihoods of rural households in Uganda is well documented (Karuhanga Beraho, 2008; NAADS, 2003). Despite apparently good literacy levels in Mukono district, enrollment in functional adult literacy programmes (at 79% of the

¹²⁶ Compared to about 2.8% for the Central region and the national average of about 3.4%. See, for example, Mukono District Development Plan (2007/8 – 2009/10) and the Uganda Human Development Report (2007).

¹²⁷ Wakisi sub county is among the first six most densely populated sub counties in the district.

¹²⁸ The proportion <15 years is estimated at 49% while <5 years are 26%. Youth (18 -30years) comprise c. 20%.

¹²⁹ Compared to about 25% for the Central Region and around 12% for the country.

¹³⁰ See Mukono District Development Plan (2007/8 – 2009/10)

¹³¹ Compared to HDI of 0.637 for Central Region and a national value of 0.598 in 2005, and HPI of 26.96 for Central Region and a national value of 27.69. UNDP defines the Human Development Index (HDI) as a measure of the overall human progress in a more holistic manner with special emphasis on living a decent life. It is a composite index embracing longevity, knowledge (measured by educational attainment) as a composite indicator of adult literacy and gross school enrolment in the ratio of two-thirds and one-third, and a decent standard of living, (represented by GDP per capita measured in terms of purchasing power parity-PPP) (UNDP, 2007). The Human Poverty Index (HPI) is defined as a measure of deprivation according to three basic dimensions of the HDI (life expectancy, educational attainment and GDP per capita) (UNDP, 2007). Mukono is ranked in 8th position on HDI and in 3rd position on HPI, out of 76 Ugandan districts.

¹³² The poverty line in Uganda is fixed at one dollar per day person. Presently, about 34% (close to nine million) of Ugandans live below the poverty line.

¹³³ The 2004/5 Uganda National Health Survey (UNHS) indicates that the district has an HIV prevalence rate of 6.5% - 7.5% among females and 5.2% among males. It also reveals that there are as many as 2,107 child-headed households in the district as a result of death of their parents from HIV/AIDS-related illness.

over-10 population, compared to a national figure of 69%) suggests that adult illiteracy levels remains high, especially among women.¹³⁴

Agriculture and other livelihood activities

With a mix of urban and rural settlements people in Mukono district derive a living from a range of economic activities, both on-farm and off-farm. In particular, well-endowed areas with natural resources (such as fertile soils and water) and closer to urban centres favour economic activities including trade and industry, commercial agriculture, fishing,¹³⁵ tourism, and arts and crafts. Nonetheless, as for the rest of (rural) Uganda, agriculture remains the mainstay for the people, and is indeed the main economic activity in the district. Mukono district is located within the banana-coffee farming system region of Uganda (MAAF&MFPE, 2000). This system is associated with the production of various crops, the major ones being robusta coffee, banana, maize, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, horticultural crops, tea and ground nuts.

Most agricultural activity in the district is classed as subsistence production (approximating 80% of activity among an estimated 74,000 farming households). Local agriculture includes mixed farming practices, features small farm sizes and low productivity, with high reliance on family labour provided mainly by women and children. The small farm sizes are a result of increasing family sizes leading over time to fragmentation.¹³⁶ Low agricultural productivity is attributed to over-cultivation of available land within households, poor soil management practices and use of rudimentary farming methods based primarily on the hand hoe. Rainfall so far provides the primary source of water for crop production. In spite of being located within a high rainfall area, farmers in some parts of the district are increasingly experiencing unfavourable growing conditions characterized by prolonged droughts.

Farmers grow a range of crops mainly for family consumption but also to earn some income. The main crops in consumption category include cassava, sweet potatoes, banana, maize, millet, beans, ground nuts and a variety of fruits and vegetables (including tomatoes, water melons, onions, eggplants, green pepper, *Amaranthus* species¹³⁷, cabbages, pineapples, passion fruits, etc.).¹³⁸ In the marketed category, the major crops include the established cash crops such as coffee, tea, sugar cane and cocoa, and non-traditional cash crops such as banana, maize, beans, fruits and vegetables, and more recently vanilla and upland rice. In recent years production of coffee and banana, the two major established crops in the district

¹³⁴ According to the Mukono District Local Government' Five- Year Integrated Strategic Plan for Orphans and other vulnerable children (2008-2013).

¹³⁵ Until recently, as elsewhere in the country, lake fishery was economically important, with Lake Victoria providing the hub. Given that ¾ of the area of the district comprises water fishing has long been an important source of livelihood. Fishing is probably the third main economic activity (after agriculture and small scale industry). It sustains an inflow of migrants from the Eastern and Northwestern regions of the country but also from neighbouring countries. Of late, however, fish farming activities have been taken up some relatively better-off farmers, albeit on a small scale. Fish farming is being improved using funds from government programmes.

¹³⁶ According to information in the District Production Office, about 45% of farmers have holdings of less than 1 hectare, 30% have holdings of 1-2 hectares and c. 8.0 % have farm holdings of up to 5 hectares (JICA Master Plan Study, 1996).

¹³⁷ *Amaranthus lividus* (locally, 'Bugga') and *Amaranthus dubius* (locally, 'dodo').

¹³⁸ Crops grown for food are influenced by the food habits of particular ethnic groups. For example, millet production is mainly found among members of ethnic groups from the Eastern region for whom this crop is a main staple.

have declined due to the adverse affects of coffee wilt disease and banana bacterial wilt disease. Efforts to restore the production of the two crops to previous levels through breeding for resistance have so far not yet yielded the desired results. This situation has contributed greatly to the decline in incomes and food security among many agricultural households and to rising levels of poverty among rural households.

It is worth mentioning that Kasawo and Wakisi are no exception to the general pattern of agriculture in the district. In Wakisi sub county, maize and beans are particularly important food crops. Maize has become a major income earner for households as a result of decline in coffee production. Once mainly a woman's crop it has lately gained importance for male farmers. Men are better placed for production of maize, since planting on a relatively large scale requires considerable amounts of land and labour, and this often entails cash expenditure.

Although still limited in scale, there is a discernable trend towards commercial farming activities involving production of cash crops such as tea, sugar cane, floriculture, vanilla and coffee. Presently, however, major activities centre on the production of tea and sugar cane, which are mostly produced on big plantation-type commercial farms. These farms have over the years attracted migrant workers from other parts of the country, especially the North-West and Eastern regions. This inflow has contributed to increase in population in areas around these farms as well as to their ethnic diversity, as seen in the case of Wakisi sub county. In fact, people in Wakisi sub county believe the presence of these large commercial farms contributes to the problem of limited land availability. Given this shortage of land, there is now a trend towards supporting sugar-cane out-grower schemes under-contract grower arrangements to supply the big farms. There has also been a long history of local people in the nearby communities supplying casual labour especially on tea farms. This is quite common in parts of Wakisi sub county. The practice is liked by the participants since it provides a reliable source of income to meet immediate cash needs. There is, however, growing concern among local leaders that such practices may deprive households of the necessary labour for their own food production.

Besides established cash crops, private small-scale farmers are increasingly embracing commercial-oriented agriculture centred on high value crops such as vanilla and flowers. This trend is both a response to the government's call for agricultural enterprise diversification at the household level, and a reflection of the decline in importance of coffee as a major cash crop.¹³⁹ Vanilla, in particular, offered high prospects for substituting coffee as a major income earner for many farming households, especially during the recent 'vanilla boom' (2003-2004).¹⁴⁰ During this period vanilla became 'green gold' for growers in Mukono district, hitherto a leading producer of vanilla in the country. Compared to Kasawo sub county, vanilla production in Wakisi is less widespread, and is generally a new activity. Local and

¹³⁹ Besides the adverse effects of the coffee wilt disease the role of coffee as a major income earner for farmers had already been negatively affected by declining prices on world markets.

¹⁴⁰ This was a time when vanilla production in major producing countries, notably Madagascar, fell sharply, due to bad weather conditions.

farm-gate prices for a kilogramme of green vanilla beans surged to unprecedented levels in 2003-4.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately this was only short-lived. The surge on world markets was only temporary and home vanilla production soon suffered from drastic price falls.¹⁴² This left farmers with few dependable cash crop alternatives, hence the rise in poverty among rural households.

Farmers are also involved in rearing cattle, goat, pigs and chickens (mostly local types). Numbers per household are small. In the majority of sub counties the average per household is less than 0.5 head of cattle, with the highest being about 2.7.¹⁴³ Even so, Kasawo sub county, located within the best cattle keeping area in the district, is presently considered among the high potential sub counties for dairy cattle enterprise development. The situation is more adverse in Wakisi sub county, where meaningful engagement in cattle rearing is limited by widespread shortage land.¹⁴⁴ Here people are mainly engaged in the rearing of small livestock, notably goats; a household, on average, owns 2 to 3 goats (Green Watch, 2007). Livestock rearing is a main source of income for only 4.3% of households.¹⁴⁵

This low level of livestock activity has, according to some district leaders, contributed to the prevailing poverty among rural households. Mukono district is part of the infamous 'Luwero Triangle' – an area within the Central region that was the epicentre of a five-year civil war, lasting until the mid-1980s. During this period many people lost all their livestock. Despite efforts by government and some donor-funded NGO programmes to restock the affected areas have not fully recovered from these and the adverse effects associated with the war. In recent years there are have been some attempt by government and non-governmental programmes to improve livestock production through the introduction of improved animal breeds and unconventional production systems, such as zero grazing.¹⁴⁶ In Wakisi sub county, for example, the zero grazing production system seems to be providing some livestock enterprise development. But even so, progress is hindered by problems of expanding the scale of operation due to lack of land for feed production.

Poultry keeping is a common activity in the district especially among women. The numbers kept within individual households, however, are usually small. Available information suggests that there are more chickens per household in Kasawo sub county than Wakisi sub

¹⁴¹ In this period growers reported a farm-gate price for 1.0 kg. of green vanilla beans ranged from Shs 100, 000 to Shs. 150, 000 (i.e. \$58.8 to \$88.2).

¹⁴² In fact recent developments suggest that coffee is slowly regaining its position, as prospects for better price for farmers strengthen, relative to vanilla.

¹⁴³ See, for instance, Mukono District Council Three Year District Investment Plan (2004/05-2006/07), June 2004. This should not be surprising as, according to available statistics (UBOS, 2004), of the total number of agricultural households in the district, only 16.2% are recorded to have indigenous cattle. Of this group about half (48.4%) have 2-4 head of cattle per household and about 40% have one head of cattle per household (UBOS, 2004).

¹⁴⁴ A recent study (Green Watch, 2007) suggests that an average household within the communities around River Nile owns approximately 0.4 to 2 ha of land, which they put to various uses including residence, crop production and livestock rearing.

¹⁴⁵ According to a recent survey conducted by Bujjagali Energy Limited (BEL) under its 'Implementation of Social and Environment Action Plans (SEAPS)'. BEL, July, 2008.

¹⁴⁶ These have included the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP), and more recently the PMA/NAADS; as well as NGO programmes such as Send-A-Cow (Uganda), Heifer International, and the World Vision (Uganda) Development Programme.

county.¹⁴⁷ Chicken are raised for both household consumption and to earn some cash through sale of birds or eggs. Local chickens also serve as a stepping stone (or starter capital) for households and/or individuals to acquire some goats and eventually cows.¹⁴⁸ In Wakisi sub county, especially, it is common for people to exchange numbers of chickens for a goat, and a few goats for a cow, through a local 'barter system.'

As in the rest of the country, women play a major role in agriculture. Because they are constrained by limited access to land and capital women are mainly involved in smallscale activities. They mainly focus on local food crops and local breeds of small livestock (pigs, goats and chickens). More active involvement in agriculture by men usually happens only where farming involves cash crops and rearing of livestock for market. For their part, (male) youth are generally perceived as not only being less involved in farming but also as disliking it as a source of livelihood. This perception, quite widespread among older adults, is especially common among community leaders (see Chapter 5). Purportedly, many youths prefer off-farm income generating activities, which they perceive to offer more opportunity for quick returns to their usually limited resources. Notable among off-farm activities in this regard are providing (rural) transport services - commonly on small motor-bikes known locally as '*bodaboda*', - bricking making and petty trading. The *bodaboda* business, is a more common income generating activity among youth in Kasawo sub county than Wakisi sub county. This is because of Kasawo's relatively more conducive location, which favours both a range of business activities and frequent movements of people on a better road network. The rate at which male youth are embracing this activity has raised concern among adults and community leaders. They view it as taking away useful cheap labour from agriculture. This sometimes rationalised not as a reason to increase farm rates of pay but as a trend depriving the sector of potential future farmers. This perception needs to be seen in the light of the fact that low involvement of many youth in farming is linked to limited resources, notably land and cash. Nevertheless, some youth are involved in farming, being mainly engaged in the growing of fresh vegetables and other horticultural crops. Such crops appear attractive to this age group both for the reason that they require relatively low initial investment (compared to traditional crops such as coffee) and have a propensity for quick turn-over. Also – and crucially – they are seen as having a ready market potential to yield cash.

As indicated above, land is a key asset in the lives of the people of Mukono district. The majority of local households depend on land as their primary source for food and income security. Land access and/or ownership issues - social inequalities between men and women in particular - continue to constrain agricultural production throughout the country, and are especially significant in parts of Mukono district. In this district land access and land availability constraints also arise from the high population pressure, which has led to increased fragmentation of already small family plots. The situation is exacerbated by the increasing land purchases, and other forms of long-term land acquisition, for industrial,

¹⁴⁷ The chicken per household ratio in Kasawo is 2.0, compared to 1.0 for Wakisi. See Mukono District Council Three-Year Investment Plan (2004/05-2006/07).

¹⁴⁸ The role played by poultry in this regard has been reported elsewhere in Africa. e.g. Aklilu et al. (2007), for Ethiopia.

commercial and other urban-/peri-urban activities. Enabling women's access to and/or control over land continues to feature among the priority intervention themes for the district.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the district planning documents appear to ignore land access issues concerning youth. This is probably because youth are not seen as key players in farming. Obviously, however, low access to capital makes it difficult for many to acquire land through competitive land purchase on an open land market (c.f. Wiede, 2004). As will be discussed later, the difficulties experienced by young men in accessing land resources and capital to develop farms feeds the popular perception discussed above: that somehow male youth are not interested in farming, with the consequence that there is a definite gap in NAADS policy thinking for youth.

Other common activities from which people locally derive a livelihood include trading, transportation, crafts and artisan work, brick making and sale of casual labour.¹⁵⁰ Trading activities centre on small scale businesses such as retail shops, and the buying and selling of agricultural produce. Coffee and maize production provides the bulk of produce traded, notably by men and (male) youth. The fall in coffee production over the past several years is reported to have rendered many youth jobless.

In spite of the advantageous location and natural resource endowments official documents continue to report unemployment as one of the key challenges in the district.¹⁵¹ Unemployment is a particular problem among the youth. It is attributed both to their high numbers as well as their widespread lack of skills. In any case skill-based employment is not easy to come by. It is partly because of this that many (male) youths earn a petty income from the '*boda boda* business'. There is also a common perception that youth here in general have a poor attitude towards work and that many of them spend their potentially productive labour, energy, and time in unproductive activities.¹⁵²

State of agricultural support services

Given its closeness to Kampala, Mukono district attracts a range of services and development initiatives. It also has relatively better access to input and output markets, and financial services and agricultural extension and research services. This is mostly on account of relatively good access roads, short distance to urban markets and good market information, as well as presence of several financial service providers¹⁵³. But as could be expected the relatively good access to such services is so far by and large limited to the more urbanized areas, typically the municipal councils and nearby sub counties. In the more remote sub counties (like the two studied here) many feeder and community access roads are in a poor

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, The Three-year (Mukono) District Investment Plan for 2008/09-2010/11 and 2004/05-2006/07

¹⁵⁰ Some people have formal employment either in public service or private sector (including NGOs) commonly in education, health and other community service related sectors. A few people in Wakisi sub county - especially male youths in areas around the River Nile - are involved small-scale fishing activities. This, however, remains largely at the subsistence level hitherto due to limited stocks of fish in the river.

¹⁵¹ See, for instance, The Five-Year Integrated Strategic Plan for Orphans and other vulnerable children (2008-2013), Mukono District Local Government.

¹⁵³ Provided mostly by banks and private-operated micro-finance companies as well micro finance schemes delivered through a range of NGO programmes.

state. This makes it difficult for farmers to access distant input sources and produce markets. Moreover both the poor quality of agricultural inputs and poor prices for agricultural produce in local markets deter many farmers. This is a market dominated by a chain of middlemen.

The same applies to financial services. Access by rural people, especially for agricultural purposes, remains hard. With the exception of government sponsored rural/agricultural credit schemes - notably the '*entandikwa*'¹⁵⁴ - financial services are typically supplied by private (micro-finance) companies on a purely commercial basis. In many instances, such financial service providers offer short-term micro credit, and target primarily people engaged in business activities, while often remaining reluctant to offer the same services to farmers. In any case, terms for interest rates, collateral and repayment periods are usually prohibitive for prospective rural borrowers. There are also some micro-credit schemes within on-going and/or lately implemented NGO programmes.¹⁵⁵ These usually offer tailored micro-credit intended to support the various income generation activities (including crop production and livestock rearing) of ostensibly disadvantaged groups (such as elderly women, or HIV/AIDS affected widows and orphans). Yet even in such cases the beneficiaries often complain of unfavourable terms.

Although contact by the majority of farmers in most of the country with agricultural extension and research services remains generally low, farmers in Mukono district can, on the whole, be considered relatively better-off. Proximity to Kampala, and being a hub for major educational institutions and agricultural research institutes in the country, makes Mukono better placed to attract agricultural professionals, and fresh graduates especially. Even then, as the experience of the Agricultural Extension Project (AEP) (Section 2.1) during the 1990s showed, meaningful contact between extension staff and farmers has usually been restricted to more accessible locations, typically the peri-urban sub counties. Extension staff in the district has in many respects suffered mobility and motivation problems similar to their counterparts in other parts of the country. This state of affairs effectively marginalised the majority of the farmers in the inaccessible parts of the district, with the situation being worse for livestock farmers, specifically in regard to veterinary services. For example, Wakisi sub county has long lacked public veterinary personnel. The situation has been even worse with respect to contact by farmer with agricultural research. A top-down approach has long restricted research activities to research institutes. This, together with an ineffective extension service, has precluded direct contact between most farmers and researchers. Of late, however, reform of the research system towards a more decentralized and client-oriented system has

¹⁵⁴ A 'Luganda' term used to refer to some form of 'push' (financial or material) usually as seed capital, often offered as a 'free grant', although not always. However, as usually happens with government credit schemes, the money loaned out through such schemes has often been received with mixed perceptions. For example, the '*entandikwa*' scheme was generally perceived as a 'political reward' to citizens for supporting the ruling party. As the result, many of the beneficiaries of this scheme saw themselves as not obliged to pay back. They may have consumed the money, rather than putting it towards a productive purpose. It is noteworthy that these attitudes have been built up over many years of previous experience. In fact experience with this and previous government sponsored rural/agricultural credit schemes in part accounts for GoU's current policy, which is to secure public sector disengagement from direct provision of (rural) financial services and leave this activity to the private sector.

¹⁵⁵ The main ones in Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties are the Uganda Women Efforts to Save Orphans (UWESO) and the Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA).

encouraged some contact. In Wakisi sub county, for example, farmers in one parish reported contact with a recently concluded research project under the Mukono Agricultural Research and Development Centre (ARDC).¹⁵⁶ In addition to its research and training related activities, this research project reportedly offered participants some improved planting material (for crops like cassava and banana).¹⁵⁷ This aspect made the project particularly memorable to its participants.

In addition to regular public extension services, farming communities in the district have over the years benefited from other government programmes.¹⁵⁸ Notable among these since the 1990s are the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP)¹⁵⁹ and the PMA. But contact with these programmes is confined to certain sections of the community only (mainly rural elites and community leaders). This is ostensibly because of the community-wide orientation of these activities. These two programmes are multi-sectoral in nature with a higher proportion of activities focused on material or infrastructure-related services addressing community-wide needs and/or problems. The services delivered under these programmes are meant to be in line with the needs of the respective communities, as identified during the bottom-up process within the decentralized planning system.¹⁶⁰

Apart from the extension and research activities of government agencies, farmers in the district have had some contact with the extension activities run by nongovernmental agencies. These include the DANIDA-funded Uganda National Farmers' Association (UNFA)¹⁶¹ and a few agricultural-sector NGOs. UNFA's extension programme offered training on crop and livestock production topics for members. This, at times, involved formal modules for which the participants received a certificate upon completion. But as could be expected of a membership organisation, in spite it being district-wide MUDFA (the district branch of UNFA) had a rather limited farmer membership and coverage in the two sub counties. Moreover, allegedly, the farmer members who participated actively and benefited from its activities were usually the few relatively more progressive male farmers (Parkinson, 2008). In fact, in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties such farmers usually talked quite positively about this programme. They especially praised MUDFA's role in imparting knowledge and skills on modern farming practices, thereby filling a vacuum left by inadequate public

¹⁵⁶ This project had so far been implemented in one parish, Naminya. It involved adaptive research activities on integrated crop management. Following the conclusion of the recent reforms in the organization of the national research system Mukono Agricultural Research and Development Centre (ARDC) has been renamed as Mukono Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Institute (MUZARDI).

¹⁵⁷ Purportedly, the project organized competitions for participating farmers in respect of the practices it was promoting and gave out prizes (such as animals and farm tools) to the best performers.

¹⁵⁸ Perhaps due to its perceived high potential for development Mukono district has in the recent years nearly always been among the beneficiary districts of new government programmes.

¹⁵⁹ The District Development Programme (DDP) before decentralization.

¹⁶⁰ The funding (in form of district grants from Central Government) under the PMA has two components, namely Sectoral Conditional Grants (SCGs) and Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants (NSCGs). The former targets pre-determined priority areas and while the latter can be used at the discretion of the respective Local Governments.

¹⁶¹ The UNFA started in 1996 and had a near country-wide coverage. It was a membership-based farmers' association organised in District, Sub county and Parish level branches. In the case of Mukono (district), the district branch of UNFA was the Mukono District Farmers Association (MUDFA). The UNFA has since changed to the Uganda National Farmers' Federation (UNFFE). At the time of NAADS's inception DANIDA (the Danish Agency for International Development) had wound up its core funding for UNFA activities.

extension. MUDFA's training activities helped develop a more positive attitude among participating farmers towards training activities without material inputs. In this way, MUDFA apparently laid a foundation for NAADS. In contrast, the common farmer reportedly found it difficult to join and benefit from the activities of the association due to the fees which proved prohibitive.¹⁶² Moreover, ordinary members at times expressed dissatisfaction with the level of transparency and accountability of association leaders. Such concerns, according to several informants, were partly responsible for the numerous defections among rank-and-file members, many of whom later apparently joined NAADS-affiliated farmer groups.¹⁶³ Apparently such farmers embraced NAADS not only because they saw it as targeting all farmers, but also because they assumed it would provide a free service.

One of the few NGOs with visible interventions in the agricultural sector is World Vision (Uganda). This programme has, since 1999, implemented a sub county-wide programme in Kasawo sub county – the Kasawo Area Development Programme. Using a community-based participation approach, the programme is implemented through a structure of community-based development committees, from village to sub county level.¹⁶⁴ The programme has various sector-based interventions including health (primary care and public health, particularly related to HIV/AIDS and malaria), education (including functional adult literacy) and agriculture. The activities of some of the interventions, especially in the area of education, are of a community-wide nature and require some contribution from beneficiary communities (e.g. in terms of labour and local material).¹⁶⁵ Other interventions, on the other hand, are of a mixed type targeting both communities and households, especially in the area of health.¹⁶⁶ Activities that target households are usually of a relief type and intended for certain needy social groups such as HIV/AIDS-affected widows and children. Occasionally, the programme constructs simple houses for befitting needy households.

¹⁶² Of particular concern were the annual subscription fees (which ranged from Shs. 1000 to Shs. 3000 (equivalent to about \$0.6 and \$1.76) and the (extra) fees the participants were required to pay for formal training course.

¹⁶³ In other NAADS trailblazing districts and sub counties, the early days of the NAADS were characterised by tense relation between NAADS and the leadership of UNFA. Apparently this tension arose from a feeling among the UNFA leadership that they were in a better position to provide leadership on the NAADS' farmer fora at the district and sub county levels since they were already a farmers' organisation. In the case of Mukono, reportedly, many members of UNFA joined the NAADS Core Teams. These farmers had apparently wrongly hoped that they were to become leaders, only to be disappointed with the formation of the (interim) sub county farmer fora through an election process in which groups elected their own representatives. In fact the coming of the NAADS programme is widely believed to have weakened MUDFA in the two sub counties. This was especially often reported in Wakisi sub county, apparently a stronghold of MUDFA.

¹⁶⁴ This structure consists of Village Development Committees (VDCs) at the village level, the Parish Development Committee (PDCs) at the parish level and the Area Development Committee (ADC) at the sub county level.

¹⁶⁵ As with construction of classroom blocks (including provision of necessary equipment and materials such as desks and chairs) and teachers quarters. Support in this area has also included a special vocational training programme in carpentry, joinery and tailoring aimed at developing life-sustaining skills among youths, targeting especially school drop-outs.

¹⁶⁶ Community-wide services in this area related to malaria (including malaria control campaigns, provision of mosquito nets to orphans), and HIV/AIDS control and treatment (including counselling services, blood testing and assisting HIV/AIDS-infected children to access medication from specialised health centres, usually at no cost). Assistance at the household level includes provision of basic household items such as food (mainly food supplements like soya cooking oil), clothing, bedding and school fees and educational materials for vulnerable and orphaned children.



A simple house constructed by the World Vision Office for a needy household in Kasawo sub county

The agricultural component aims to improve the income generating capacity of participating households by supporting crop and livestock activities. The focus so far has been on providing improved seeds/planting material and local and improved animal breeds (goats and cattle).¹⁶⁷ In livestock, the programme has offered some training sessions on basic animal husbandry, often in collaboration with public extension workers who provide technical know-how. Apparently, these training sessions are usually in response to a request by the beneficiaries of the animal scheme. This component has also in the past included, on a limited scale, a training course for ‘model farmers’, who form an important element of the programme’s demonstration-farmer strategy. More recently, the programme started, again on a limited scale, a small in-cash grants scheme to support income generating activities¹⁶⁸ This is usually organised on a demand basis, after members of prospective groups submit proposals.¹⁶⁹ It may be because of the range and nature of its interventions that both community leaders and residents seem proud of the benefits realised from the activities of the World Vision Kasawo Area Development programme.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, experience during the preliminary phase suggested that this programme had substantially influenced people’s initial perception of NAADS in Kasawo. It is also worth noting that this NGO (programme) has over the years undertaken NAADS farmer institutional development activities in the sub county under a memorandum signed with the sub-country Administration.

¹⁶⁷ The programme has so far provided improved seeds of maize, beans, ground nuts, and soya at subsidised price, and at one time free planting material (vines) during the recent ‘vanilla boom’ (2003-4). The improved goat scheme offers two animals (male and female) to each selected household/farmer. The beneficiary household is supposed to charge a small user fee (Shs 1,000, about \$ 0.6) for the services of the he-goat. In practice, however, according to some informants, some participants do not charge, since beneficiaries are unwilling to pay such a fee. In the case of the she-goat the first beneficiary farmer is supposed to pass over an offspring (i.e. if the goat produces more than one kid) to another member waiting for an animal. However, this requirement has reportedly not been fully complied with, partly due to laxity by programme management. □ .

¹⁶⁸ It is important to note that the World Vision Kasawo Area Development Programme did not require participants to form groups for purposes of participating in its activities.

¹⁶⁹ Prior to this, the programme had reportedly introduced a micro-credit scheme (apparently a pilot activity within the World Vision-Uganda micro-finance component, ‘MEDNET’), which is said to have faced challenges in its early days, related to hardship experienced by beneficiaries in paying back loans.

¹⁷⁰ Indeed some of its leaders partly attributed the frequent choice of Kasawo for piloting new development initiative in the district to the presence of this programme. They usually gave special credit to its intervention in the area of adult literacy, which had helped especially the women.

Wakisi sub county, by contrast, has no NGO programme comparable in scale with the World Vision Area Development Programme in Kasawo. The only NGO programme with sub county-wide activities is the Sassakawa Global 2000 (SG 2000) Uganda Programme. This programme started its activities in the sub county around 2002 when SG 2000 (Uganda) signed a memorandum with Wakisi sub county Administration to undertake NAADS farmer institutional development activities. Additionally, the SG 2000 programme in the sub county has a number of side activities, including distributing piglets and improved maize and bean seed. These material inputs were generally perceived by the communities to be part of the SG 2000 programme package. However it seems that these supplies are intended, when available, to serve as an incentive for the participating farmer groups to become more actively involved in NAADS activities.¹⁷¹

In spite of limited coverage, another NGO intervention Wakisi that seems to have created a positive impression is the Send-COW (Uganda) programme. This programme provides livestock and training to the participants.¹⁷²

Social cultural background of the people

People in Mukono district are of mixed social cultural backgrounds, reflecting different tribal affiliations and religious beliefs. With over 30 different ethnic groups (NEMA, 1998), Mukono is one of the most ethnically diverse districts in Uganda. This high diversity is, as noted earlier, partly explained by a history of influx from different regions, including the Central, Eastern, Southwest and Northwest of Uganda.¹⁷³ The three dominant ethnic groups are the Baganda from the Central region and the Basoga and Bagisu from the Eastern region. However, both the number of ethnic groups and their contribution to the total population depends very much on location within the district. For example, whereas both sub counties feature a wide range of ethnic groups Wakisi apparently has a broader range. To emphasise the diversity in the sub county, a number of informants in Wakisi referred to their area as a 'United Nations' or 'a collection of the entire Uganda'. In Kasawo sub county the Baganda form the majority.¹⁷⁴ People here use Luganda as the lingua franca of social and business interaction. The majority tribal groups in Wakisi sub county include groups from the Eastern region, namely the Basoga, Bagisu and Basomya.¹⁷⁵ Members of certain tribes are found more commonly within particular parishes or villages than in others.¹⁷⁶ In spite of a seemingly low proportion of Baganda (usually estimated by informants at 5% or less), Ganda culture, and

¹⁷¹ These material inputs were perceived by some farmers as 'reward' by the NGO for farmer groups 'performing' well from the view point of the NGO staff.

¹⁷² The SEND-A-COW Programme started its activities in Uganda in 1988. These primarily target women, disabled people and child-headed households organized in community groups. The livestock provided to participants include dairy, cross-bred, and local cows; dairy, meat and local goats; poultry; breeding bulls. To multiply its benefits within the target community groups the programme uses its 'pass-on' principle, whereby a current beneficiary, usually a family, passes on part of their livestock benefits (say, the first female offspring) to another qualifying family.

¹⁷³ Local information suggests that some groups came from neighbouring countries, including Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya and Tanzania.

¹⁷⁴ Estimates by key informants suggest the Baganda may account for 60% of the population in the sub county.

¹⁷⁵ Estimates by key informants put the proportions of Basoga and Bagisu, apparently the major ethnic groups, at 30% or above.

¹⁷⁶ According to elders, this has much to do with the way earlier landlords gave out their land to the later settlers, who then preferred to have members of their own tribes settle on their land.

Luganda in particular, remains quite influential in the area. This is seen especially at events that bring the various ethnic groups together, including political and professional work-related activities.

Whereas this socio-cultural diversity is seen by some as a key resource for the development of the district, others have at times seen it as a recipe for social evils such as insecurity and local disunity.¹⁷⁷ In fact in Wakisi, some boast of ‘unity in diversity’, and see this as a source of strength. Others claim that ethnic competition explains occasional incidents of disunity among the people, as especially manifest in politics and election activities.¹⁷⁸ Such differences appear to be less explicit in Kasawo. Nevertheless, even here there is a general feeling that the Baganda are not very committed to group-related activities, especially relating to farming. Some key informants stated that people in the area were generally ‘individualistic’.

A majority of the population of the district are Christians (c. 35% Roman Catholics and c. 30% Anglicans). Moslems form a substantial minority, constituting up 20% of the population. Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties are similar in this respect.¹⁷⁹ There is a general feeling that differences in religious beliefs are not much of an issue in social interaction in the case-study area.¹⁸⁰

Group organisation

There is little cooperative organization in local agriculture in Mukono district (Parkinson, 2008).¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, people in this area have historically associated in locally initiated informal social associations, and have often engaged with external agencies that provide group-based services. The traditional and informal associations are usually aimed at addressing common social and socio-economic needs. The oldest of such traditional associations are the village-wide *munomukabi* groups which are typically (although not exclusively) women’s associations.¹⁸² Through such associations members give social and economic support to one another at time of need, such as death of a family member or wedding parties. Traditionally, commitment ranges from moral support (such as showing

¹⁷⁷ Often informants cited incidences of disunity related to political beliefs or social evils such as witch craft and human sacrifice.

¹⁷⁸ Those who feel that there is relative harmony amidst ethnic diversity usually attribute this state of affairs to absence of a dominating tribal group, since most groups are immigrants into the area. They also feel that there has been integration of members of the different ethnic groups through inter-marriage. Those who blame the apparent disunity and related tensions on ethnic diversity are usually Baganda, and especially those in leadership positions. These also believe that such tribal-related disunity has at times been manifest in development activities. In this regard they alleged that the election of committee members of the Sub county Farmer Forum under NAADS was characterized by partiality due to ethnic differences, which left some people dissatisfied with the outcome. Some cases were alleged to have occurred during the election of committee members of the NAADS Sub county Farmer Forum.

¹⁷⁹ It was not easy to find official statistics on proportions of religious groups in the population in each of the sub counties. The figures cited come from informant estimates.

¹⁸⁰ Some reported occasional clashes allegedly stirred up by Pentecostal churches who dismiss the beliefs of other groups.

¹⁸¹ Parkinson (2008:81) cites Young (1981) who reported that Buganda had the strongest history with cooperatives, associated mainly with cotton and coffee production in the colonial and immediate post-colonial period. However, these cooperatives became associated with clientelism which resulted in distrust (Uganda Communications Commission, 2004, in Parkinson, 2008:82).

¹⁸² Men are reportedly increasingly joining these associations, or forming their own along similar lines.

solidarity) to material assistance (labour, firewood, food, money). These associations are still common in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties.

As well as village-wide associations, there are smaller informal groups among residents of particular villages to meet shared objectives. This often involves labour sharing activities and credit associations. Labour sharing schemes for farming activities are not uncommon in Wakisi sub county.¹⁸³ Of late, new associations, such as ‘gift circles’ (*nigina* groups) have emerged. Such groups typically entail members donating household items in turns (hence ‘gift circles’).¹⁸⁴ This is again largely an initiative of women, and is apparently urban in origin. These groups seem to be more popular in Kasawo than in Wakisi, due to greater contact with Kampala and other urban areas.

Besides the informal groups, there exist other more formal community-based organisations (CBOs) and service-based groups. These groups range from some that offer various forms of assistance to members to those that engage in development-oriented activities for the community. Some acquire a formal status after registering with the local government.¹⁸⁵ Others are initiated or supported by an external agency offering health, education, agriculture and rural micro-credit support.¹⁸⁶ Presently, the most common groups in this category are NAADS-affiliated (Chapter 1). Other quite common groups are the ‘CHAI groups’ (i.e. those organised under the Community HIV/AIDS Initiative, CHAI).¹⁸⁷

Despite fairly positive human development indicators, poverty in Mukono District is widespread. This is apparent in the largely subsistence nature of agriculture, consequent upon the substantial decline coffee and banana production, low levels of livestock, high population density, high unemployment levels and lack of capital, especially among the youth. In addition, subsistence agricultural production in the district is affected by land access-related issues, due in part to the existing land tenure and inheritance practices, as well as a general decline in land availability because of rising population. Land related constraints are later shown to affect women and youth in particular (chapter 5). Additionally, farmers find it difficult to access and use necessary inputs and agricultural support services. This is either because of physical barriers - notably distant sources of supply and inadequate infrastructure – or economic constraints such as the expense of inputs and services for farmers with limited

¹⁸³ Informants link this practice to the tradition of labour sharing among members of certain ethnic groups from the Eastern region of the country.

¹⁸⁴ Household items include utensils and bedding, passed to members in weekly or monthly events. The event is usually presided over by an important person such as a local politician. Lately, these groups have in some instances provided a basis for the formation of the Savings and Credit Co-operative Associations (SACCOs) under the government’s campaign to revive cooperatives, spearheaded by the Prosperity-for-All Programme.

¹⁸⁵ An example is the Kasawo-Namuganga Development Association (KANADA). This association was formed on a cooperative basis to help members access information and market their produce (e.g. through holding occasional agricultural fairs/shows and market days).

¹⁸⁶ Such micro-credit is usually oriented towards business-related activities.

¹⁸⁷ CHAI groups were formed under the Aids Control Programme (ACP) of the Ministry of Health and were required to register with the Gender and Community Development Department in the district before they could access assistance from the programme. The members of registered groups qualify for a grant from the programme on presenting an acceptable budget outlining the items for which they require financial assistance and after going through a ‘screening’ process. Some members expressed discontent with the screening process, because of the length of time it takes to gain approval. Some also cited lack of transparency.

purchasing power. Farmers in the district depend almost entirely on rain-fed agriculture. Water supply for farming is a key challenge for many farmers with limited irrigation and recent changes in rainfall patterns. Climatic conditions are becoming increasingly less predictable, even in apparently 'high' rainfall areas such as Mukono.

Socio-economic (and farming) characteristics of respondent households

The present chapter is rounded out with a summary of the survey results on the main socio-economic characteristics of households. This is offered as background for the detailed analysis in chapters 3-5.

Table 2.5 (page 75) shows the demographic characteristics the respondents for both NAADS affiliated farmer group members and non-group farmers. As noted, interviews were conducted with heads of households, whether male or female. In both sub counties male heads were more commonly non-group farmers, while female headed households were more frequent (though in a minority) in the group member category. This, in fact, corresponds with the distribution of respondents in the two farmer categories by gender. Women are in fact majority members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups in the two sub counties, and especially in Kasawo sub county (60%). As regards age, the majority of respondents are above 35 years, but this age group is larger for members of farmer groups in Wakisi sub county. Most of the sub-36 farmers belong to the non-group category. Regarding marital status, the majority of the respondents in both farmer categories (group and non-group) are married (75 % in Kasawo and 80% in Wakisi).

In both sub counties most respondents in both farmer categories attained some formal education. The number of years of formal schooling ranges from one to over eight years of school (average 6 years). This suggests that many respondents dropped out of school in the upper primary stage, either before or after completing primary seven. Although a noticeable proportion of respondents, especially in Kasawo sub county, attended post-primary education, few went beyond three years of secondary education. The situation is even more distinct with respect to gender. Among women with some formal education, about 80% in Wakisi and 74% in Kasawo did not go beyond primary seven; compared to 66.4% of the men in Wakisi and 62.6% of the men in Kasawo. This generally low level of formal educational attainment indicates that women farmers in particular may have difficulty in acquiring and applying information on agricultural practices and/technology from formal extension training activities.

Information on the ethnic affiliation of the respondents reveals a wide range of tribal groupings.. In Kasawo, most of the respondents were Baganda (67%). In Wakisi, on the other hand, respondents were mainly drawn from three ethnic groups, namely Baganda, Basoga and Bagisu. In terms of religion the picture is as described above, but there are more Moslem respondents in Wakisi than in Kasawo.

Table 2.6 (page 76) presents the socio-economic characteristics for respondent households in the two sub counties. Up to four in five of the respondent households in both sub counties have a male household head. A respondent household has on average 7 people.

The bicycle is the most common means of transport. Yet 27% and 37% of households in Kasawo and Wakisi report having no means of transport. This indicates that some households are dependent entirely on public transport (where available) to transport inputs and market produce.

Information on land for farming reveals three types - owned, hired and borrowed land. Most households own some land, mainly inherited family land. Close to 80% of the respondent households in Kasawo sub county and about 85% in Wakisi sub county are in this position. Between a third and a half of households in both sub counties borrow or rent at least some of their land. Borrowing land is more frequent in Kasawo. Renting is more frequent in Wakisi. Borrowing and renting land is more frequent among the non-group farmer category, in Kasawo, suggesting that farmers in this group are possibly more constrained by land. This is indeed manifest in the relatively lower amount of land owned by farmers in this category. In Wakisi, on the other hand, renting is more common among those in the group member farmer category.

A household in Kasawo on average owns more land than a household in Wakisi. About half of households (51.7%) in Kasawo own 2.47 acres (1ha) of land and below, compared to 69% in Wakisi. Averages indicate a household in Kasawo to have 4.5 acres (1.8 ha) of land and 2.8 acres (1.12 ha) in Wakisi. This could explain why it appears relatively more feasible to borrow land in Kasawo compared to Wakisi, where due to greater scarcity, renting is a more feasible option. The differences between the two sub- counties in this regard are further reflected in the estimates of average amount of land under cultivation by households at any one time (2.8 acres in Kasawo and 2.4 in Wakisi).

Farming provides the main source of livelihood for most respondent households in both Kasawo and Wakisi (cited by up to 95% of households in each sub county). The figures are broadly similar for both group and non-group farmers. This suggests that few farming households in both Kasawo and Wakisi place much reliance in off-farm sources of income. The few households that earn some income from non-farming activities mainly cite salaried employment,¹⁸⁸ business-related activities (like trading in produce and domestic items, operating retail shops, brewing) and artisan-related activities (including brick making, carpentry, and other crafts).

Crop agriculture constitutes the main source of income for nearly all the households in the two sub counties. However, a visibly high proportion of households are involved in livestock rearing, from which they earn some income. This scenario seems somewhat more common in

¹⁸⁸ These often have a public service job in the education or health sectors.

Kasawo. However, compared to crops, livestock keeping is more oriented towards the market, a tendency that is rather more marked among households in Kasawo. It is noteworthy that the significance of crop-based agricultural activities is further indicated by the relatively longer period households in the two sub counties have been involved in production of crops compared to livestock rearing. A household in Kasawo has on average been engaged in crop farming for about 19 years compared to about 10 years for livestock keeping. Likewise, on average, a respondent household in Wakisi has been involved in crop farming for 17 years and in livestock rearing for about 8 years. That livestock rearing is relatively more recent in most households' livelihood portfolios indicates that agrarian change is taking place locally. But the average time periods of engagement in livestock rearing (8-10 years per household) suggest that a trend towards a more market-oriented agriculture pre-dates NAADS.

The main crop and livestock enterprises¹⁸⁹ in which the respondent households in the two sub counties have been involved over a five-year period (2002-2005) prior to the study are shown in Table 2.7 (page 78). In spite of some noticeable differences in proportions of households engaged in particular crop and livestock enterprises in each of the two sub counties the types of crops and livestock are generally similar. The four most frequent crops are maize, beans, cassava and sweet potatoes. Maize and beans are most frequent among household in Wakisi, whereas sweet potato and cassava are relatively more common in Kasawo. According to the qualitative interviews the increasing role of maize and beans in generating income for households, particularly in Wakisi, follows from the decline in production of two older crops, namely banana and coffee. Coffee now features as a main income source in only about 10-20% of households in Wakisi and Kasawo respectively. The situation is even worse in the case of banana, cited as a main income earner in 20% of households in Kasawo while not featuring at all among households in Wakisi. It is in fact partly due to this trend, especially in regard to coffee, that vanilla has of late increasingly featured, albeit at a rather low frequency, among the main income crops, in Kasawo especially.

As regards livestock enterprises for income, the main ones are goat, cattle, and (local) chicken. Goat rearing is relatively more common among households in Wakisi, while a cattle rearing is more frequent among households in Kasawo. Key informants in Wakisi often attributed a low level of cattle rearing to the extensive shortage of land in the sub county. It is worth noting the generally low proportions of households in both sub counties mentioning chicken and pig rearing as important sources of income. This seems contrary to the quite widespread view within communities that these enterprises are relatively less capital intensive, compared especially to cattle rearing. Information from qualitative interviews indicated that some people had been discouraged from rearing local chicken and pigs because of high incidence of diseases.

Crop acreages livestock numbers are small in both sub counties. The fairly high average number of local chicken among households in Wakisi is explained by the inclusion of some

¹⁸⁹ Livestock is used here in a broad sense to include poultry.

households involved in rearing chicken on a fairly large scale. A few farmers in this district had flocks of 250 chickens or over, often including exotic breeds.

Households in each of the two sub counties are mainly dependent on family labour in their crop and livestock activities.

The respondents in each of the households were subjected to a self-rating question which aimed to establish self-perception of household socio-economic status relative to others in their communities. A relatively higher proportion of the respondents (44%) in Kasawo tended to perceive their households 'as richer than most others', and this positive perception is relatively more common among respondents in the group member farmer category. In Wakisi a fairly high proportion of respondents (55%) tended to view their own households as 'poorer than most other', - opposite to Kasawo, this negative perception is more frequent among respondents in the farmer group member category.

2.5 Conclusion

The present chapter has served to introduce NAADS – a modern set of extension practices linked to donor-driven reform of the public sector in Uganda, and its aims (to alleviate poverty among Ugandan farmers through commercialization of agriculture). The programme has been described in normative terms (i.e. in terms of how it is organized and is supposed to work). In the next three chapters the actual workings of NAADS will be studied via its impact on a representative group of farmers. To that end a case-study methodology has been adopted. The case study region (two sub counties in Mukono District) has been described above. The informant sample (explained in chapter 1) has been characterized in quantitative terms. This material now provides a platform for the more detailed analysis to follow.

Table 2.5: Demographic characteristics of the respondents

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)
Gender (%)						
Male	40.0	80.0	60.0	43.3	69.3	56.3
Female	60.0	20.0	40.0	56.7	30.7	43.7
Age						
35 years and below (%)	32.0	44.7	38.3	24.0	42.7	33.3
Above 35 years (%)	68.0	55.3	61.7	76.0	57.3	66.7
Average age (years)	42.6 (0.97)	40.9 (1.2)	41.7 (0.77)	44.0 (0.94)	42.1 (1.2)	43.1 (0.76)
Marital status (%)						
Married	72.0	80.7	76.3	74.7	86.7	80.7
Single	11.3	14.7	13.0	10.7	6.0	8.3
Widowed	16.7	4.7	10.6	14.7	7.3	11.0
Education						
No formal education (%)	8.0	8.7	8.3	14.7	16.7	15.7
1 to 4 years (%)	12.7	23.3	18.0	22.7	16.7	19.7
5 to 7 years (%)	43.3	43.3	43.3	35.3	45.3	40.3
Above 7 years (%)	36.0	24.7	30.3	27.3	21.3	24.3
Average number of years in school	6.6 (0.25)	5.7 (0.26)	6.2 (0.18)	5.6 (0.28)	5.5 (0.26)	5.5 (0.19)
Tribe						
Muganda	68.7	67.4	66.6	26.7	17.3	22.1
Mudama	6.0	6.0	6.0	1.3	2.7	2.0
Japadhora	4.7	3.3	4.0	2.0	2.7	2.3
Musamya	5.3	2.7	2.7	4.7	7.4	6.0
Musoga	3.3	4.0	3.7	27.3	20.9	24.2
Mugisu			2.0	14.7	16.2	15.4
Munyarwanda	2.0	1.3	1.7	5.3	4.7	5.0
Mugwere			0.3	5.3	3.4	4.4
Munyole	0.7			1.3	13.3	6.4
Others	9.3	15.3	13.0	11.4	11.4	11.2
Religion						
Anglican	38.0	34.0	36.0	24.7	30.7	27.8
Roman catholic	37.3	34.7	36.0	28.0	24.8	26.4
Moslem	22.0	24.0	23.0	38.0	34.9	36.5
Others	2.7	7.3	5.0	9.3	9.6	9.3

FGs = farmer group member; NGFs=Non-group farmer

The figures in parenthesis (in the case of *average* age and number of years of school) are Standard Error of the mean.

Table 2.6: Socio-economic characteristics of the respondents' households

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)
Household headship						
Male-headed	70.7	91.3	81.0	74.0	89.3	81.7
Female-headed	28.7	6.7	17.7	25.3	10.0	17.7
Male-child-headed	0.7	2.0	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.7
Female child-headed			0.3			
Means of transport available in the household						
None	28.7	26.0	27.3	36.7	36.7	36.7
Bicycle	67.3	69.3	68.3	62.0	60.7	61.3
Motor-cycle	3.3	3.3	3.3	1.3	2.0	1.0
Motor- vehicle	1.4	1.3	1.0		0.7	1.0
Household size						
	7.7 (0.28)	7.0 (0.29)	7.4 (0.20)	8.2 (0.41)	7.1 (0.33)	7.7 (0.26)
Type of land accessed						
owned	84.7	74.0	79.3	84.7	85.3	85.0
Borrowed	23.3	30.0	26.7	6.7	7.3	7.0
Hired	12.7	20.7	16.7	40.0	30.7	35.3
Average amount of land (acres)						
Owned	4.9 (0.41)	4.1 (0.40)	4.5 (0.29)	2.6 (0.23)	3.1 (0.47)	2.8 (0.26)
Borrowed	2.1 (0.40)	1.9 (0.38)	2.1 (0.22)	1.3 (0.41)	1.7 (0.85)	1.5 (0.51)
Hired	1.9 (0.27)	2.1 (0.32)	2.0 (0.27)	1.6 (0.19)	2.1 (0.36)	1.8 (0.19)
Under cultivation (presently)	3.0 (0.23)	2.6 (0.17)	2.8 (0.15)	2.3 (0.19)	2.5 (0.18)	2.4 (0.13)
Main source of income						
Farming	96.0	94.7	95.3	96.7	96.0	96.3
Non-farming activities	4.0	5.3	4.7	3.3	4.0	3.7
(Main)agricultural source income						
Crops	100.0	98.6	99.3	99.3	100.0	99.7
Livestock	89.6	76.2	82.9	82.1	71.5	76.8
Main crop production objective						
Own consumption	24.0	26.7	25.3	8.7	10.1	9.4
Market/sale	2.0	4.0	3.0	0.7	0.7	0.7
Combination	74.0	69.3	71.7	90.7	89.3	90.0
Main livestock production objective						
Own consumption	4.4	14.4	9.1	4.8	8.1	6.4
Market/sale	22.8	27.1	24.8	13.7	10.8	12.3
Own consumption and market	72.8	58.5	66.1	81.5	81.1	81.3
Main type of labour						
Crop production						
Family	100.0	98.7	99.3	98.7	98.7	98.7
Hired		1.3	0.7	1.3	1.3	1.3
Livestock production						
Family	99.3	99.1	99.2	99.1	97.2	98.2
Hired	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9	2.8	1.8

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)
Average years in crop production						
	20.1 (1.00)	18.7 (1.24)	19.4 (0.80)	19.6 (0.99)	16.1 (0.98)	17.9 (0.71)
Average years in livestock production						
	12.7 (0.91)	11.5 (1.3)	12.16 (0.77)	10.5 (0.78)	9.1 (.86)	9.8 (0.58)
Respondent's perception of their household wealth/social-economic status						
Poorer than most others	40.7	47.3	44.0	58.4	51.3	54.8
Richer than most others	59.3	52.7	56.0	41.6	48.7	45.2

FGs = farmer group member; NGFs = Non-group farmer

The figures in parentheses (and italicised) indicate Standard Error of the mean.

Table 2.7: Major crops grown and livestock kept by respondent households for income (2001-2005)

Major crops	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)	FGs (N=150)	NGFs (N=150)	All (N=300)
Maize						
% of house holds	60.7	62.7	61.7	89.3	81.3	85.3
<i>Mean</i> acreage	1.06 (0.09)	1.33 (0.14)	1.2 (0.09)	1.0 (0.07)	1.2 (0.13)	1.1 (0.07)
Beans						
% of households	40.6	34.6	37.7	69.3	62.7	66.0
<i>Mean</i> acreage	0.83 (0.09)	0.94 (0.14)	0.9 (0.08)	0.7 (0.04)	0.9 (0.15)	0.79 (0.08)
Cassava						
% of households	33.3	37.3	35.3	24	31.3	27.7
<i>Mean</i> acreage	0.96 (0.14)	1.04 (0.19)	1.00 (0.12)	0.8 (0.12)	0.9 (0.12)	0.82 (0.8)
Sweet potato						
% of households	30.0	22.6	23.6	16.0	16.0	16.0
<i>Mean</i> acreage	0.62 (0.71)	0.75 (0.12)	0.68 (0.7)	0.6 (0.08)	0.8 (0.22)	0.70 (0.12)
Coffee						
% of households	20.7	18.0	19.3	9.3	11.3	10.3
<i>Mean</i> acreage	1.20 (0.16)	1.86 (0.32)	1.51 (0.17)	1.34 (0.39)	1.2 (0.39)	1.3 (0.27)
Vanilla						
% of households	19.3	16.7	18.0	6.7	8.0	7.3
<i>Mean</i> acreage	0.99 (0.17)	0.87 (0.17)	0.93 (0.12)	0.8 (0.17)	0.7 (0.12)	0.75 (0.10)
Banana						
% of households	16.7	17.3	17.0			
<i>Mean</i> acreage	1.2 (0.21)	1.26 (0.22)	1.23 (0.15)			
Tomatoes						
% of households	5.3	13.3	9.3	6.0	7.3	6.7
<i>Mean</i> acreage	0.6 (0.13)	0.6 (0.05)	0.6 (0.05)	0.5 (0.07)	0.9 (0.24)	0.72 (0.14)
Major livestock /poultry						
Goats						
% of households	52.7	42.0	47.3	57.3	44.7	51.0
Average number	2.9 (0.19)	3.3 (0.26)	3.1 (0.15)	5.27 (1.08)	3.4 (0.27)	4.5 (0.62)
Cattle						
% of households	49.3	36.0	42.7	46.7	22.0	34.3
Average number	2.6 (0.17)	3.0 (0.52)	2.8 (0.24)	2.3 (0.20)	2.3 (0.29)	2.3 (0.16)
Pigs						
% of households	44.0	29.3	36.7	26.0	9.3	22.7
Average number	2.9 (0.23)	3.1 (0.30)	2.9 (0.18)	4.2 (0.51)	2.6 (0.27)	3.5 (0.33)
(Local) chicken						
% of households	52.0	34.0	42.7	46.0	38.0	42.0
Average number	14.1 (2.4)	13.6 (3.8)	14.0 (2.07)	26.8 (7.56)	20.0 (7.24)	23.7 (5.27)

FGs =farmer group member; NGFs=Non-group farmers

The figures in parentheses (and italicised) indicate Standard Error of the mean.

Chapter 3

Getting the Balance Wrong? An analysis of the balance between knowledge and technology services provided by NAADS

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provided a general description of the NAADS programme. It focused specifically on the key elements of the overall mechanism whereby NAADS would contribute to the national policy objective of alleviating rural poverty through modernizing the agricultural sector. From the outset NAADS had two main sets of objectives, one relating to the *process* of service delivery and the other to the *products* to be delivered to subsistence farmers, its target group. The process-related outcomes focus on improving farmers' capacity to articulate their needs and thereby enable a demand-driven service. The product-related outcomes involve improving farmers' access to knowledge and skills and to technological inputs, which together should improve agricultural production and productivity. These two sets of objectives form the core of NAADS' design mandate and mission. Thus NAADS is not only committed to improving farmers' access to agricultural knowledge, information and productivity-enhancing technologies, but also to providing these services in a way that responds to the needs and demands of farmers. This is in accordance with the broad recognition that attempts to address the needs of poor farmers and their organizations need to focus on both the *scope* of services (product) and the *mode* of provision (process) (see, for instance, Farrington et al. 2002; Sulaiman and Hall, 2004, 2002a, 2000b).

This chapter provides an empirically-based account of NAADS in practice. It is intended to provide an entry point to understanding the deeper issues related, first and foremost, to the *scope* of services thus far provided by the NAADS package. It also serves to highlight some of the key issues relating to the *mode* of service provision under NAADS. To put this analysis into a broader context, the chapter first explores the general response of farmers in two sub counties to NAADS during the early days. The chapter then goes on to examine farmers' responses to two important components of NAADS: its advisory and information services and its technology development activities. The market linkages component will be discussed in chapter 4. This analysis specifically seeks to investigate whether, and to what extent, the services offered have matched the needs and priorities of farmers.

The two components of the NAADS discussed in this chapter are important because it is through their respective activities that the farmers' needs were meant to be addressed. To put the analysis into perspective it is important to note that, while intended to be complimentary, the components received very different levels of funding. The draft NAADS budget allocated 65% of the funds to the advisory and information services component, and only 6% to the technology development component (including market linkages) (MAAIF, 2000, see Chapter 2). A more recent official statement by the NAADS Secretariat shows that the allocation to

technology development has subsequently risen to 15% of the budget.¹⁹⁰ Table 3.1, based on this statement, shows the budget allocations to the different components between the second year (2002/03) and the fourth year (2004/05) of NAADS. The statement also provided a breakdown of the funds spent on the advisory services contracts and technology development in some of the districts where NAADS was implemented in 2003/04 (shown in Table 3.2). From this information, we can conclude that the advisory services component received almost six times as much funding as the technology development component (Table 3.1). In 2004/5 it remained three times higher¹⁹¹. Table 3.2 shows that in several districts, the money allocated to information and advisory services was around twice that allocated to technology development.

Table 3.1: NAADS budget FY 2002/03 to FY 2004/05 by programme components (in billion Ug. Shs)

Programme component	2002/03		2003/04		2004/05	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
Advisory services contracts	6.12	50.2	7.48	52.9	10.94	53.7
Technology development	1.08	8.9	2.19	15.5	3.57	17.5
Regulation and technical audit	0.26	2.1	0.36	2.5	0.39	1.9
Private sector institutional development	1.13	9.3	0.21	1.5	1.28	6.3
Programme management	3.6	29.5	3.89	27.5	4.19	20.6
Total	12.19	100	14.13	100.0	20.37	100.0

Source (modified): Official statement by the NAADS Secretariat, The New Vision, August 2, 2004.

Table 3.2: Funds spent on advisory contracts and technology development in a sample of NAADS districts during FY3 (2003, 2004)

District	No. of sub counties	No. of registered groups	No. of enterprises	No. of contracts	Amount on advisory contracts (Ug Shs)	No. of TDSs	Amount on development sites (Ug Shs)
Busia	9	511	3	21	145,100,960	862	71,448,000
Luweero	7	213	6	29	183,859,380	31	118,351,326
Kabale	12	1,763	8	95	436,160,984	1,140	271,176,126
*Mukono	22	735	6	62	322,841,751	35	124,180,930
Total	50	3,222	23	207	1,087,963,075	2,068	585,156,382

Source: Official statement by the NAADS Secretariat, The New Vision, August 2, 2004.

*Study district

3.2 Data sources and methods of data collection and analysis

The overall methodology for addressing the main research questions in this study, as well as the general design used to implement field data collection, were described in Chapter 1. This section, describes the various data sources drawn on and the methods of data collection and analysis used within this chapter.

¹⁹⁰ The statement was issued in response to concerns expressed by FOWODE/OXFAM-Uganda about the low proportion of the NAADS Budget spent on technology and materials (The New Vision, July 27, 2004).

¹⁹¹ This is the year when the NAADS Mid-Term Review was done.

Most of the data were collected through interviews with key informants and meetings with members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and samples of ordinary community members. In a few cases, focus group discussions were conducted with farmers' leaders, including leaders of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and sub county farmer fora. Supplementary information was obtained through reviewing programme implementation reports and other relevant documents and by attending some sub county NAADS community level activities¹⁹² and NAADS review meetings at the sub county district and, occasionally, national levels.

Guided group discussions were held with members of fifty farmers' groups (twenty three in Kasawo sub county and twenty seven in Wakisi sub county) to explore farmers' experiences and perceptions of the NAADS programme. Some of the information collected through interviews in this survey was used for quantification purposes. This included the kind of benefits that the farmer groups had thus far realized from NAADS services, the constraints that they were experiencing and the changes that the members of the farmer groups would like to see made within NAADS.

The qualitative information was complemented with quantitative data that were collected using a cross-sectional survey involving a randomly-selected sample of two farmer categories, members of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups (FGs; n = 300) and non-members of such groups (NGFs; n = 300). The information collected in the survey focused on:

- farmers' expectations of the public extension service and their perception of the extent to which NAADS has addressed these expectations so far;
- farmers' perceptions of the improvements ushered in by NAADS compared to the previous extension services, and;
- the kinds of changes that farmers would like to see made within NAADS.

The quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistical techniques involving, for most part, deriving the proportions of respondents expressing different opinions.

3.3 The initial enthusiasm for forming and/or joining NAADS-affiliated farmer groups

This section presents the findings about the initial response of farmers to NAADS' initial activities. In particular, it describes the interest of farmers in the two sub counties in forming and/or joining NAADS-affiliated farmer groups when the programme was first launched. As discussed in Chapter 2, these groups were the primary vehicles through which farmers could participate in NAADS activities.

¹⁹² Notably farmers' participatory planning and training activities

3.3.1 Widespread expectations for material support

From parish to parish across the two sub counties, respondents repeatedly recalled the high level of initial enthusiasm that the coming of the NAADS generated amongst farmers and local communities. They spoke of unusually high attendances in the initial activities of sensitization and developing farmer's institutions. The high attendances led to the formation of "very high" numbers of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. This was often attributed to restrictions in the number of common interest enterprises that each group could register in order to participate in and access services from the sub county NAADS funds. By joining several farmer groups, individual farmers hoped to increase the number of their enterprises of interest that would be supported. Many informants also thought that the initial enthusiasm and high level of response were a result of the widespread expectations that NAADS would provide material and/or financial support. When it became clear that these expectations were not going to be fulfilled, and that NAADS would mainly offer information and advisory services, many community members, especially the youth, lost their initial interest and many NAADS-affiliated groups declined or collapsed. For example in Kasawo sub county a Local Council 1 (LC1) Chairperson ¹⁹³ who was involved in mobilizing communities in her village when NAADS was initiated recalls:

Initially there were up to 60 farmer groups in this parish, but with time the number declined. For example, at the moment there are only 4 registered groups in the parish, two of these are in this village.

In addition to the drastic decline in the number of farmer groups, the few farmer groups which remained lost many of their members. A Councillor for one of the parishes¹⁹⁴ revealed that "even the small number of farmer groups which survived the initial shock survived with a meagre number of members". In his village there were "only five farmer groups still in existence, with each on average, ten members", whereas in the beginning, the same groups had 30 or more members.

Discussions with farmers in community meetings revealed their real frustrations that little or no material or financial support was made available to the farmer groups, as they had originally hoped. During one such meeting¹⁹⁵, the participants specifically linked their expectation for material support to the practices of NGOs. One of them explained:

Many people join groups thinking they will see some material gain as soon as possible and when this does not happen, they lose hope. Even now some people thought that if they join NAADS groups, that after training they would get things like seed and pesticides, as happens when they participate in the activities of the NGOs. Yet many have so far not seen anything tangible.

¹⁹³ In Kigogola Parish.

¹⁹⁴ In Namaliri Parish.

¹⁹⁵ In Kakukulu Parish.

The participants in these meetings also described how the disappointment felt by those who had joined groups influenced the more sceptical community members. “When those people who are not yet in groups see us without much tangible benefit, they get more discouraged and eventually lose interest in the whole thing”. This and similar sentiments were most commonly observed among the youth. On several occasions members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups advised NAADS implementers that they needed to be motivated by “something tangible” in order to maintain the interest of current group members and to attract back lapsed members. The situation was the same in Wakisi sub county, where one of the farmer leaders claimed that after failing to realize the initial expectations “the only people who were still active in the farmers groups were those with real desire to get knowledge”.¹⁹⁶

3.3.2 The initial quest to capture resources: some illustrations

Discussions with farmer groups revealed several examples of groups that had been formed with very high anticipation of receiving material and/or financial support from the government. This was manifest in their objectives and provided them with a strong motivation to meet their co-funding obligations with the sub county NAADS administration. Some specific examples are discussed below that illustrate this widespread trend.

Example 1: Mobilizing in order to “have a share in the national cake”

In Kasawo sub county, a women’s and youth farmer group in Namaliri parish had organized themselves with vanilla production and goat-rearing as their main enterprises of interest. This was a village-based group with 13 members, including 5 adult women, and 8 youths¹⁹⁷ (4 females and 4 males). The ages of the group members ranged from 26 to 60 years (with an average of 41). The group started in 2002 shortly after NAADS was established in the sub county. Their main objective for affiliating to NAADS was to access capital so that they could engage in income-generating activities. The need for capital was apparently most urgent, as their earlier attempts at joint income-generating farming activities had failed due to a lack of land.¹⁹⁸ These members were open about their main incentive for forming the group, confiding that they wanted to “have a share of the national cake”. They claimed that this is what they had been promised during the initial sensitization and mobilization for NAADS.¹⁹⁹ To their disappointment, they had not acquired the capital they had hoped for and were also disappointed that they had not yet had an opportunity to host a NAADS established technology development site (TDS). By their own admission, their desire to have their own TDS was the main reason for them making their required contribution to the sub county NAADS budget. This state of affairs left the group quite dissatisfied with NAADS. They were also frustrated that their first attempt to secure a loan from the World Vision Area Development Programme to enable them to buy vanilla material did not yield any positive results.

¹⁹⁶ The Vice Chairperson of the Mukono District Farmers Association (MUDFA).

¹⁹⁷ For purposes of this study ‘youth’ is defined as a male or female person from 18 to 35 years of age (see Chapter 5 for details).

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter 5 for details on this issue

¹⁹⁹ It was quite common for the members of groups of this kind to say they formed the groups in response to the President’s call that farmers form groups in order to have ‘a share of the national cake.’

Example 2: A dormant group re-awakens to capture resources

In Wakisi sub county a mixed farmer group in Kalagala parish, organized around vanilla production and pig-rearing as their enterprises of interest provides another typical example of a materially or financially motivated response to NAADS. This village-based group included 10 men (including some youth) and 5 women. It started in 1985 as a village-wide informal traditional association or '*munnomukabi*'²⁰⁰. The main objective at the time of formation was to enable the members to give social support to one another during difficult times, such as the death of a family member. Later on, the members initiated an informal savings and credit scheme from which contributors could access loans at a reasonable interest. However this scheme failed, partly due to a lack of reliable sources of income among the members after a fall in coffee production, which made it difficult for some members to pay back their loans. Some of the members also cited mismanagement of the group's resources by the group leaders. After this the group became dormant for some years but it revitalized itself in 2003 and affiliated with the sub county NAADS Office. Group members, disclosed that the group had remained inactive, waiting to see if there were any NAADS' activities, that with NAADS' assistance, they might engage with. As in the previous example, the group members did not hide their main incentive for (re)forming the group. They candidly said that they had reformed the group in response to "advice from the top to farmers to form farmer groups in order not to miss the 'cake' from NAADS". Their primary objective was access to material or financial support from NAADS. They also revealed that their expectation of some form of support such as inputs (especially seeds) was their main incentive for making their required contribution to the sub county NAADS budget. According to the leaders, the group hadn't found it that difficult to raise this money because it was a collective contribution.

This example demonstrates that expectations for material or financial assistance were not limited to farmer groups which formed specifically with the coming of NAADS. Similar scenarios were also reported and observed amongst some farmer groups that existed prior to NAADS. In Kasawo sub county, farmers experienced difficulties because of the lack of support from NAADS, as expressed by a participant in a community meeting²⁰¹ who captured a common sentiment among male youths:

Without additional support, it is hard for us to apply the advice. Even members of groups which were here before NAADS lost interest. They didn't see mere advice as real support. At least let NAADS provide loans on a longer term basis.

This finding seems contrary to the view, widely held among NAADS staff and commentators, that groups that existed prior to NAADS would be less likely to expect

²⁰⁰ A Luganda term for (self-initiated) traditional and informal community associations (typically at the village level) intended to enable their own members to provide support to one another in areas such as labour sharing, food security, firewood gathering, etc. but also increasingly in providing financial assistance to individual members at times of loss of a family member or at joyful events like weddings etc.

²⁰¹ In Kabimbiri Parish.

material support.²⁰² These actors, and the literature, often hold the view that established groups are more sustainable than those formed in direct response to an intervention activity. Weinberger and Jütting (2001:1402) hypothesize that the beneficial effects of networks will be higher when the group has been together for a while and the members have built a degree of trust in each other.

Many key informants (including sub county NAADS implementers) and farmers observed that some community members joined farmer groups without being clear about their purpose. Several NAADS officers in both sub counties felt that the expectation that organizing farmers' groups would give them a collective voice has not been fulfilled. In Kasawo sub county, the participating NGO was concerned that, even three years after NAADS was implemented, the majority of the farmers still perceived it as a donor agency.²⁰³

3.3.3 Wider experiences and reflections

There are several indications that these examples were not restricted to the two case study sub counties. Similar developments were noted in the other trailblazing sub counties where NAADS was first piloted. Table 3.3²⁰⁴ shows a decline in the second year (2002/03) in the number of verified and registered farmer groups in all of the first four sub counties to implement NAADS in Mukono District although this was more pronounced in the two study sub counties. These figures show a decline of 65% in the number of registered farmer groups and the number that were verified during the second year of NAADS (i.e. 2002/03) in the two case study sub counties. This decline also reflects the rapid formation of farmer groups during the first year, many of which did not conform to the registration requirements. The District Internal Assessment Report²⁰⁵ also attributes this to farmer groups being set up in anticipation of financial and/or material support from NAADS and subsequently disintegrating due to their members' disappointment in not obtaining the support that they had hoped for. This echoes the findings of earlier studies on the implementation of NAADS within the area (see, for example, Kayanja, 2003; Obaa et al., 2005).²⁰⁶

A study conducted by the Coalition for Effective Extension Delivery (CEED) to evaluate the "farmer institutional development process" over the first three years of NAADS implementation revealed similar accounts of "opportunistic" farmer groups in the three districts that it covered (CEED, 2004:19).²⁰⁷ Additionally, field visits to these districts, led participants to express concerns that NAADS had generally been perceived as "just another project" by

²⁰² In some of these groups increasing contact with external support led to problems that threatened their continuation. In one extreme case it led to collapse of a previously cohesive women's group (see Chapter 5).

²⁰³ See the NGO (World Vision Kasawo Area Development Programme) report on farmer institutional development activities for NAADS FY3 (i.e.2003/04).

²⁰⁴ Covering the period from 2001/02 to 2004/05. During the first year the farmer institutional development activities focused on group formation. Usually the first step in the annual process of registering groups entailed identifying the existence of farmer groups, followed by a group verification exercise. Verification involves assessing a farmer group against NAADS' compliance criteria for registration. The number of farmer groups verified in the second year (2002/03) was, except for some sub counties, close to the number identified during the first year.

²⁰⁵ May 2005, as part of NAADS' mid-term review.

²⁰⁶ Kayanja's study was conducted in Nakisunga sub county while that of Obaa et al., (2005) covered three sub counties, including Kasawo, Nakisunga and Wakisi.

²⁰⁷ This study covered three other NAADS trailblazing districts; Arua, Soroti and Tororo districts.

farmers.²⁰⁸ They partly attributed this perception to a “persistent hand-out culture” within the farming population. This led the team to question the extent to which farmers had internalized NAADS’ concept of commercialization and its demand-driven philosophy.

These findings reflect patterns that can be found elsewhere in the literature. For example, Mutimba and Luzobe (2004) report how groups form in response to “artificial interest” stimulated by NGOs which provide material incentives to achieve quick results²⁰⁹. This practice they note is partly because of the pressure to show results and meet their own institutional objectives. Brett’s (1993) work on participatory groups and rural development in Uganda also attributes the culture of dependency in rural groups to the practices of external NGOs as well to the attitudes of target groups.

Table 3.3: Number of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and their membership in the first four NAADS trailblazing sub counties in Mukono district for the period 2002/03- 2004/05

Sub county	2002/03		2003/04		2004/05 ²¹⁰	
	Farmer groups verified**	Farmer groups registered	Farmer groups verified	Farmer groups registered	Farmer groups registered	Membership of farmer groups
*Kasawo	106	35	91	61	91	1365
Kyampisi	73	51	73	61	65	1238
Nakisunga	94	67	97	60	88	1574
*Wakisi	120	40	120	109	125	1650

Source (modified): NAADS Mid-Term Review, District Internal Assessment Report (2005):

*Study sub counties

**Verification here refers to the assessment of a farmer group against the compliance criteria for registration with the sub county NAADS Office.

In summary, this section shows that farmers in the two study sub counties initially perceived NAADS primarily as a channel for receiving governmental assistance and certainly expected more than just advisory services from NAADS. They expected NAADS to offer a more integrated package including material inputs and financial support together with or besides knowledge and/skills on improved agricultural practices. Anticipation of material inputs and/or financial support was the main incentive for the initially high response of community members in forming and/or joining NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. The failure to achieve such expectations often resulted in frustration and provided a disincentive for any subsequent involvement in NAADS’ activities. This is clearly reflected in the decline in the rate of formation of, and people’s participation in NAADS-affiliated farmer groups.

There are two main explanations for this response pattern. First, the process of mobilizing the communities into NAADS-affiliated farmer groups clearly involved raising expectations within the communities. Yet, these expectations were not entirely unjustified, as previous experience with programmes launched by non-Ugandan NGOs, which also involved community groups, often included the provision of material inputs to participants. This was

²⁰⁸ ‘Overview of observations of field visit teams’, 3rd NAADS Joint Review Conference, 19-21 May 2004.

²⁰⁹ In a study on the evolution of farmer organizations in within privatized agricultural extension services that covered Zimbabwe and Uganda.

²¹⁰ There is no indication of the number of groups verified for this year.

not a phenomenon restricted to these two sub counties. This phenomenon has been widely documented, in the context of NAADS and elsewhere. In the case of NAADS, the formation of such groups was often encouraged by hand outs of some kind by an external agency (governmental or non-governmental), which fuelled a “dependency syndrome” (c.f. World Bank, 2000; Brett, 1993) within communities. Equally it is interesting to note that when groups are in the process of forming the requests for knowledge and advice (the services that are actually on offer) are lower compared to those for material and/or financial support (Table 4.1, Chapter 4).

3.4 Farmers’ responses to NAADS’ advisory and information services

The preceding section discussed the general reaction of farmers in two sub counties to NAADS in its early days. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 go beyond the initial stages of NAADS and focus on the responses of farmers to two components of the NAADS programme; advisory and information services (this section) and technology development (section 3.5). These sections mainly draw on qualitative sources of information; more quantitative findings are presented in section 3.6.²¹¹

To contextualize farmers’ reactions to the services provided, this section starts with a discussion of a typical training and demonstration event. It then proceeds to explore the reactions of farmers (and other stakeholders) to these training and demonstration activities. This is followed by an account of the increasing evidence among farmers and other stakeholders of “training fatigue.”

3.4.1. The nature of training and demonstration events

In order to better understand farmers’ reactions to the information and advisory services offered by NAADS, it is important to first describe what these services looked like in practice. The section is based on observations of training events, interviews with service providers and farmers, a review of the terms of reference (TOR) for the advisory service contracts and the technical proposals presented by the service providers. Together these data provide the basis for describing what typical information and advisory services looked like. In daily practice, most of these events either took the form of training events or training-related demonstrations, both of which are described in detail below.

The contours of typical training events

Training venue: the dominance of classroom settings

The training sessions were typically conducted in earmarked training centres, usually at central locations within each parish. There might be two or three such centres in a parish, depending on its size and geography. The training sessions were normally conducted in a

²¹¹ It took several years before the information (and communications) activities, which were intended to provide farmers with market information and help them to identify market opportunities became available. Even when they were finally launched these activities were largely limited to the Secretariat and District levels, which made it difficult to study farmers’ experiences with these activities. See Richardo Ramirez (2005) who explores the making of NAADS’ ‘Communication and Information Strategy’

classroom environment, within a school or community centre. It was also not uncommon for such training sessions to be conducted outdoors in convenient open spaces, such as the compound of a prominent community member or leader. The choice of training venue often depended on the facilities available and the preference of the farmers involved (based, for example, on the local custom in a particular area). Although not so frequent in the earlier years, on-farm demonstration sites were later increasingly used as training venues. However this often depended on the kind of enterprise involved and the nature of the contract. Some contracts specifically required demonstration activities, as was usually the case for post-harvest handling practices such as crop processing and storage (in the case of vanilla and maize) or constructing a ‘modern’ animal housing structure for dairy cattle, pigs or poultry.



A typical classroom training setting: Participants in Kasawo attend an enterprise selection session.

Training approach and methods: interactive group lecturing and method demonstrations

These training activities typically took the form of a community meeting, often consisting of a lecture and sometimes followed up with a short question and answer or discussion session. The extent to which these interactive techniques were used depended on a number of factors, both on the part of the trainers and the farmer trainees. A common constraining factor for both sets of actors was time (see below). The use of interactive techniques also depended on the initiative and/or preference of the individual trainer or the formal position of their firm. It also depended, to some extent, on the preferences and/or experiences of the farmers involved. In one of the parishes, for example, some farmers disliked a trainer asking them questions to assess their level of pre-existing knowledge before at the start of a session. In their view, it only made sense for the trainer to ask questions as a way of appraising the level to which they had grasped the content, either during or at the end of the session. They felt that being asked questions before the session made a ‘mockery’ of them or signified a lack of knowledge on the part of the trainer, who they thought might be trying to ‘learn’ from the farmers. On quite a few occasions farmers said that they felt that their trainers lacked practical skills and had had little exposure to the realities faced by farmers. This may have been a fair criticism since many trainers were recent graduates or para-professionals (see, e.g. NAADS, 2004a; Najjingo-Mangheni et al., 2004).

Depending on the requirements of the advisory contract (and/or the nature of content) the theory session would be complemented with a demonstration session. This was usually intended to create an opportunity for the farmers to see how to carry out certain agronomic or post-harvest practices. As such, in the training sessions farmers' exposure to practical exercises was usually limited to teaching/learning activities around the demonstration sites.

Training content: based on joint diagnosis regarding enterprise selected

Given the enterprise-based approach to service delivery within NAADS, the content offered by the service providers to the farmers under an advisory service contract was specified in the terms of reference (TOR) set out by the sub county NAADS administration. The TOR were derived from the advisory and technology service needs, in line with the sub county priority enterprises selected by the farmers through an earlier participatory planning process (See Chapter 2). Through these processes, service delivery staff, farmers' leaders and participating farmers jointly identified specific needs, based on an analysis of constraints and opportunities. The TOR also required the service provider to address any crosscutting issues affecting a particular enterprise, such as gender, poverty and natural resource management. In practice the service providers often neglected these crosscutting issues (see Obaa et al., 2005 and Parkinson, 2008), partly because of a lack of clarity about what exactly was required of them in relation these broad themes.

Training materials: writing and written materials

Usually the advisory service contract budget provided for training materials such as chalk, markers, flip charts and, where applicable, demonstration materials. The budget, especially in the earlier years, also allowed for basic writing materials (such as exercise books, pens, pencils etc.) for the farmer trainees to take notes. Farmers were very appreciative of this and expected this to continue throughout, but as giving 'handouts' to farmers became discouraged this became less common. However the farmers continued to expect, and at times demand, that the trainers provide them with these materials and some of the service providers or individual trainers continued, albeit unofficially, to provide such materials. Some used this as a strategy to attract farmers to attend their training activities, which was important because the service providers were required to present attendance lists as proof that they had carried out their commitments. These lists also served as an indicator of the firm's ability to mobilize communities for the trainings. Often (and again either as a result of personal initiative or company policy) the farmers were provided with some simple handouts on the content covered, occasionally in the local language. Over time, the TOR required service provider firms to develop a simple training manual and leave a copy of this at each of the training centres for future reference by farmers or any other interested individuals. However most service providers did the minimum possible to fulfil this obligation and the sub county NAADS administration found this requirement difficult to enforce. The service providers cited a number of constraints on them fulfilling this requirement, which included inadequate budgets, limited time (in part related to the short contract durations) and the lack of technical capacity to develop such training manuals.

Training duration and the time of training: practical difficulties in coordinating time

In principle a training session was meant to be last for at least 2 hours. However, the actual duration of the sessions often depended on practical realities. Most trainers were dependent on public transport and often found it difficult to arrive at the centre at the specified time. The farmers, particularly the women, also had difficulties in making it on time, due to their tight schedules with household chores and the ongoing struggle in earning an income. In the early days, and particularly for the trainings related to farmer institution development, the training sessions were planned to start as early as 10.00 am and took up a good part of the day. This practice was later discouraged, especially as providing for lunch for the participants became increasingly problematic (partly as a result of the general ban on handouts to the farmers). The regular training sessions were usually conducted in the afternoons, typically starting at 2 pm. Occasionally the situation required that sessions started earlier, especially when a trainer had to conduct training sessions in more than one place on the same day. Either way, the training sessions hardly ever started on time.

Mode of assessment: formal and informal evaluation of trainings

The trainers often provided opportunities for the participants to assess the training events, although the extent to which they did this, and the methods they used, varied widely. These assessments focused mostly on the training methods, training materials, the general conduct of the trainer and the farmers' understanding of the content. This was mostly done through informal feedback techniques involving, for instance, a few trainees standing up and giving their own impressions of the training event. This exercise was sometimes guided by questions posed by the trainer on specific aspects of the training session. However, in a few instances the service provider firm provided for a more formal post-training evaluation, using standardized evaluation forms. Together with the attendance lists, these forms served as evidence of accomplishment of the training assignment by the field trainers, which was often required by the firms, as well as the sub county NAADS administration.

Demonstration events

At times the mostly theoretical training sessions were complemented with a practical activity, typically a 'how-to-do' demonstration, usually carried out immediately after the theoretical training. On occasion, however, these might be conducted as independent sessions: either as a follow-up of a previous training session or as an entirely separate activity. In the latter case, the advisory service contracts specifically asked for a demonstration activity as the main method of teaching/learning. This was common for crops such as vanilla and maize, for which farmers were taught improved methods of post-harvest handling and storage and for constructing improved structures for livestock and poultry.

Setting: special demonstration sites

Usually the demonstration sessions were conducted on an existing demonstration garden. But, occasionally, they were carried out on technology development sites (TDS = see following section) established under this or a previous programme. Established TDSs were more commonly used for long term crops, such as vanilla and banana. These TDSs were

generally hosted by selected members of particular farmer groups which registered the respective enterprises as their enterprises of common interest. Here the session might cover topics such as pruning a banana plant or pollinating a vanilla flower. For other demonstration activities, such as planting maize and beans in rows, the demonstration session could be conducted as part of the process of establishing a new TDS in a place agreed upon by the participating farmers.

Main activities around a TDS: practice and discussion

Having covered the large part of the topic during the classroom session, the main focus at the demonstration site was for the participants to try out a particular practice in a farm environment. Sometimes the trainer would give a recap of the main aspects of the topic or ask a few participants to summarize the main steps involved in the topic at hand (say in pruning a banana plant). The trainees then carried out the practice, either individually (planting beans in lines, for example) or in small groups of two or three (e.g. pollinating a vanilla flower). It was also usual for the farmer trainees to ask questions or even to engage in further discussion with the trainer, depending on the time available.

Variable duration

The duration of demonstration sessions depended on whether the activity was part of the main training event or a separate activity. If part of the main training event, the period for the entire event (typically two hours or so) was often divided, more or less equally, between the two sessions. When the demonstration session was independent, it would be conducted within the usual two hours for a normal training session or slightly longer, depending on a number of factors (such as time keeping by the trainer and the trainees and nature of the practice involved).

Mode of assessment: informal evaluation of farmers' skills

The success of a demonstration session was mainly judged on the ability of the farmer trainees to be able to carry out the practice “properly” on their own. This judgment was often based on the impressions of both the trainer and the trainees, using observations and feedback. After attending the demonstration session(s), the farmers were expected to return home and to apply the new practice(s) to their individual farming activities. On rare occasions, some trainers made limited follow-up visits to individual participants to see how they were applying the skills they had acquired. However, the ability of the service providers to do these follow-up visits was generally constrained by tight schedules (often related to the short-contract durations) and their usually being non-residents of the villages where they carried out the trainings.

Summary

The information and advisory services generally took the form of rather formal classroom-based group meetings, in which outside expertise played a central role, and where the agenda was confined to the enterprise chosen by the district and/or group (see also Kayanja, 2003). In principle, such meetings can be very useful when farmers face common problems and if

these problems are well diagnosed in advance. The following section explores how useful they were in practice.

3.4.2 Farmers' reactions to the training activities

The launching of the NAADS-supported training activities was generally enthusiastically received by farmers in both the case-study sub counties. Few farmers in either sub county had had much contact with the previous public extension service, which had not been active in these areas (see Chapter 2). There was also a notable time lag between the initial farmer institutional development activities and the commencement of the technical training activities, which meant farmers waited in anticipation for some time for something concrete to happen. Thus, despite the widespread concerns about the lack of material and financial incentives, respondents gave much credit to NAADS for increasing farmers' access to the knowledge and/or skills for improved agricultural production practices. Several dimensions of this appreciation are discussed below.

Improved access compared to the past

In both sub counties, the informants often linked farmers' improved access to knowledge and/skills on improved agricultural production to a combination of the increased availability of service providers and relatively more grassroots-based training activities. Service providers now came to the district on a more regular and predictable basis than before. As one community development assistant in the sub county said:

There is now increased access to training services by the farmers...the NAADS service providers are able to go out to farmers and deliver trainings. Previously many people couldn't access extension services because of shortage of extension workers. In this sub county we had only one agricultural worker and one veterinarian. These officers could not reach all the villages...they only visited people who contacted them, mostly those farmers who needed veterinary services.

Many community leaders said that one of the key strengths of NAADS was the emphasis it gave to increasing farmers' access to training services. A woman member of a Village Development Committee (VDC)²¹² observed that 'even if it is not easy for farmers to get the necessary inputs, NAADS has at least tried to provide knowledge.' Possibly even more powerful was the observation, of an elderly man, made during a community meeting in Wakisi sub county.²¹³ Based on his long time experience in the area he stressed that 'NAADS was the first government programme that had tried to address farmers' needs for extension services.' Another key informant in Kasawo sub county reported that improved access to training 'led to some farmers to gradually realizing the importance of knowledge'. He also noted that this was reflected in the renewed interest among farmers in rejoining the farmer groups.

²¹² In Kabimbiri parish.

²¹³ Nakalanga parish.

The key informants in both sub counties frequently recalled the difficulty that farmers had experienced in accessing extension staff in the past. A widespread feeling among these informants was that majority of the farmers had scarcely any contact with public extension workers in the five-year period prior to NAADS. Comments like ‘...even the few sub county extension workers were not readily available to the communities’ or ‘I personally didn’t know the extension worker for this sub county’ were a common place. On one occasion a member of the SFF in Kasawo sub county said: ‘I knew only one sub county extension staff because he was a resident of my parish...I am sure many residents in other parishes didn’t know him.’

Complementing existing NGO activities

As mentioned before, farmers’ assessments of NAADS’ performance and accessibility were mostly made in relation to their experiences with the former public extension service, which NAADS replaced. In Kasawo sub county some farmers also favourably compared NAADS’ work to the work of the World Vision Area Development Programme, recognizing the value of providing training and information services. Yet, many respondents also praised World Vision’s agricultural programme, which was quite generous in providing material inputs, such as subsidized seeds and free animals (including goats and heifers) to participating farmers.²¹⁴ Some key informants criticized this programme for not organizing enough relevant training for the beneficiaries, especially in its animal improvement scheme. As a result of this many of the animals died prematurely (especially those given out in the first round) and the intervention did not have the full impact intended.²¹⁵ A key informant interview, a woman LC1 member²¹⁶ recalls:

Despite the high demand for the heifers, people experienced high losses, especially in the beginning. The beneficiaries were not provided with the basic knowledge/skills. They (the NGO) didn’t pay much attention to training the beneficiaries of the scheme. However, these animals may also have been affected by the conditions in this area.

This weakness was also recognized by some of the staff of World Vision.²¹⁷ They, in common with other informants, recognized that NAADS advisory services in the sub county had helped to fill an important gap in their own agricultural programme. In this respect the two programmes were seen as complementary, with World Vision’s activities partially filling the material inputs gap from NAADS.

²¹⁴ It is worth mentioning that it was not routine practice to supply subsidized seed.

²¹⁵ Reportedly, the heifers were cross breeds (of 75%). Their mortality rate declined when the programme initiated some basic training for the limited numbers of veterinary staff in the sub county.

²¹⁶ Kakukulu parish.

²¹⁷ This emerged when two community development NGO facilitators were discussing possible areas of collaboration and harmonization between the NGOs and NAADS.

Competition over boundaries: farmers' wish to treat veterinary services as a public issue

This lack of contact with extension services had been particularly pronounced among crop farmers. Some farmers involved in livestock rearing did have contact with privately employed veterinary personnel (or public ones, but from other sub counties), but this was largely on a demand-driven basis. This raised the question of who should be responsible for providing veterinary services – the public or the private sector. In Wakisi sub county, there were widespread accounts of poor access to veterinary services. Until recently the sub county had no resident public veterinary staff. One had recently been appointed, but there was a high demand for his services. As one farmer from Naminya parish recalls

One time, I spent more money on a cow that I normally spend on treating a person. Even when you call [by telephone] the public veterinary personnel, you will only be lucky to see him, maybe after several days.

The provision of veterinary services under NAADS has generally remained a grey area. By and large, advisory services in the livestock sector are limited to increasing farmers' knowledge and skills about animal production, but with little attention paid to the prevention and treatment of animal diseases. NAADS took the position that private service providers should take the lead in the latter areas.²¹⁸ Many farmers and community leaders expressed concern over this. They saw animal disease as the single most important constraint in the livestock sector. Some farmers even saw this as a deliberate act by the contracted service providers to keep them without any basic knowledge on treatment of animal diseases, so as to allow service providers to continue providing veterinary services to individual farmers on a fee-basis. Members of one farmer group²¹⁹ complained that:

There is a problem with [NAADS]. Livestock trainings have been on management aspects and not on the treatment of animal diseases...we sometimes think that the service providers want to leave the farmers in the dark...and maybe they want to charge us for veterinary services.

Although one can interpret this controversy in several ways, it is in a sense encouraging, when looked at from the perspective of NAADS' reputation and trustworthiness, since it shows that farmers have some interest in making NAADS responsible for providing important information services relating to animal health.

Appreciation for the focus on income-generating business

One aspect of NAADS' training activities that proved exceptionally popular among farmers was the training services related to income-generating enterprises, promoted under the

²¹⁸ Until this time NAADS funding did not cover the provision of veterinary services, which were seen as a purely private arrangement between individual farmers and the providers of veterinary services. This may have partly been due to the desire to nurture a demand-driven veterinary services sector. Moreover farmers with (local) cattle were generally believed to have more resources than those solely engaged in crop production.

²¹⁹ In Nakalanga parish.

‘farming as a business’ campaign (see Chapter 4). These training activities were particularly popular among farmers with dairy cattle and vanilla enterprises (which were often relatively new enterprises) and those involved in rearing chickens and pigs. In the latter cases, where women farmers predominated, farmers mainly relied on traditional methods of production. In all these enterprise categories, the farmers were interested in acquiring knowledge on better production methods and related practices.

3.4.3 The dilemma of ‘training fatigue’

In spite of wide ranging appreciation by the farmers (and other stakeholders) of NAADS’ contribution to improving farmers’ access to knowledge and skills, over time the farmers became less enthusiastic about NAADS’ training activities. The initial appreciation was soon followed by growing apprehension among the farmers and other stakeholders about ‘too much training’ or ‘training fatigue.’

Time and again informants said that once farmers realized that, contrary to their initial expectations, the primary focus of the NAADS would be on providing knowledge and/skills (through training) for agricultural production, they lost interest and patience with NAADS. Thus over time there was a noticeable decline in attendances at training meetings.

For example, in some areas of Kasawo sub county farmer attendance in training activities was reported to have dropped to as low as one-tenth of the number that attended in the earlier days. Stories were told of training sessions to which no farmers at all turned up, even after quite extensive community mobilization. One former parish representative²²⁰ on the interim sub county farmer forum (SFF) recalls:

The response [to training activities] has very much depended on people’s expectations for assistance and these expectations not being met. From the very beginning, people expected more than just trainings, as happens in the World Vision programme activities. Now only few farmers attend the trainings. At the moment, the number attending has dropped from about 100 people [in the beginning] to less than 10 people.

This quote reflects the growing frustration of ordinary community members (and most frequently members of farmer groups) who often compared the NAADS programme with that of World Vision. They often spoke of how they expected NAADS to adopt a more integrated approach, involving training for farmers and supplying them with material inputs (particularly improved seeds and animals).

Farmers’ reactions were very similar in Wakisi sub county where most respondents spoke of both the initial excitement and the subsequent decline, often citing similar reasons for this. One woman local council leader said: ‘because of a lack of additional support people who were attending the training activities didn’t see themselves any differently from those who

²²⁰ Kigogola parish.

never attended.’²²¹ Here too, although less frequently, several key informants cited some examples of activities which combined training with input supply arrangements in which the community members showed much greater interest.²²²

Thus, in addition to a certain sense of fatigue, the main critique of NAADS was the absence of any tangible benefits and a lack of integration between knowledge provision and other services. This view was not only expressed by farmers, but also by other stakeholders. And while the lack of wider support and incentives appeared to be an overriding contributor to ‘fatigue’, respondents also raised several other concerns about the training content, methods, scheduling and the attitude of service providers.

Local leaders strengthen the call for tangible benefits

All the respondents repeatedly linked the growing loss of interest by farmers in attending NAADS’ training activities and their dissatisfaction with NAADS with their inability to see more tangible benefits. Local council leaders maintained that although farmers need knowledge they would prefer more tangible material inputs (such as seed/planting materials and animals or facilities like fish ponds) and financial support. Without such tangible inputs many local leaders felt that farmers were not seeing much benefit from the NAADS funds allocated to the sub counties, which were reported to be quite substantial. On several occasions, these officials justified their position by comparing the farmers’ negative response to NAADS’ training activities with their attraction to the activities under the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG) of the Plan for the Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) or the Local Government Development Programmes (LGDP).²²³ These programmes focused more on material and/or infrastructure related services, as identified through a community needs assessment, a bottom-up process within the decentralized planning system. Officials in both sub counties claimed that the lack of tangible benefits from NAADS had led farmers to lose trust in those responsible for implementing NAADS, suspecting that they were possibly siphoning off NAADS money.

Repetition of training content and lack of complementarity

During several farmer groups meetings participants disclosed that displeasure with NAADS had not only dampened the interest of some of their members in attending NAADS training activities, but had also affected the meetings of their individual groups. Often they referred to some previous and/or on-going programmes of other agencies to illustrate this point. The agricultural programme of World Vision was frequently mentioned, together with the

²²¹ A former participant in the initial NAADS sensitization activities in the sub county and the Women’s District Councilor for the sub county.

²²² These two programmes offered some activities in which training played quite a minor role apart from community mobilization and sensitization activities. In some parishes there were other non-governmental activities that included limited training and supplies of material inputs, such as the adaptive crop research activities of the Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Centre (ARDC) and the Send-a-COW (Uganda) Programme. Other programmes included activities of the participating NGO (i.e. SG2000) in farmer institutional development. These involved limited supplies of inputs, such as piglets and improved seeds (mostly maize). However, with the exception of NAADS Wakisi sub county did not have a well organized long term agricultural intervention programme comparable to that of World Vision in Kasawo sub county.

²²³ These funds were channeled directly through the Local Council administrative structures.

extension programme of the Mukono District Farmers' Association (MUDFA), which was running in both sub counties.

At a community meeting in Kasawo sub county,²²⁴ shortly after the intensification of agricultural-related training activities under NAADS, the issues of 'too much training' and concerns about the absence of any material benefits were forcefully expressed. At the height of the debate, one man complained "we have already had enough training. We had similar training from other organizations in the past. We now need some help in form of money or material inputs". They alleged that the trainers were repeating topics that had been covered under MUDFA and the World Vision programmes in the past, arguing that "people get fed up of listening to the same things". This feeling was not confined to ordinary community members but was also frequently expressed by key informants. A former member of the procurement committee of the interim SFF²²⁵ revealed that "after attending several sessions under the sub county NAADS training activities some farmers, especially those who had similar training before, feel that they need additional support to enable them apply the knowledge acquired". In another interview a young and dynamic community worker expressed the view that 'many people had expected NAADS to provide something more than mere knowledge after years of extension without much else.'²²⁶

Similar views were expressed in Wakisi sub county where many informants referred to previous training activities carried out by MUDFA. Other informants also spoke of the training activities under a recently concluded project implemented by the Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Centre (ARDC) of the National Agricultural Research Organization (NARO) as well as the SEND-A-COW Programme²²⁷. During a community meeting²²⁸ one elderly man argued that:

With the exception of the few people who have just started farming and needed more training, many farmers in this parish had already attended similar trainings under MUDFA. Therefore, when NAADS came, many people expected some change because the MUDFA people also only focused on training.

Community leaders and farmers both argued that NAADS needed to support those farmers who had 'graduated from training' so they could apply the knowledge they had acquired. One interview, with a former sub county NAADS Core Team member, revealed that the first people to become involved in establishing NAADS-affiliated farmer groups in the sub county were former members of MUDFA. These farmers had expected more from NAADS than mere training, as MUDFA had also only provided training to its farmer members.

²²⁴ In Kasana parish.

²²⁵ For Kigogola Parish.

²²⁶ This was a male youth who held several leadership positions on the Local Council and on the development committees of the World Vision Area Development Programme as well as being involved in other community-based activities

²²⁷ Specifically In Naminya parish.

²²⁸ In Nakalanga parish.

Even allowing for overlaps with other programmes and projects in the content of training, farmers often complained about the tendency of some service providers to repeat topics that had been covered in previous training programmes contracted by NAADS. Apparently many service providers did not harmonize their programme of trainings with those provided by other trainers in previous years.

Do the contracts really represent farmers' demand?

The service providers and those involved in implementing NAADS in the two sub counties were aware of the strength of feeling over these issues and the growing fatigue among farmers. The service providers were puzzled by the increasing loss of interest amongst the farmers in attending the training activities. They found it hard to believe that the farmers could lose interest in attending scheduled training sessions, which were based on the farmers' own expressed needs about the enterprises they had helped to prioritise. Some of the service providers expressed doubt about the way in which the "demand-driven" principle supposedly underlying NAADS had been carried out. Commenting on this dilemma, a director of a service provider company which had previously carried out an advisory service contract in Kasawo sub county²²⁹ observed that:

Although the NAADS advisory services activities are supposed to be based on needs of the farmers, it is surprising that the farmers at times lose interest when they selected the enterprises themselves. This can be seen from the poor attendances at training events. Of late, one can register attendances as low as three farmers in the whole parish, maybe very soon no-one will be coming for training. One wonders whether it was really the farmers who selected the enterprises.

Inappropriate scheduling and discontinuities due to short contracts

During community and farmer group meetings farmers also complained about fatigue due to the service providers overloading the training sessions as their contract periods were usually very short. They reported that the congested training schedule left them with almost no time to attend to other competing demands. The situation was worse in Kasawo sub county where a number of farmers (especially women) were at the same time, participating in the activities of the World Vision Programme, which were also demanding. Both the administrators of NAADS and the service providers were aware of this congestion in training schedules, which was usually blamed on the short-duration of contracts issued, which were typically only 3-4 months long in the initial years, although they were extended to between 4 and 6 months in subsequent years.²³⁰

Short term contracts created complications for farmers, service providers and for the implementation of NAADS, complications which have been quite well documented over the years. The tensions identified include (a) reduced incentives for the service providers to

²²⁹ This interview was conducted as part of the NAADSEC/DFID Commissioned NAADS Lessons Learning Study in Mukono district towards the end of the NAADS 3rd Financial Year (FY 2003/04). The interviewee revealed that his company had experienced similar scenarios in other districts where it had implemented similar contracts.

²³⁰ There were proposals to increase the advisory contract period to 8 or more months but these did not emerge.

commit their more trained and skilled staff to these projects; (b) the inappropriateness of the contract length for enterprises with longer maturation cycles, and (c) the administrative burden created by the need for repeated procurement of the same services during subsequent years, leading to time and resource wastage, delays and a lack of continuity (NAADS, 2004a). Mangheni et al. (2004) reported that many stakeholders perceived short contracts as counterproductive in achieving long-term outcomes, such as farmer empowerment. And, as previously discussed, there was a risk of repetition of content when services were contracted out to different providers. Such transaction costs and discontinuities (partly due to the unwillingness of competing service providers to share information between themselves) have been reported as shortcomings in privatized contract-type extension services elsewhere (see Klerkx, 2008; Klerkx et al., 2006; Leeuwis, 2004).

Concerns about the classroom training approach and staff qualifications

On several occasions farmers associated training fatigue with the largely theoretical approach to training adopted by most of the service providers (see section 3.4.1). It was not uncommon for farmers to complain about lack of adequate practical training activities.

In Kasawo sub county, for example, much of the discussion at one community meeting²³¹ was about the training methods used by service providers. All the participants agreed that the training they had received was overly theoretical and classroom-based. Usually the service providers showed no interest in visiting the farmers' fields to see how they were applying the knowledge received and the practical challenges they were they were facing.

Likewise in Wakisi sub county the issue of the largely theoretical-based training kept surfacing in both community and farmer group meetings. For instance, in a meeting with a farmer group²³² the members named one service provider who they had found particularly disappointing, noting that:

The problem is that many times the trainers don't go beyond 'theory'. For example, the trainer on horticultural crops didn't carry out the practical part of the training as required...he refused to visit and conduct some training sessions from the farmers' fields, even after we requested this.

Farmers were not only concerned by the low level of practical training but were equally perturbed by the seemingly disrespectful behaviour of some service providers. In Kasawo sub county the farmers in a community meeting²³³ mentioned one trainer, on the goat programme, as a typical example. They alleged that, instead of appreciating the difficulties that farmers faced in acquiring an improved goat, he just behaved 'arrogantly'.²³⁴ They also disliked this

²³¹ In Namaliri parish.

²³² In Naminya parish.

²³³ In Kakukulu parish.

²³⁴ The price of an improved goat (of the South African Boer type) was about Shs. 500,000 (or about \$294). Farmers complained that instead of focusing on the topic at hand this trainer started telling the participants about the farming practices and technologies he was applying on his farm, which they thought had little relevance to their concerns – since the solution he was recommending was beyond their means.

trainer for his lack of humility and skills in handling adult learners; for going too fast, for simply talking without writing anything down and for using English, rather than local languages, before a largely lowly educated and/or illiterate audience.

Nevertheless there were some service providers whose conduct did win the admiration of farmers. In Kasawo sub county the participants (especially elderly women) cited an example of a 'good' trainer, a relatively young male who handled the farmers with empathy and appeared to be in touch with their situation. He also showed an interest in his work and the farming population he was working with. Unlike many other service providers this young man endeavoured to arrive on time and personally mobilized the communities to encourage them to attend scheduled training sessions. They also credited him for taking the interest in following-up with the farmers who had attended his training to see how they were applying the knowledge and/or skills acquired and, where necessary, provide further advice.

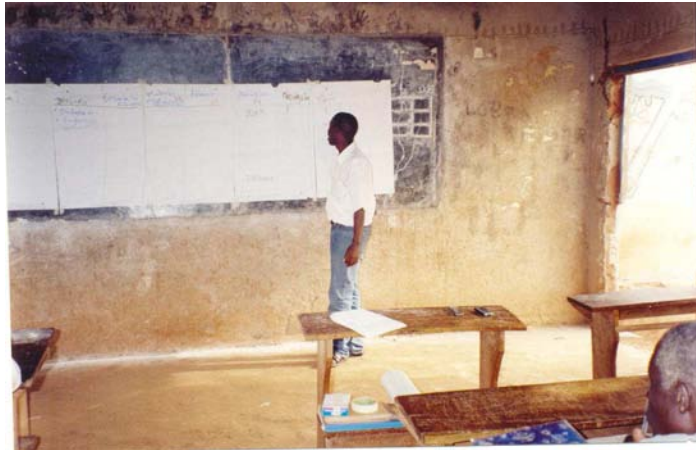
Institutional challenges in improving service provider capacity

Concern about the excessive use of traditional extension-training approach, based primarily on teaching and demonstration methods, has been recognized by senior staff and administrators within NAADS and by the agencies supporting it (see e.g. NAADS, 2004b). This practice ran contrary to the officially preferred approach, which emphasized more facilitative methods of working with the farmers and encouraged their active participation through 'learning by doing' (ibid)²³⁵. Through adopting these approaches it was envisaged that the service providers would be able to draw on the knowledge and experience of the farmers. The widespread use of more traditional extension methods can be attributed to an absence, among the pool of service providers, of adequate skills and experience in using participatory and experiential methods (Mutimba et al., 2007) since most trainers were fresh from agricultural college or university and had very little practical experience.

In addition to lacking in practical experience many service providers had undergone training curricula that had not earlier prepared them for using more facilitative methods of working with farmers (NAADS, 2004a). The situation was exacerbated by the continued delay in releasing the more experienced staff from the former (public) extension service into the private sector.²³⁶ When NAADS was being designed it was hoped that this strategy would allow for the movement of relevant expertise from the public extension service into NAADS (MAAIF, 2001; GoU, 2006). Yet the long planned programme for building the capacity of private service providers within NAADS did not occur (see GoU, 2006).

²³⁵ It should be noted that the NAADS design documents remain somewhat vague about the kind of approaches/methods to be used by the contracted service providers when providing advisory services to farmers (see for example MAAIF, 2000 & NAADS, 2001).

²³⁶ Reportedly due to the omission of the NAADS structures in the local government restructuring programme (see, for instance, GoU, 2005).



A youthful service provider facilitates an enterprise selection session in a typical classroom environment in Kasawo sub county²³⁷.

Even in the few instances where some service provider companies had adequately qualified staff with reasonable experience these were usually strategically used for bidding purposes and were rarely used in the field farmer training activities. Some managers of the service provider companies reported that the low contract values made it difficult for them to pay the relatively high fees of more qualified and experienced professionals (c.f. Parkinson, 2008).²³⁸ In light of low budgets and the scarcity of qualified staff, some service provider companies employed field personnel who had qualifications other than those required for the task at hand.^{239,240}

3.4.4 Summarizing farmers' responses to NAADS' information services

The qualitative material presented in this section suggests that the information and advisory component of NAADS was welcomed by many farmers as a marked improvement to the past. At the same time there were still a number of concerns regarding the quality of service delivery and influence that farmers had over this. While farmers had initially been given the opportunity to express their preferences (in keeping with the NAADS' principle of participation and especially its ostensibly demand-driven approach) the influence this had on the final selection was constrained by limitations imposed by both NAADS' criteria and the process of screening enterprises, which meant that the final decision over which enterprises should qualify for service provision was made at a higher level. In addition, farmers

²³⁷ This trainer, hired by a NGO in Kasawo sub county to enhance its capacity in facilitating farmers' enterprise selection exercises, was pursuing an MBA course at one of the universities.

²³⁸ Reportedly the contract sum for an advisory services contract under NAADS was Ug. Shs.1.3 million (about \$765) per month to cover service provider fees, operational costs and cost of demonstration materials (see, NAADS, 2004, for instance). According to the SNC in Kasawo about half of the contract sum (i.e. between Shs. 600,000 to 700,000) was intended to cover professional fees for a period of 22 working days.

²³⁹ I once observed a training session where one of the trainers was a recent social scientist graduate who was responsible for presenting a technical agricultural topic. I quickly realized that this trainer was using notes prepared by another more technically-qualified person. This might have been the result of the service provider company's policy or could have been the initiative of the individual trainer who was aware that he lacked the necessary knowledge of the subject and had sought the help of a more qualified colleague to help him to perform the assigned task.

²⁴⁰ The situation of suitable recruitment was further complicated by pressure from local communities who wanted the sub county NAADS administration to recruit 'children of the land' who had gone to school and were qualified, even if their qualifications were not those required for the job at hand (i.e. outside the agriculture and related fields)

attending the training sessions did not seem to have much control over the type and contents of training that they subsequently received. The possibility of tailoring information and advice to the specific needs of individual farmers largely depended on the interactions between the farmers and the individual service providers during the training events, and is likely to be affected by the capacities and attitudes of both parties. Most importantly, there is widespread concern that merely providing information and knowledge is not sufficient, and that it can only be capitalized upon when other services and conditions are made available.

3.5 Farmers' responses to activities under the technology development component: the “*empenduzo*²⁴¹” for co-funding?

This section focuses on farmers' responses to the activities of the technology development component. In so doing it seeks to demonstrate how the training fatigue among the farmers could have had some connection with the inadequate funding for technology development.

3.5.1 The characteristics of technology development sites (TDS)

As explained in Chapter 2, the technology development sites (TDSs) were intended for developing, promoting²⁴² and multiplying foundation technology such as seed/planting and stocking material so as to give farmers better access to improved technology. The overall aim of technology development within NAADS was to stimulate farmers to adopt innovations (c.f. Parkinson, 2008). The TDSs were also intended to play a role in enhancing farmer training and/or learning, and hence were often also used for conducting the kinds of demonstrations described in section 3.4.1.

Typically, the TDSs were managed and hosted by a group of farmers, who were collectively responsible for making seed, planting or breeding materials more widely available in their communities. The kind of TDS provided to a community depended on the nature of enterprises (crops or livestock) on which advisory services were being provided or had been provided previously. Nevertheless, with the exception of the TDSs for bananas (in the early days) and for vanilla (in more recent years), the TDSs were most commonly aimed at livestock producers, and most commonly involved providing improved bulls (hosted under the parish bull schemes for dairy cattle), Boer goats and community breeding centres for pigs and local chicken. The intention of these schemes was to improve farmers' access to improved breeds, within an earmarked locality,²⁴³ and thereby provide them with an opportunity to upgrade their local breed. The dairy cattle bull scheme was particularly popular in Kasawo sub county, and the improved goat scheme was more popular in Wakisi sub county (as detailed in Chapter 4). Also common were the local poultry improvement centres²⁴⁴ for local chicken in both sub counties and for pigs, especially in Kasawo sub county.

²⁴¹ A Luganda term for a 'stimulus' or 'bait' (or the equivalent of 'carrot' in European terms).

²⁴² The term 'promoting' increasingly came to displace the original term - 'development' as this was seen as a more accurate description of the role of TDSs to disseminate technologies.

²⁴³ Typically a parish for the bull schemes, or a section of a parish (consisting of several villages) for the community breeding centres.

²⁴⁴ Commonly referred to as 'community breeding centres'.

The sub county NAADS administration was responsible for establishing the TDSs and meeting the cost of establishing them, using funds from technology development contracts. After the establishment of a TDS responsibility for its maintenance fell to the members of the host farmer group, who are supposed to host the site on behalf of their parish or area. A typical TDS is presented in Box 3.1, which also hints at some of the complexities that emerged over collective responsibility and sharing.

Despite the fact that TDSs frequently gave rise to tensions within groups and communities over the sharing of costs and benefits, they soon became more popular than the information and advisory component of NAADS, since they provided a tangible resource to communities. While the TDSs activities started relatively slowly, and received far less budget than the information and training component (see section 3.1), it became increasingly clear to the management of NAADS that the technology development component was important to farmers. In response to farmers' anxieties about the low priority given to TDSs within NAADS' budget, NAADS' management responded by gradually increasing the budget allocation to the technology development component especially between 2003 and 2004²⁴⁵ (as can be seen in Table 3.1).

Box 3.1: A parish dairy cattle bull TDS

One common form of TDS involved providing a parish with an improved bull, under the parish dairy cattle bull scheme. The intention was that the members of the host farmer groups would be involved in joint maintenance tasks, providing local resources and labour for feeding the bull and cleaning the unit on a regular basis, as agreed by the members. In practice, however, the group members left most of the responsibility to the actual host farmer (or in some cases to a few leaders of the farmer group) whom the other members usually saw as the main beneficiary(ies) of the scheme.

Additionally, the members were also sometimes required to make a financial contribution towards meeting the cost of inputs such as purchased feeds and drugs and, in some instances, paid labour (e.g. for cutting fodder). A more common way of raising this money was to charge a user's fee for the services of the bull. The members of the individual host farmer groups determined the terms of access, notably the user's fee, for the bull's services to the individual members of the group and to other farmers in the parish and how any benefits were to be shared among the group. In some cases, the amount charged varied between members and non-members.²⁴⁶ Frequently, however, the revenue realized from the users' fees was insufficient to meet the maintenance costs of the bull, often because there were too few cows within the parish.

Source: Observation, interviews with members of the host farmer group and the host farmer and review of relevant documents

²⁴⁵ A similar shift appears to have occurred in the balance of the budget for demonstration activities under the advisory services component. According to the SNC for Kasawo sub county the allocation for demonstration activities was increased to 40% of the sub county (NAADS) advisory services budget in 2004, compared to 20% the year before.

²⁴⁶ In practice, however, this was not always the case. In Kasawo sub county, for example, the members of a host group in Kigogola parish alleged that the host farmer require them to pay the same amount as the rest of the residents for using the services of the bull. The host farmer argued that he didn't see why he should have given his fellow group members better terms since they had long neglected their joint obligation of taking care of the bull. This was quite a confused situation, full of accusations and counter accusations and it became difficult to pin down what the real problem in the group was. Some of the group members also complained about the poor 'hospitality' of the host farmer's household a complaint that was not limited to members of the farmer group, as some of non-members in the parish voiced similar views.. Apparently this household was perceived to have been relatively better-off than most households in the parish and many locals resented seeing a relatively well-off household being the main beneficiary of the scheme. These feelings of jealousy emerged quite often among host farmer groups (see chapter 4) and were often exacerbated since many members of the groups did not have any cows (and thereby could not benefit from the scheme).

The following sections show how the increased availability of TDSs sparked off a renewed dynamic in NAADS as a whole, at least temporarily. This resulted in higher attendances at the training meetings, in more NAADS-affiliated farmer groups being formed; their membership increasing and these groups meeting their co-funding obligations (see Chapter 2). These developments are discussed further below.



Members of a host farmer group for a dairy cattle bull in Wakisi sub county in front of their jointly managed bull.



A host farmer to a dairy bull under the NAADS parish bull scheme explaining to a community worker the issues surrounding the maintenance of the bull due to poor cooperation among the group.

3.5.2 Renewed interest in attending training meetings and joining farmer groups

The increase in technology development activities led farmers to once again take more interest in NAADS' activities. The increase in the supply of TDSs to the communities re-ignited interest in attending NAADS trainings and demonstrations, and also in joining and/or forming farmer groups. In Kasawo sub county this trend was particularly noted for the TDSs and demonstrations for improving vanilla production²⁴⁷ and local breeds of chicken and pigs. A community mobilizer²⁴⁸ in the sub county recalls this time:

²⁴⁷ The vanilla demos also served as 'mother gardens' for multiplying planting material.

²⁴⁸ For Kasana parish.

Many people lost their initial interest when they failed to see any material and/or financial support. However, of late things have changed, there is some improvement. The trainings are now combined with increased supply of (demonstration) materials, as in the case of vanilla for example. This is why the number of farmers attending [training] increased. You even find new groups forming.

In Wakisi sub county, the TDSs for chicken production improvement were very popular, especially among women. A woman parish mobilizer²⁴⁹ revealed that the increase in the number of local poultry improvement centres within communities had resulted in more women farmer groups forming. This is exemplified by a predominantly women's group involved in crop production, particularly of maize who came together and registered with the sub county NAADS office in 2004 after seeing other groups in the parish were getting material supplies from NAADS. Observations in other parishes confirm that the number of NAADS groups increased as farmers saw growing prospects for hosting a TDS in their communities. This trend is also suggested in Tables 3.3 and 3.1 which, respectively, show a noticeable increase in the numbers of registered farmer groups and the remarkable increase in NAADS' budget allocation to technology development during 2003/2004. Interviews with the sub county NAADS' implementers revealed that they were aware of the link between the two trends.

3.5.3 Increased motivation of farmer groups to meet their co-funding obligations

The gradual rise in the supply of the TDSs provided a strong incentive for many farmer groups to meet their co-funding obligations toward the sub county NAADS budget. In Kasawo sub county, the importance of co-funding as a means for farmer groups accessing a TDS became apparent in a community meeting²⁵⁰. During this meeting a woman chairperson, of a predominantly women's farmer group, disclosed that making the co-funding contribution was, in local terms, used as the '*empenduzo*' by farmer groups to catch the attention of the SFF leadership who allocated the TDSs to farmer groups. She revealed how her group had managed to mobilize its members to make their individual contributions for this cause:

When we are in a group, we should ensure that we pay this money because it is the "*empenduzo*". It helps the group to access services because, if the group has not paid, it is not easy for them to get services...especially the TDSs. In our group, we decided in our constitution that if a person is to become a member of our group, one has to pay a membership fee of Shs3000. This is how we managed to make our [co-funding] contribution to the sub county [NAADS administration].

A similar scenario was reported in Wakisi sub county where, in anticipation of hosting a TDS, farmer groups also struggled to raise money to meet the co-funding obligation. One

²⁴⁹ For Naminya parish.

²⁵⁰ In Namaliri parish.

woman parish mobilizer²⁵¹ disclosed that mobilizers were faced with two related challenges, the difficulty in raising the money for co-funding and making the members of farmer groups fully understand the new importance of meeting co-funding contributions. The steady increase in the number of TDSs led more and more farmer groups to meet their co-funding obligations. She attributed this development to the priority given by the SFF leadership to allocating TDSs to those farmer groups that had met their co-funding obligations.

Information from the survey of farmer groups revealed that for many farmer groups the main motivation for making their co-funding contribution was to host a TDS within their group. This was especially so in Wakisi sub county where almost two thirds of farmers' groups (17 out of 27) in the survey had made at least one co-funding contribution²⁵². Close to 65% of these (11 out of 17) indicated that they had done so specifically with the aim of hosting a TDS. In Kasawo sub county about 91% (or 21 out of the 23) farmers groups covered in the survey claimed to have made at least one co-funding contribution. Nearly 24% (five out of 23) of these specifically linked making this contribution to their desire to access a TDS.

Despite the continuing increase in the intensity of the technology development and demonstration activities, the supply of the TDSs still fell short of the demand among farmer groups in the two study sub counties. The next section shows how the persistent undersupply of TDSs led to a reversal of the enthusiasm within communities, eventually leading to a decline in the number of farmer groups making a co-funding contribution.

3.5.4 The persistent shortage in the supply of TDSs: reversing the co-funding trend?

Although the steady increase in the supply of TDSs led to a revival the farmers' interest in NAADS activities, their scarcity relative to demand eventually led to further discontent within the farmer groups. The dwindling hope among many farmer groups of hosting a TDS led many groups to stop meeting their co-funding obligations to NAADS. This was especially true among those groups which had had to make considerable efforts to meet their funding obligations, but had been disappointed by not getting the opportunity to host a TDS. In Kasawo sub county, for example, an opinion leader²⁵³ talked about the experience of his farmer group and noted:

People are no longer keen to make their contribution because of not getting a TDS in their groups. For example, in my own group we paid but have no TDS until now. Only a few farmer groups in the parish have so far received some (TDS) materials. The problem we are being required to pay again. How can group members be encouraged to pay again? People would have been motivated to pay if they expect a TDS.

²⁵¹ For Naminya parish.

²⁵² It is worth mentioning here that co-funding by the farmer groups was an annual obligation. The information did not consider the number of times that farmer groups had made their co-funding contribution.

²⁵³ In Kakukulu parish.

The leader of another group in Kasawo sub county²⁵⁴ revealed that the disappointment resulted in reduced overall interest in the group. In a meeting with the group it was learnt that the members had even constructed a cattle shade and poultry structure in anticipation of receiving a dairy bull and an improved cock. They claimed that they put these structures in place because they had been promised assistance after they did something first. In clear frustration they complained:

We registered²⁵⁵ a long time ago, yet there has not been any visible benefit in our group. When we see some farmer groups which received something we sometimes feel these NAADS people don't know about our group. Some members have really lost interest since nothing has yet been given to our group. They no longer even attend meetings.

Likewise, in Wakisi sub county a former Secretary for youth (Local Council 3) disclosed that:

Although more and more people were attracted by the TDSs, with new groups making their co-funding contribution the interest has reduced because the number of TDSs has, until now, remained small.

The leaders of groups who failed to get a TDS found it difficult to explain to their members why they should continue to make contributions. The chairperson of one farmer group²⁵⁶ explained that:

You see, it is not easy to go back to the members and ask for more money when the group has not received anything tangible, like a TDS, after making their contribution. They ask you what they should expect, especially after seeing such things in other farmer groups.

The loss of enthusiasm within farmer groups, accompanied by their disinclination to meet their co-funding obligations after not being selected to host TDSs, has been recognized as a widespread phenomenon within NAADS (see e.g. Parkinson, 2008 and CEED, 2004).

3.5.5 A deteriorating image: the 'abakugu' as the ultimate beneficiaries

The growing discontent among a number of farmer groups was reflected in negative images of NAADS, including accusations of corrupt practices. In Kasawo sub county, for example, participants in a community meeting complained that whereas information from the radio indicated that the biggest proportion of the sub county NAADS funds was intended for the farmers, they thought that most of this money was going to the 'abakugu' who conduct the

²⁵⁴ In Kigogola parish

²⁵⁵ It was common for farmer groups to refer to making the co-funding obligation as 'registering', as the two processes were usually done at the same time.

²⁵⁶ In Kakukulu parish.

trainings. They argued that the number of animals under the parish bull schemes should be increased instead of giving all the money to the trainers.

In Wakisi sub county, the farmers expressed even greater dissatisfaction over this issue. The members of one farmer group²⁵⁷ expressed concern that the service providers were sometimes being paid to provide courses that offered little additional or new content to farmers, particularly courses that had been run several times over the years. They were angered that such practices continued even when the number of TDSs related to the courses was inadequate. In a similar meeting in another parish²⁵⁸ where the goat enterprise was very popular the participants complained about having only one single improved billy-goat in the entire parish, despite the high demand among the farmers who wanted to improve their local breed. They also wondered whether their SFF leaders benefited from awarding advisory services contracts. Several community mobilizers revealed that the farmers had raised this issue with them. One of the SFF Executive committee members, a resident of the parish, complained about the widespread feeling amongst farmers that he and the SFF leadership were benefiting financially from the sub county NAADS funds. He felt that his serving on the SFF was largely offering a voluntary service to the community.

The growing uneasiness with NAADS was equally obvious among politicians on the local councils in the two sub counties, most prominently at the Local Council 3 (LC3) level. On several occasions these local council leaders expressed concern that those in charge of implementing NAADS continued to put emphasis on the advisory services while only giving lip service to the technology development component. One LC3 member in Wakisi sub county agreed with the farmers that NAADS appeared to be organizing training activities “even for enterprises on which the service providers were no longer presenting much new content to the farmers.” He described this as a deliberate way of “allowing the service provider companies to ‘eat’ NAADS money” while “the ordinary farmer just ends up with theoretical knowledge. . . . Despite the substantial sum of the NAADS money that had been injected into advisory services in the sub county thus far the farmers have not yet got value for money”.

3.5.6 Growing controversy among NAADS implementers and politicians

Those in charge of NAADS implementation²⁵⁹ often recognized farmers’ disillusion with the persistent short supply of technology inputs supplied through the TDSs, although they saw this in the more general context of the difficulties that farmers experienced in accessing inputs and credit. While farmers’ leaders on the SFF saw the need to increase the number of TDSs, they claimed that they were unable to do this as there was inadequate funding for technology development and demonstration activities. In Kasawo sub county the SFF Executive and Procurement Committees stressed the need to increase funding for the technology development component. In their view increasing the number of the TDSs would

²⁵⁷ In Naminya parish.

²⁵⁸ Kalagala parish.

²⁵⁹ Such as the sub county Administrative Officer, the sub county NAADS Coordinator and the farmer leaders on the SFF Executive and Procurement Committees.

not only make it easier for the farmers to access the technologies they had learnt about during the training sessions, but would also make training more attractive to the farmers. In so doing they challenged the high priority given to advisory services, arguing that the priorities should be reversed so that “technology development is no longer subsidiary to advisory services but the other way round”.

This opinion was also shared by the sub county NAADS coordinator (SNC) who emphasised that although NAADS’ original budget had given more emphasis to knowledge implementation, over time more emphasis had been placed on technology. This he claimed was reflected in the gradual increase in the allocation for the technology development in the sub county NAADS budget. He claimed that a similar shift had also occurred with the budget allocation for demonstration activities within the advisory services and information component.²⁶⁰ Despite this he recognized that the demand for the TDS from the farmers was yet to be fully met.

In spite of this recognition, many NAADS implementers tended to focus more on the likely long-term benefits to the farmers from the trainings (c.f. Parkinson, 2008), following the official NAADS mandate. These differences in perceptions between the political leadership (who clearly favoured offering more material supplies) and the administrators (who supported giving priority to advisory services) created some tension between these two key stakeholder groups. Some NAADS administrators, including the service providers, found that this unharmonious relationship was a major challenge in implementing NAADS. They felt that the members of the local political establishment were not necessarily representing the farmers’ interests but were pursuing a hidden political agenda, in order to show that they had some influence. In Wakisi sub county, for instance, a female member of the SFF shared her experiences about what she considered as the “tricky political side of things”, saying:

We are faced with the challenge of handling the politicians. These people always want to show their power. Many feel they should also benefit from the NAADS programme. For example, the LC3 Chairperson is the boss of the sub county NAADS coordinator. How can a mere public servant resist the wishes of the political boss?²⁶¹

Some of the service providers alleged some local politicians were trying to mobilize the farmers to make demands on them for material inputs. For example, a director of one service provider firm, which had been involved in service provision in Kasawo sub county, complained:

²⁶⁰ Whereas the budget for technology development was usually specified from the ‘top’ there was some flexibility (within a specified range) over the proportion of the funds from the advisory services component that could be allocated to demonstration activities. During the NAADS stakeholders’ annual review meeting (in Mukono District) covering NAADS’ fifth year (i.e. 2005/06) it was decided to increase the budget for demonstration activities from 40% of the advisory services budget to 60%.

²⁶¹ On further probing these informants alleged that in the early days of NAADS in the sub county the then LC3 Chairperson used the motorcycle intended for the sub county NAADS Coordinator for almost three months.

One of our main challenges is the attitude of the politicians. They think we get a lot of money. They don't want to hear us telling them about the guidelines. They tell us to provide material inputs to the farmers. Some say even if we don't teach them (farmers) this would be enough. Some even discourage farmers from attending the training sessions: their interest is in the 'hardware' not the 'software'.

Further discussions with service providers revealed that they were at a loss over how to deal with this challenge. During a workshop which brought together a cross section of service providers who had participated in NAADS in Mukono district they identified their main challenge as being "how to counter and deal with the popular views of politicians"²⁶². They were also concerned about the "different and conflicting expectations of farmers, politicians and NAADS [implementers]".

3.5.7 Summary

Over the years, there has been a noticeable improvement in the intensity of the technology development and demonstration activities within the two sub counties (and elsewhere). Although the TDSs were not easy to manage, farmer groups were relatively enthusiastic about them as they provided tangible benefits. This in turn raised expectations about NAADS and led to a renewed enthusiasm among farmers for NAADS training activities. It seemed to have stimulated group formation and groups meeting their co-funding obligations. However, a lack of funding within NAADS meant that many farmer groups did not get their own TDS and ended up disappointed, leading to a decline in interest in being active in NAADS groups and meeting obligations. The discontent among farmers resulted in a deteriorating image of NAADS, and gave rise to controversies between and within the various groups involved in NAADS about how best to serve farmers' interests.

3.6 Farmers' perspectives on NAADS: a quantitative exploration

The previous sections employed a qualitative approach to elaborate on the expectations, views and responses of farmers. This section complements this with more quantitative findings derived from a survey of both farmer groups and individual farmers/households.

3.6.1 Perceived benefits

The survey of farmer groups reveals that farmer groups in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties found that the main benefits of NAADS were increased access to knowledge on improved agricultural production practices. Seventy percent (70%) of farmers in Kasawo sub county and 63% of those in Wakisi sub county saw this as a main benefit of NAADS services compared to 35% and 22% (respectively) who saw access to technology through TRDS or demos as the main benefit.

Table 3.5, based on surveys with the individual farmer/households, supports this finding. More respondents in two sub counties believed that NAADS had done better in meeting their

²⁶² This workshop was part of the NAADSEC/DFID commissioned lessons learning study.

expectations for improving their knowledge on agricultural practices than it had done in addressing their need for technology-related supplies. This was the case for both members and non-members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups.

Table 3.4: Type of benefits realized from NAADS services, as indicated by farmer groups

	Kasawo sub county (n=23)	Wakisi sub county (n=27)
	(%)	(%)
Increased access to knowledge on agricultural production practices	70	63
Increased access to technology (through TDSs/demos)	35	22
Increased awareness about 'farming as a business'	39	41

Source: Guided interviews with selected farmer groups (all figures collected to nearest whole number)
% based on multiple response categories

Table 3.5: Percentage of individual farmers reporting to have received specific services from NAADS²⁶³

	Kasawo sub county %			Wakisi sub county %		
	FGs (n=127)	NGFs (n=58)	Total (n=185)	FGs (n=131)	NGFs (n=43)	Total (n=174)
Knowledge on improved agricultural production methods	81.1	69.0	77.3	88.5	72.1	84.5
Provision of improved animal breeds (demos, TDSs,)	37.8	29.3	35.1	32.8	46.5	36.2
Provision of improved seed/planting material (demos, TDSs)	2.4	3.4	2.7	19.1	14.0	17.8
Establishment of demos and TDSs	23.6	13.8	20.5	9.2	16.3	10.9

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey

% based on multiple response categories (*information collected with an open ended question)

n=number of respondents in each of the two categories of farmers who mentioned one or more benefits from the sub county NAADS services

FGs=farmer group member; NGFs = non-group farmer

Table 3.6 indicates that respondents perceived NAADS as an improvement on the previous public extension service. This assessment also suggested that respondents felt that NAADS had made a far greater contribution to improving access to knowledge about improved agricultural production practices than in increasing access to technology related supplies. In Kasawo sub county the views of members and non-members of farmer groups were largely similar, although in Wakisi sub county the non-members of farmer groups were significantly less positive about any improvement in knowledge provision.

Farmers views about the improved availability of training services under NAADS needs to be seen in the context of a history of dismal contact between the majority of farmers in rural Uganda and public extension services. More respondents in Wakisi cited improved access to knowledge as a benefit, largely because farmers here had less opportunity to access extension

²⁶³ The percentages presented are based on the number of farmers (n) who provided information in respect of the various aspects and were derived from responses to open ended questions. In this case 'n' is less than the total number (N) in respect of both categories of farmers. Services expected from NAADS but not (yet) provided are discussed in chapter 4.

services before NAADS. This was, in part, because Wakisi was more remotely located and less accessible than Kasawo, making it more difficult to attract resident public servants, including extension personnel.

Respondents in both sub counties, particularly the non-members of farmer groups, showed marked appreciation of the role played by NAADS in improving farmers' access to improved animal breeds (see Table 3.6). The greater appreciation among non-members is somewhat surprising, but could in part be explained by the prevalent in-fighting among members of the host farmer groups. This inevitably resulted into some aggrieved group members boycotting using the bulls supplied by the bull schemes. In general, however, farmers in both sub counties were quite pleased by the presence of an improved animal through the parish bull schemes which providing an opportunity for many of them to improve their local animals. Notwithstanding some limiting factors,²⁶⁴ residents (irrespective of whether they were members of farmer groups) with local animals (cows or nanny-goats) were able to access the services of a bull or billy-goat.

Table 3.6 also shows that farmers from Wakisi quite frequently expressed approval of NAADS' role in enhancing their access to improved crop varieties. It was reported that the advisory services contracts for some enterprises (such as maize and beans) required the service providers to provide farmers with start-up seed or planting material as a way of enticing farmers into adopting the improved practices.

Table 3.6: Farmers' views about NAADS, compared with previous extension activities²⁶⁵

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	*%			*%		
	FGs (n=132)	NGFs (n=61)	Total (n=193)	FGs (n=135)	NGFs (n=55)	Total (n=190)
Increased provision of knowledge on improved practices	65.2	65.6	65.3	85.2	47.3	74.2
Increased provision of improved animal breeds	19.7	34.4	24.4	23.0	40.0	27.9
Increased access to technology (demos/TDSs)	10.6	9.8	10.4	5.9	-	4.2
Increased provision of improved crop varieties	3.8	3.3	3.6	18.5	16.4	17.9
Ability to reach the grassroots / common farmer	30.3	8.2	23.3	8.1	23.6	12.6
Sensitising farmers on 'farming as a business'	16.7	6.6	13.5	11.9	5.5	10.0
Allowing farmers to select enterprises of interest	3.0	-	2.1	3.7	-	2.6
Sensitization about farmer groups	11.4	4.9	9.3	5.9	3.6	5.3
Promotion of unity through groups	12.9	3.3	9.8	17.0	3.6	13.2
Increased emphasis on women through groups	2.3	4.9	3.1	-	-	-

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey

*% based on multiple response categories (*information collected with an open ended question)

²⁶⁴ These included physical barriers (e.g. prohibitive distances), economic cost (inability to raise the user fee), poor and/or distorted information (creating a feeling among the non-group members that they were not eligible to use the bull schemes) and attitudinal factors (leading to self-exclusion by some farmers).

²⁶⁵ The percentages presented are based on the number of farmers (n) who provided information in respect of the various aspects and were derived from responses to open ended questions. In this case 'n' is less than the total number (N) for both categories of farmers.

3.6.2 Constraints experienced and changes suggested

Table 3.7 shows that the farmer groups cited inadequate access to TDSs (often expressed as “unfair distribution” of the TDSs) as one of the key constraints to them becoming involved in NAADS’ activities. This constraint was mentioned by 26% and 41% of the farmer groups in Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties respectively. The short supply of TDSs and/or demos was mentioned by many farmer groups, who complained about inadequate access to improved crop or animal materials. This dissatisfaction was raised by 26% of the farmer groups in Kasawo and 33% of those in Wakisi. Similarly, 56% and 37% of the farmer groups in Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties, respectively, specifically mentioned the need to increase the number of TDSs. They also underlined the need to ensure equitable distribution of TDSs amongst the farmer groups or villages and to make access to improved crop material or animal breeds a priority.

Table 3.7 also clearly indicates that constraints in other spheres (e.g. access to inputs, markets and land) were reported much more often (especially in Wakisi sub county) and that farmer groups felt that NAADS should play a role in alleviating such constraints. The individual respondents did not consider the under supply of TDSs as something that NAADS needed to address as a matter of the highest priority (see Table 3.8). The provision of material inputs and credit were deemed much more important.

It is also worth noting from both Tables 3.7 and 3.8 that the respondents quite frequently requested an increase in both the intensity and regularity of training activities. Discussions and interviews revealed that these wishes often stemmed from a desire to widen the number of enterprises to which attention was paid. Farmers also often pointed to the skewed distribution of training activities amongst the villages (within individual parishes) and also stated a clear preference for village-based training activities, rather in centrally located training centres. The poor information flow about NAADS activities, which was typical in the early years, exacerbated the problems of attracting participants to remotely-located activity venues.

Table 3.7: Constraints experienced and suggested changes to improve NAADS, as indicated by farmer groups

	Kasawo sub county (n=23)	Wakisi sub county (n=27)
	(%)	(%)
Constraints experienced in farmer group		
Lack of financial capacity to acquire the necessary inputs	91	89
Lack of access to markets for produce	39	48
Inadequate access to knowledge /few training activities in village	22	33
Inadequate access to TDSs/demos in the parish (*unequal distribution)	26	41
Lack of improved crop/animal material	26	33
High prevalence crop and animal diseases	35	67
Shortage of land	39	85
Changes needed to be made within the NAADS		
Increase the number of TDSs	56	37
Provide improved crop material /animal breed	13	22
Provide training on enterprise of interest to farmer group	9	-
Provide veterinary services to address animal diseases	4	7
Avail/increase access to quality material inputs ('free' or 'subsidized')	74	77
Provide financial support (affordable credit)	70	44
Provide opportunity to farmers for income generation	4	-
Provide tractor services	9	7
Address market constraints	17	4

Source: Guided interviews with selected farmer groups (all figures collected to nearest whole number)

% based on multiple response categories. This table includes only constraints and suggested changes that relate directly to the agricultural advisory and technology services provided to the farmers

Table 3.8 Changes desired within NAADS by individual farmers in the study sub counties²⁶⁶

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	*% FGs (n=142)			*% FGs (n=136)		
	NGFs (n=101)	Total (n=243)		NGFs (n=72)	Total (n=208)	
Introduce a component of material inputs to farmers	35.1	27.7	32.1	41.1	41.7	41.4
Provide financial support/agricultural credit	46.5	20.8	35.5	50.0	34.8	44.7
Provide farmers with tractor services	2.8	5.9	4.1	2.9	4.2	3.4
Provide market for farmers produce	12.0	16.9	14.0	18.4	15.3	17.3
Increase the level of training activities	23.2	10.9	18.1	22.1	20.8	21.6
Increase the number of TDS/demo sites	15.5	5.0	11.1	12.5	11.1	12.0
Improve the quality of TDS/demos	1.4	1.0	1.2	5.1	5.6	5.3
Put more emphasis on livestock services	6.3	5.0	6.1	6.3	5.6	9.6
Increase the number of enterprises selected	5.6	-	3.3	9.5	-	6.3
Support individual farmers' activities	9.1	17.9	12.5	10.3	11.1	10.5
Improve monitoring of community/group level activities	7.7	3.0	5.7	8.9	5.6	7.7
Provide (more) sensitization about NAADS	11.2	41.6	23.3	4.3	22.6	10.5

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey

*% based on multiple response categories (*information collected with an open ended question)

²⁶⁶ The percentages are based on the number of farmers (n) who provided information in respect of the various aspects and were derived from responses to open ended questions. In this case 'n' is less than the total number (N) for both categories of farmers.

3.7 Discussion

3.7.1 The importance of expectations and their management

In many ways the story told in this chapter is one of repeatedly raised expectations and subsequent discontent when these expectations were only partially met. Right from the beginning, the communities in the two study sub counties interpreted NAADS as a programme for channelling government assistance (and specifically material inputs and financial support) to farmers. This expectation provided the basis for the early enthusiasm exhibited by the farmers and communities towards NAADS and formed the main basis of interest in participating in NAADS' activities. Equally, however, the failure to realize such expectations resulted in frustrations and constituted a major disincentive to the subsequent involvement of farmers in NAADS' activities. This was especially evident in the responses of farmers as to why they formed and/or joined NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. The interest of farmers in more tangible benefits from NAADS was demonstrated by their greater attraction to activities in the technology development component (i.e. 'hardware') in comparison to the training activities – the 'software' – of the advisory and information services component. Moreover, within the latter set of activities, farmers showed a clear preference for demonstration activities. This was visibly manifest in the renewed interest of farmers in joining farmer groups and/or attending training activities, as well as in the increased motivation of farmer groups in meeting their co-funding obligations when, NAADS partially changed its strategy and made more resources available for TDSs.

Ugandan farmers' preference for technology inputs has been noted before. In a study conducted just before NAADS was introduced, Aben et al. (2002) report that a higher proportion of their sample (47%) perceived a good extension system as one which introduces new production technologies, compared to 20% who associated such a system with regular contact. Although NAADS tried to reprioritise its activities to meet farmers' expectations its inability to meet these fully led to a second wave of disillusion and discontent among farmers. This resurrected earlier concerns about "training fatigue" amongst farmers and led to differences of opinion between those directly responsible for implementing NAADS and their political overseers.

Farmers' high levels of expectations for material support originate from several sources, only some of which were related to the way in which NAADS was initially presented. Farmers' high expectations for financial and/or material support are also surely linked to the rampant poverty that exists within the farming population in rural Uganda. Equally the farming community know that many external NGOs provide material incentives as a means of quickly enlisting farmer participation. The situation was exacerbated by the way in which communities were sensitized about NAADS - which raised farmers' hopes and led to high degree of mobilization of farmers who formed and/or joined NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. At the time those promoting NAADS placed it within the wider development policy environment specifically the PMA– Uganda's strategy for addressing rural poverty through

transforming the agricultural sector. This was done partly as a way of calming farmers' early misgivings about NAADS, since they, and other stakeholders, had argued that they needed more than just advisory services to improve their agricultural activities. Thus, the promoters emphasized that NAADS was part of a wider package in which others (notably the PMA) would address the need for production capital as well as an assured and remunerative market for agricultural produce. Notwithstanding the good intentions and the obvious need to place NAADS within its policy and institutional context, this heightened farmers' expectations about the package that would accompany or follow the advisory services. Farmers were not sufficiently politically aware to differentiate the administrative boundaries that existed between NAADS and other components of the PMA. In addition to this, mixed messages were sent out to the communities when NAADS was launched in a few trailblazing sub counties. Participants in the initial sensitization and mobilization meetings were provided with a lunch and/or transport allowances (c.f. Parkinson, 2008; Obaa et al., 2005). And, Parkinson (ibid.) observes, even though this allowance might have been seen as a token, it often offered more than someone could make from a day's labour in a cash-starved area. This practice of giving allowances and handouts to participating farmers became controversial and was eventually abandoned.

Farmers' expectations about NAADS must also be understood in the context of other ongoing community level activities under government programmes such as the Local Government Development Programme (LGDP) and the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants (NSCG) component of the PMA, which local governments were directly responsible for implementing. These programmes made some provision for supplying farmers with material inputs (such as improved crop or stocking materials). In addition to these, there were NGO programmes which often provided material agricultural inputs (such as improved seed and animals) and sometimes basic household items. These handouts were usually focused on poor communities, impoverished households or specific groups (such as widows and orphans). Despite the obviously important contribution that such agencies make in improving poor farmers' access to usually scarce and unaffordable improved planting/stocking material, such practices inevitably raise communities' expectations for similar assistance from other agencies (cf. Kidd, 2001).

In addition, these expectations were, at various points, reinforced and reproduced by local political leaders who actively lobbied for more material support from NAADS, in spite of the official policy to focus on training. This led to differences of opinion which, at times, developed into real tensions. It important to note that the rather strained relationship between the two important stakeholders had deeper roots, going back to an earlier ban on politicians being directly involved in NAADS implementation (c.f. Allen, 2002). This ban was ostensibly intended to "avoid the possible conflict of interest among local politicians as elected leaders" (as per NAADS ACT 2001). Unfortunately this restraint on politicians

created an impasse in a situation in which where, as a study by Allen (2002) shows, the “enmeshment” of roles in the state-civil domain was the rule rather than the exception.²⁶⁷

All this occurred in a situation where dependency syndrome was already quite well established, largely owing to the history of handouts from external development organizations (c.f. Parkinson, 2008; Brett, 1993). Available information suggests that extension was no exception to this culture. This reality is clearly shown in a comment made by a farmer in Masaka district in the VPLA’s beneficiary assessment report (see Chapter 2) shortly before NAADS was set up: “When we saw the white people from World Bank, we knew money was going to flow” (World Bank, 2000:18). Indeed as recent the PMA evaluation notes, farmers’ expectations that NAADS would provide them with material inputs derives in part from a long-established culture among farmers in Uganda that associates this with the public extension service (OPM, 2005; GoU, 2006). All this suggests that, even if a difficult task, it is important that programmes such as NAADS to pay very careful attention to managing expectations before and during implementation.

3.7.2 Giving cassava stems or cassava tubers? The need to widen the mandate of extension

NAADS implementers, especially at the local level, often recognized the frustration of farmers about the lack of material incentives provided, but for most part they put the blame on the much lower funding allocated to technology development compared to that for the advisory and information services. They were also obviously mindful of and/or constrained by the official NAADS mandate. The philosophy underlying NAADS’ approach to service provision was set out by the Executive Director of the NAADS Secretariat in a newspaper interview²⁶⁸:

I think the farmers are missing the point here (...) NAADS’ major objective is to provide the farmers with knowledge and advice in addition to modern foundation technologies. NAADS does not give inputs to farmers. After farmers have selected their priority enterprises, they can use NAADS’ funds to get foundation technologies. In our case, instead of giving someone cassava tubers, give them stems.

This chapter shows that, when judged on its formal mandate and by the testimonies of farmers themselves, NAADS did go some way in improving farmers’ access to knowledge on improved agricultural production and related practices. One may, however, wonder whether “giving cassava stems or cassava tubers” are the only two options available. The current academic literature on extension, explores an array of communicative services that extends well beyond merely providing information and advice (see Ison and Russell, 2000; Röling, 2002; Leeuwis, 2004; Leeuwis & Aarts, 2009). When input supply, credit and/or markets are lacking, it is also possible to organize and facilitate a process in which farmers and others interact, learn and negotiate with each other in order to overcome the conditions that block

²⁶⁷ This study examined the nature of state-civil society relations at the community level in Uganda using the NAADS case. The study covered sites from two NAADS trailblazing districts, Kabale district in South-Western Uganda and Soroti district in Eastern Uganda.

²⁶⁸ This was during an interview reported in The New Vision, Friday, November 8, 2002.

access to these services and materials, often through collectively organizing their provision. Such a process often involves a range of support activities at the local and higher levels, such as network building, knowledge brokerage, visioning, process facilitation, advocacy, conflict management and capacity development. Such activities are typically directed at forging institutional change, which is nowadays regarded as an integral component of agricultural innovation (see e.g. Smits, 2002; Leeuwis, 2004; Geels, 2002). Thus, while the linear “transfer of technology” model primarily views extension as an intermediary function between science and practice, we now see, both in practice and in the literature, that extension can play a much broader range of intermediary roles (Klerkx & Leeuwis, 2008; Klerkx, Hall & Leeuwis, 2009). Thus, putting aside the heated discussion about providing material inputs, there is also an urgent need to discuss and revisit the role of extension organizations and others in catalyzing innovation.

3.7.3 Questionable assumptions and slow learning

As indicated in the previous section, from the very outset NAADS made a deliberate decision to prioritize knowledge provision. This emphasis was premised on two major assumptions. Firstly, that improvements in farmers’ access to knowledge about improved practices of agricultural production would automatically stimulate farmer demand for relevant technologies, and secondly that the relevant knowledge and technologies were readily available “on the shelf” and only waiting to be disseminated. During the course of NAADS the first assumption in particular became heavily disputed in various arenas.

In a retrospective conversation, the Technical Services Manager at the NAADS Secretariat was quite critical of the emphasis that NAADS placed on being a knowledge-intensive advisory service.²⁶⁹ He questioned the original assumption that “the technologies from research were ‘on the shelf’ and that the solution lie in creating a demand for these technologies by providing advisory services to farmers.” In his opinion the reality on the ground undermined this assumption. He thought it was flawed to “think that the advisory services could stimulate a demand for technology” and suggested that it should be the other way round: “technology to create demand for the advisory services.” He strongly believed that “farmers must first of all be presented with and/or challenged by technology in order for them to seek information to fill the knowledge gap.”

The persistent concerns of farmers and other (local) stakeholders on the balance between technology and advice became the focus of NAADS review meetings both at the district and national levels. For instance, during the district stakeholders’ annual review workshop for NAADS’ third year²⁷⁰ the participants spent a lot of time discussing how to maintain the interest of the farmers in NAADS activities. At some point, one of the farmers’ representatives asked the District NAADS Coordinator “if it was possible to re-allocate some of the funds for advisory services and use it to increase the number of TDSs”. At the end of

²⁶⁹ This observation was made in an informal conversation during NAADS GoU-Donor Annual Review Meeting (NAADS FY5:2005/06).

²⁷⁰ That is, NAADS 2003/04.

the workshop participants recommended that the service providers should put more emphasis on demonstration activities and that NAADS management should increase the budget for the technology development component. Yet, despite these recommendations, the same issue surfaced during the following year's workshop.²⁷¹

At the national level, this issue became a major concern of stakeholders after three years of NAADS. Bwekwaso et al. (2004) reported that farmers had repeatedly and forcefully expressed a demand for more funds for technology development to enable the establishment of more TDSs. Even more recently, the report of the mid-term review of NAADS quotes the Executive Director at the NAADS Secretariat as saying, "TDSs combined with advisory services are perceived by the farmers to be more effective than advisory services alone, [and] TDS attract more attention and interest from farmers" (MAAIF, 2005: 19).

In hindsight, it is tempting to conclude that the wrong balance between the technology development component and the advisory and information component was chosen. It seems sensible that NAADS should have built the farmers' capacity for technology development and/or adaptation first. While the budget for the technology component has gradually increased over time, one can wonder whether lessons were learnt quickly enough, especially given the early and emphatic warning signs.

3.7.4 Disciplining demand

While the NAADS programme strove to work in a demand-driven way, the above discussions show that, from the outset, farmers could only make a narrow range of demands to NAADS. They could not legitimately ask for material support, or for innovation support services apart from information, advice and TDSs. Narrowing this down further, within the sphere of information and advice, individual farmers' demands could only be expressed by selecting one or more enterprise(s) (from an limited and predefined list) that they were interested in. The experiences documented in this chapter suggest that farmers (and even farmer groups) did not to have much control over the type and content of trainings that they received. This is mainly due to the procedures for setting priorities and contracting-out service delivery, which typically took place in isolation from specific local settings and way in advance of any actual training event. In addition, the available budgets for each type of service were fixed beforehand, and the content and schedules of training contracts were highly regulated. Setting such a fixed framework for service provision clearly limited the extent to which the programme could respond to needs that emerged as the programme unfolded. Since farmers' needs and demands are known to be diverse and subject to change (see this chapter, and also Kayanja, 2003 and Leeuwis, 2004), it would be useful to consider ways of programming that allow for greater flexibility and more intensive interaction between the participants and the service providers in determining needs and setting the agenda. Other aspects of the programme that could be altered would be to reduce the theoretical content of training activities, reconsider the short-duration advisory contracts (see also UNDP, 2007) and invest

²⁷¹ That is, NAADS 2004/05.

in the ability of the trainers to conduct more targeted and field-based farmer training activities.²⁷²

3.8 Conclusions

Farmers in the two case study sub counties initially perceived NAADS as a government programme for channelling material inputs and financial support to them. This expectation was both rooted in historical experiences and by the way NAADS was introduced and promoted. Farmers' subsequent responses in becoming involved in NAADS' activities largely depended on how they perceived the prospects of realizing tangible and material benefits. This was manifest in the clear preference by farmers for activities in the more material-related technology development component rather than the training activities of the advisory and information services component.

On the whole, judged on its mandate and by the testimonies of farmers themselves, NAADS can be said to have gone some way in improving farmers' access to knowledge on improved agricultural production and related practices. Nonetheless, by and large, the farmers' craving for increased access to improved technology (as well as credit and markets) was not nearly fully addressed. The fixed NAADS framework and procedures, combined with the limited interpretation of what constitutes extension, led to the delivery of services that, in terms of content, method, location and schedule, often did not match with farmers expressed (and/or latent) wishes and needs. Moreover, they left little room for the local-level programme implementers to make any meaningful adjustments in response to the emerging needs of farmers. The resultant frustration among the farmers made them (and other stakeholders) cast doubt on the extent to which NAADS management was attentive to the needs of the farmers. Furthermore, given the extreme poverty in which many farmers live, and their lack of purchasing power, the assumption made in the programme that increasing access to knowledge and skills on improved agricultural production practices would in itself set in motion a new innovation dynamic, was largely flawed. A more integrated and coordinated approach is needed to stimulate agricultural development.

In all, the experience to date in implementing NAADS raises the issue of how to get an appropriate balance between activities that deliver knowledge/skills and those that offer material technologies or deal with other material constraints facing agriculture. Failure to do this is likely to lead to a further decline in farmers' enthusiasm for the programme. The next chapter will explore in more detail two of the important constraints experienced by farmers: access to agricultural inputs and to markets for their produce.

²⁷² There were widespread calls by farmers upon the trainers to make follow-up visits to the individual farmers' fields after the general training events.

Chapter 4

Linking farmers to input and output markets

How can mere advice alleviate poverty? ...it will be impossible to get farmers out of poverty unless government provides farm inputs and/or credits. (Primary school teacher, Wakisi sub county)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how NAADS contributed to farmers' ability both to access a market for their produce – the output market – and to access the necessary inputs and credit for agricultural production, from the input market. The 'modernization of agriculture' concept, central to the PMA, sees market linkages as instrumental in reducing rural poverty, through improving agricultural productivity and marketed output among poorer farming households (MAAIF & MFPED, 2000; Garforth et al. 2003; Bahigwa, et al., 2005; GoU, 2006). In the second half of the 1990s, there was a strong drive to promote non-traditional income generating farming enterprises as a strategy to eradicate widespread household poverty. In this period, the idea of modernizing agriculture through market-oriented farming activities featured prominently in the speeches of government officials and policy makers as well as in documents from the Ministry of Agriculture (MAAIF, 1998; Opio-Odongo, 1996). There is a continued commitment among both the Ugandan Government and donor organizations to this orientation to the view that "Allocating public funds to transform the rural subsistence agricultural sector into market-oriented production sector would enable the Government to gain higher returns to investment and have a greater impact"²⁷³ (cf. Farrington et al. 2002; GoU, 2006). Accordingly, the NAADS programme aimed to play a role in addressing one of the long standing constraints to agricultural development in Uganda: lack of market access by farmers.

NAADS set out to address the basic market issues by providing relevant market information and helping farmer groups to establish relevant market linkages with prospective market players, starting from the selected enterprises for which farmers received agricultural advisory services. This is a strategy intended to promote farming as a business whereby formerly subsistence farmers are encouraged and guided to produce with the market in mind. Initially this aim was to be realized through the activities organized under the label "Technology Development and Linkages with the Markets", one of the components of the NAADS programme. Following the NAADS Mid-Term Review in 2005 this component was re-named "Enterprise Development and Market Linkage". This component was the avenue through which NAADS intended to address the basic market issues confronting farmers (NAADS, 2005). The new emphasis in NAADS on helping the farmers to link with output and input markets fits with recent developments within agricultural and rural poverty

²⁷³ The Executive Director PMA, NAADS/ASUPA Seminar: Linking Agricultural Services Delivery with Universities. Faculty of Agriculture, Makerere University (July, 2006).

reduction policies. These policies seek to broaden the traditional focus of working with smallholder farmers to increase agricultural productivity to one in which farmers' access to markets is improved and attempts are made to make markets work for the poor. This is accompanied by an increased recognition that the livelihoods of smallholder farmers depend on much more than production of food staples alone (Hellin et al., 2005; Poulton et al., 2005; Farrington et al., 2002; Swanson and Pehu, 2004; Hall and Yoganand, 2004). Consequently, NAADS' extension strategy became more focused on, and reliant upon factors external to farming than previous public investment strategies in agricultural extension. The greater dependence on the dynamics in input and output market infrastructure widened the scope of NAADS beyond contractual arrangements for advisory services made between farmers' groups and (private) service providers (Kidd, 2001).

The linkages to markets involved issues that moved beyond the mandate of NAADS, particularly in relation to the market for agricultural inputs. Despite farmers limited access to affordable and generally appropriate production inputs being widely acknowledged limitation as an impediment to agricultural progress,, NAADS was not mandated to get involved in facilitating farmers to access material inputs. The only exception was its role in enabling the farmers to access subsidized inputs promoted under the technology development and linkages with markets component of its programme. Also, NAADS was not expected to get involved in the delivery (or even co-ordination) of credit for agricultural production or rural financial services. This despite, as Poulton et al. (2005) note, the recognized difficulty smallholders face in accessing coordinated services to enable them to intensify production and access markets.

In the endeavours to link farmers to markets, NAADS was confronted with some persistent problems that face the agricultural sector. The development of Uganda's agriculture sector has long been constrained by farmers' poor access to input and output markets and to appropriate credit facilities. Two statements, one made by a technocrat²⁷⁴ and another by a politician,²⁷⁵ both in Kabale, district reveal the dilemmas inherent adopting an approach that combines building market linkages and poverty eradication. They were both concerned about the limited NAADS mandate in relation to changing conditions under which farmers act. The technocrat was concerned about markets for farmers' produce and wondered "how commercialization of agriculture was going to be possible without a market for farmers' produce". The politician put greater attention on the rampant poverty questioning "how NAADS would address poverty among its primary target group –poor subsistence farmers in Uganda - through mere provision of knowledge, information and technology".

This chapter describes a variety of interventions, linked to NAADS, aimed at improving farmers' market linkages. The chapter firstly explores a selection of examples of how public extension services can influence the capacity of farmers to gain access to output markets. Next, it investigates in more detail two enterprises (vanilla and cattle) set up under the

²⁷⁴ Planning and Finance Personel, Kabale district.

²⁷⁵ Chairperson LC5, Kabale district.

NAADS programme. These case studies reveal how public support programmes initiated business-oriented interventions while the farmers remained vulnerable because of their poor linkages to input and output markets. Subsequently, the chapter examines farmers' access to tangible technological inputs through market linkages, which appears to be a key for understanding farmers' attitudes to these public interventions. The chapter starts by presenting survey data about farmers' expectations and experiences with NAADS in relation to access to input and output markets. The data sources and methods of data collection and analysis are described in Chapter 1.

4.2 Farmers' expectations: access to output and input markets

This section presents qualitative and quantitative data in relation to the two issues addressed in this chapter, namely farmers' ability to access a market for their produce as well as the required production inputs and credit.

The general feeling amongst both farmers and other stakeholders within the two sub counties was that the NAADS programme was not able to adequately address the problems of market access for farmers' produce. In Kasawo sub county this concern was expressed in several community meetings with a cross-section of community members. In a parish-wide meeting conducted towards the end of the third year of NAADS implementation (2003/04) a visibly frustrated male youth recalled how the members of this group lost interest in affiliating their group with NAADS after seeing few tangible benefits in the early days of NAADS.²⁷⁶ He emphasized that in the "absence of any additional assistance like a market for produce (or financial support) the members of my group did not benefit much from NAADS since they had the necessary knowledge already". This youth was a member of a youth farmer group which had been involved in producing passion fruit long before the coming of NAADS. They had expected that NAADS would make it easier for them to access a better market for their fruits and provide capital to support their production.

NAADS' strong involvement in promoting vanilla production is exemplary. Participants in one community meeting emphasized that NAADS needed to pay as much attention to the issue of markets as it gave to providing advisory services and training to farmers. As one of the participants explained:

One of the problems is that NAADS has not assisted farmers with marketing their produce. Farmers expected NAADS to assist with the marketing of their produce in addition to the trainings. Many farmers have now lost interest in vanilla because of low price. (Participant, community meeting)

Similarly, in Wakisi sub county, apprehension about inability of NAADS to address the problem of market access was repeatedly raised, especially in the community-wide and

²⁷⁶ This meeting was held in Kabimbiri parish as part of the NAADSEC/DFID commissioned lessons learning study.

individual farmer group meetings. Here too the low price for vanilla was a discussion point. However, unlike farmers in Kasawo sub county these farmers had not experienced the impact of the drop in the price of vanilla since it was a relatively new crop in this area. The farmers were more disappointed with the low prices they received for crops, particularly maize and beans, which were among the enterprises selected by the farmers' participatory planning process.²⁷⁷ The farmers were particularly disturbed by the high cost of seed for the two crops, which left them with hardly any profits from their efforts. For instance, farmers at one meeting²⁷⁸ disclosed that the cost of seed²⁷⁹ per kilogram ranged from Shs. 1200 to Shs. 1500 for maize and Shs. 800 for beans, their respective farm-gate prices per kilogram, at the time, stood at Shs. 80 to Shs 150 and at Shs 200 to Shs 300.²⁸⁰ Some of the more informed members of the group attributed the problem of such a low farm-gate price for farmers' produce to the powerlessness of the farmers in bargaining with traders and middlemen.

Both the farmers' group and individual farmer/household surveys revealed that one of the common expectations that farmers had of the public extension service was addressing the problems of markets for agricultural produce and for inputs (Tables 4.1 and 4.2; see also Table 3.8, Chapter 3). Despite increased awareness about farming as a business, none of the members of the farmer groups in the two sub counties mentioned an increase in access to market as being among the benefits they received from NAADS (Table 3.4, Chapter 3). Findings from the individual farmer/household survey (Table 4.2) indicated that farmers expected extension services to enable market linkages; prioritizing affordable inputs, financial support, access to produce markets and good prices. Farmers gave higher priority to improving their access to agricultural inputs and production credit, suggesting that they paid more attention to constraints at the production stage than difficulties with marketing their produce. Moreover, as already noted, the farmers were generally more preoccupied with production constraints, which were more noticeable at the individual farmer level. This may be expected as most farmers are predominantly engaged in subsistence production and have limited financial resources to acquire the necessary production inputs. It is likely that it is only those farmers who intended to produce for sale (or some who found themselves with some surplus for sale) who could have paid much attention to the issue of markets for their produce.

Both the surveys of the farmer groups and individual farmer/households showed a lack of adequate financial capacity and failure to realize anticipated financial or material assistance featured prominently as key challenges and/or constraints to farmers' involvement in NAADS activities in both sub counties.

²⁷⁷ These two crops were among the sub county priority enterprises for NAADS FY3 (2003/04)

²⁷⁸ In Naminya parish.

²⁷⁹ The farmers also raised concerns about the poor quality of such seed on the local market, including seed procured from supposedly trusted sources, including local supply shops operated by area extension staff.

²⁸⁰ At an exchange rate of Ug.Shs.1800 to \$1 at the time.

Table 4.1: The objectives of various farmer groups in the two sub counties

	Kasawo sub county (n=23) (%)	Wakisi sub county (n=27) (%)
Food security	35	44
Income generation/ other forms of internal resource mobilization	83	93
Labour mobilization and other social (-economic) support activities	87	96
Access to external support (financial/material)	83	74
Access to training/knowledge	52	59
Access to market for produce	60	59
<i>Develop a collective voice/ increased visibility</i>	35	19

Source: Data from qualitative interviews with selected farmer groups. All figures were collected to the nearest whole number. The percentage (%) is based on multiple response categories collected through open-ended questions.

Table 4.2: Farmers' expectations of extension services that NAADS did not provide

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	%			%		
	FGs (n=130)	NFGs (n=100)	Total (n=230)	FGs (n=134)	NFGs (n=79)	Total (n=213)
Affordable inputs (farm tools, seed/planting material, fertilizer, pesticides etc.)	58.5	52.0	55.7	57.5	59.5	58.2
Tractor services/ox-drawn farm implements	16.2	5.0	11.3	9.7	8.9	9.4
Improved animals	10.0	11.0	10.4	17.2	10.1	14.6
Financial support/capital to farmers	46.2	44.0	45.2	50.7	53.2	51.6
Rural/village banks for easy access to loans	-	-	-	9.0	3.8	7.0
Market/good price for produce	30.8	35.0	32.6	31.3	25.3	29.1
Storage/processing facilities for farmers' produce	3.8	2.0	3.0	4.5	-	2.8
Transport for farmers' produce	3.1	5.0	3.9	6.7	6.3	6.6
Training farmers in improved practices	-	5.0	2.2	2.2	3.8	2.8
<i>Providing support/services to individual farmers</i>	-	-	-	-	3.8	1.4

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey.

The percentage (%) is based on multiple response categories collected through open-ended questions.

A majority of farmer groups in both sub counties claimed that their farming activities (at both group and individual level) had been constrained by a lack of necessary means for them to acquire the needed production inputs (Table 3.7, Chapter 3). This claim was made by 91%

and 89% of the farmer groups in Kasawo (N=23) and Wakisi sub counties (N=27) respectively. Most of the farmer groups perceived this bottleneck as the single most important weakness, which had not only retarded the development of their activities but also threatened their continuity. This limitation was cited by six out of seven (or 86%) groups in Kasawo sub county and eleven out of twelve groups (or 92%) in Wakisi sub county.²⁸¹ Experience of such financial bottlenecks to accessing the required production inputs within the farmer groups was reflected in the objectives of many of the farmer groups (Table 4.1). The need to gain access to external support (usually material, financial or both)²⁸² was one of the main reasons why members formed themselves into the groups. This was the case in well over three-quarters (83%) of the farmer groups in Kasawo sub county and nearly three-quarters (74%) of the farmer groups in Wakisi sub county²⁸³.

According to the individual/household farmer survey, in Kasawo sub county, lack of adequate financial capacity and the failure to realize expectations for (financial and/ or material) assistance were cited by 31% and 26% of farmer group members (n=121) respectively, as being among the main challenges/constraints to their involvement in NAADS activities (Table 4.3). The non-farmer group members mostly complained of the failure to realize their expectations for financial and/ or material assistance, (mentioned by 17% of them, n=122). Overall failure to realize expectations for (financial and/ or material) assistance and lack of adequate financial capacity were respectively cited by 22% and 17% of all the respondents in Kasawo sub county (n=243). Similarly in Wakisi sub county the same two challenges/constraints featured strongly among the farmer group members (n=124) with 40% mentioning lack of adequate financial capacity and 16% the failure to realize their expectations for (financial and/ or material) assistance. Overall, these two constraints were mentioned, respectively, by 26% and 12% of the respondents in the sub county (n=240).

Assistance in the form of (subsidized) material inputs (of various kinds) was mentioned as being among the unmet expectations by close to 59% of farmer group members and 52% of non-members and overall by nearly 56% of respondents in Kasawo sub county (Table 4.4). Likewise it was referred to, respectively, by 58% and 60% of the farmer group members and non-members respectively in Wakisi sub county, and by almost 57% of the total respondents there. The supply of a tractor and/or animal traction services and more emphasis on the livestock sector (especially by providing improved animals) also featured quite prominently on the list of material items that the farmers wished to see included in the NAADS package (Table 3.8, Chapter 3). Farmers, and particularly farmer group members in Kasawo sub county gave more priority to having access to tractor services and ox-drawn farm implements as a solution to the present drudgery of hoeing the land by hand. Whereas farmers in Wakisi sub county, and again especially the farmer group members, sought improved animal breeds. This difference is largely due to farmers in Wakisi sub county experiencing a greater land

²⁸¹ This information is not presented in the table.

²⁸² Although in some cases such external support was used more generally to include for instance other services such as training, among others.

²⁸³ Although such wide ranging expectations for external support were often (partly) attributed to the process of introducing the NAADS program activities in the two sub counties.

shortage compared to their counterpart in Kasawo sub county. The attraction of these farmers to improved animals was mainly related to the zero grazing system that had been introduced into the sub county under the ‘Send a Cow’ heifer project, long before the arrival of NAADS. This approach to livestock management (for dairy cattle and goats) was now being promoted in the sub county by NAADS.

In summary, the need to complement advisory services with a component of material and/or financial support featured frequently amongst the list of changes that farmers wanted to see NAADS make. It is important to note that farmer group members more frequently mentioned the lack of capital and the need for external financial or material assistance than non-members. This may be a result of them having invested considerable time and effort in attending NAADS training activities in developing their groups and in meeting financial obligations to the local NAADS budget. A similar pattern was observed during the short-lived VLPA shortly before the launch of NAADS. Those who had invested commitment to this initiative during its early stages expected some kind of reward for effort that they had put into community development activities (World Bank, 2000: 19). It may also be seen as an expression of the widely documented expectation of such groups in rural Uganda to receive external assistance (Brett, 1993). The expectation of support (other than training services) from NAADS or the government generally stood out as the main motivation for the formation of farmer group members in both sub counties. It was mentioned by 35% and 41% of the groups in Kasawo (n=148) and Wakisi sub counties respectively (n=148) (Table 4.4).

Finally, the survey data suggest an apparent contradiction between expectations of individual farmers and those of farmer groups. The latter rarely mentioned the need to improve farmers’ access to a rewarding market as a priority issue for NAADS to address, despite them frequently mentioning the difficulty of accessing input and output markets. The lower priority given to market linkages by farmer groups may be explained by the low level of involvement in joint farming activities and the lack of land to do so, the unfortunate history of farmer groups in finding a market for the produce from some of the enterprises promoted under the NAADS, and that NAADS-affiliated farmer groups largely functioned as vehicles for accessing services or training.²⁸⁴ This latter factor led farmer groups to adopt organizational modalities geared towards delivering services to members with a common interest around particular enterprises, rather than act as producer groups. More generally this situation reflects the suggestion by Brett, based on a study on participatory development groups in rural Uganda, that “...many groups are still common interest groups rather than producer groups in the strict sense...” (Brett, 1993:114). In the case of the study area, and especially in Kasawo sub county, this could illustrate the widely reported absence of a group culture and willingness to engage in joint farming activities.

The overall picture from the survey data is that farmers consider access to output markets and, more importantly, input markets as a key to making their farm businesses viable in the

²⁸⁴ As noted in the ‘Overview of observations of field visit teams.’ 3rd NAADS GOU-Donor Joint Review Conference 19-12 May 2004.

context of a changing and modernizing agriculture. The remaining part of this chapter uses case studies to investigate how the public extension services offered by the NAADS programme shaped or modified farmers' linkages to output and input markets.

Table 4.3: Constraints on farmers' involvement in NAADS activities in the two sub counties²⁸⁵

	Kasawo sub county			Wakisi sub county		
	%			%		
	FGs (n=121)	NGFs (n=122)	Total (n=243)	FGs (n=124)	NGFs (n=116)	Total (n=240)
Failure to realize expected support	26.4	17.2	21.8	16.1	7.8	12.1
Inadequate finance capacity to acquire inputs	30.6	2.5	16.5	39.5	11.2	25.8
Failure to improve market for farmers' produce	4.1	0.8	2.5	5.6	1.7	3.8
Lack of/inadequate information about NAADS	5.8	40.2	23.0	6.5	56.0	30.4
Poor/selective information provision	17.4	24.6	21.0	21.7	17.3	19.6
Late supply of services (TDSs/demos supplies, trainings)	3.3	1.6	2.5	-	-	-
Small numbers of TDSs/demos	4.9	0.8	2.5	6.4	-	2.9
Unfair distribution of benefits in the group	2.5	-	1.2	-	-	-
Absence/low level of training activities in village	2.5	2.5	-	-	-	-
Long distance to training venues	16.5	4.9	10.7	10.5	10.3	10.4
Difficulty with the annual co-funding	5.8	7.4	6.6	4.0	2.6	3.3
Time constraint	17.4	16.4	16.9	14.5	18.1	16.3
Lack of land	2.5	0.8	1.6	7.3	0.9	4.2
Lack of veterinary services	0.8	0.8	0.8	2.4	0.9	1.7
Low teamwork in the group	2.5	-	1.2	3.2	0.9	2.1
Failure to address enterprise of interest	0.8	-	-	2.4	-	1.3
Failure to provide services to individual farmers	-	-	-	2.4	-	1.3

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey.

The percentage (%) is based on multiple response categories collected through open-ended questions.

²⁸⁵ Only challenges/constraints related to this section are discussed.

Table 4.4: Farmers' motivations for joining a NAADS-affiliated farmer group ²⁸⁶

	Kasawo sub county (n=148)	Wakisi sub county (n=148)
Need for financial/material support	35.1	40.5
Need for knowledge on improved agricultural practices	30.4	26.4
Desire to improve household income	16.2	6.8
Need for opportunity for joint access to (training) services	27.8	11.5
Need for opportunity for marketing farm produce	10.1	4.1
Inspired by the improvements among members of the farmer groups	4.7	10.1
Sensitization/training about farmer groups	7.4	6.8
Desire for joint effort/ pooling resources for increased out put	39.9	35.8
Need for sharing knowledge with others/ learn from others	14.9	20.3
Desire to become known/popular	2.7	7.4

Source: Individual farmer/ household survey.

The percentage (%) is based on multiple response categories collected through open-ended questions.

4.3 Linking farmers to output markets

Farmers' concerns about the poor market prospects for their produce were expressed right from the onset of NAADS activities in the two study sub counties. Besides having been a long standing constraint, some farmers had had disappointing experiences with their efforts to access a market for their produce. Key informants and community members recalled the disappointment of some farmers after they engaged in producing chillies and mushrooms or rearing rabbits, but failed to realize the promised (or anticipated) market for such produce. The affected farmers tended to blame the agents of the private companies involved or the public agricultural extension or research agencies who advised and/or supported them to get involved in such enterprises, only to abandon them at the marketing stage. In both sub counties, the public agencies involved in extension and research were blamed for promoting mushroom production and rearing of rabbits in the absence of an assured market. Equally some government officials vigorously persuaded farmers at public functions to engage in these activities without being certain of a market. Yet, public sector agencies (notably extension and research) sought to ensure that the enterprises they supported would have a good potential market (typically a distant market within the urban population). For their part private sector agencies targeted enterprises that offered prospects for the export market; a commonly cited case was that the promotion of chilli production, especially in Kasawo sub county, by Shell (U) Ltd. The company encouraged farmers to produce chillies, promising to buy the produce but those farmers who produced the crop were left on their own and could not find an alternative buyer for their produce. Farmers' experience of being encouraged to produce certain crops only to be deserted at the time of selling their produce led to calls,

²⁸⁶ Only motivations related to this section are discussed.

during a community meeting in one of the affected parishes,²⁸⁷ for NAADS to also get involved in helping farmers find markets for their produce.

4.3.1 Examples of interventions to link farmers to output markets

This section provides a selection of examples to show how NAADS found itself confronted with a continuous process of individuals and associations who were trying to construct market linkages for selling their produce. These experiences show the reasons for farmers being concerned about NAADS' ability, or even intention, to address the lack of access to rewarding market for their produce. This issue quickly emerged as one of the key challenges, even in the first year of NAADS' activities.²⁸⁸

Example 1: Cattle rearing by a women's group in Kasawo sub county

This women's group was established in 2000, before NAADS came into the sub county. The group consisted of 10 members, mostly women with an average age of 42 years. On affiliation with the sub county NAADS Office in 2003 the group organized itself around cattle rearing as its main enterprise interest. During a meeting with the group, they said that they had organized themselves into an informal group with the main objective of improving household welfare through joint income generating activities. Initially the members started with joint craft making activities to generate income. Over time they mobilized their meagre financial resources²⁸⁹ and became involved in joint farming activities, involving crops like maize, millet and sweet potato. They later got interested in livestock rearing, starting initially with a single goat for their joint project. In an effort to gain access to a good market (i.e. better price) for their produce, and after struggling by themselves, the group applied to become a member of KANADA, a farmers' development association.²⁹⁰ This membership organization could provide a local link to an external market outlet. In addition it occasionally helped local groups to organize marketing events, such as market days, aimed at enabling farmer members to display and sell their produce/products. Some members of local communities initiated local farmers' (marketing) associations to enable them to have collective access to a market for their produce. Unfortunately, despite having paid the required fees²⁹¹ to the association, the members were unsuccessful in marketing their produce the first time they participated in the market day. This experience left the members frustrated, although they did not give up. One of the main constraints facing the time was the lack of a market and, more specifically, the low prices they received for their agricultural produce and craft products. The main reason for the group affiliating with the sub county NAADS was to overcome these obstacles and getting assistance in accessing markets for their produce.

²⁸⁷ In Kabimbiri parish.

²⁸⁸ See, for example, the physical progress and financial report for the third-quarter of the year (NAADS FY1 2001/02).

²⁸⁹ The elderly women were evidently financially constrained, and the group had not at that time been able to meet its financial obligations (both registration and co-funding fees) with the sub county NAADS Office.

²⁹⁰ 'KANADA' is short form for '*Kasawo Namuganga Development Association*' with members from Kasawo and sub and Namuganga sub counties. It is reported that the association registered itself with the District as a Community Based Organization (CBO) in June 2001.

²⁹¹ A total of Ug. Shs 15,000 (about \$8)

Example 2: Sweet corn and hot pepper production in Kasawo sub county

The initial District NAADS Technology Development Funds provided direct support to two strategic enterprises, hot pepper and sweet corn, with a view to targeting the urban and export markets. These enterprises were initially promoted on a small scale trial basis with, two separate farmer groups growing sweet corn and hot pepper in joint gardens.²⁹² In the case of sweet corn, failure to access a market disappointed individual members and made them lose interest in the group activities and NAADS-related activities. A former representative for parish interim SFF (sub county Farmer Forum) recalls the incident:

Farmers are concerned about the market for their produce...they are not sure yet whether NAADS will help them find market for their produce. For instance, NAADS promoted sweet corn which one farmer group in this area produced but failed to get market for it. After this incident people in this part of the parish lost their initial enthusiasm in NAADS activities. (Key informant)

The hot pepper producer group²⁹³ was a mixed, parish-based farmer group, with 13 members (3 women, 4 men, 3 male youth, and 3 female youth). The members of the group were mostly couples, (12 of the 13 members came from 6 families) many of them quite youthful. The group was formed in 2002, shortly after NAADS came into the sub county. The members were organized around various income generating farming activities including crop growing and livestock rearing, with horticultural crops, water melon in particular and, poultry and goat rearing as their main enterprise of interest. The members worked individually in poultry and goat rearing but often came together to exchange ideas and advise one another. At the time, the main joint farming activity of the group was a water melon garden. However they were able to attract a TDS for hot peppers, supported by the District NAADS Technology Fund. Initially this project thrived and they were able to sell at a good market price. They attracted a lot of interest as a local success story, attracting visits from national figures such as MPs and World Bank Officials. However shortly after the first sales, the prices they received became increasingly unstable, eventually declining sharply while the (sole) urban buyer also started altering the (initial) quality specifications and terms. As such the group was not able to sustain this market and only enjoyed a short lived period of receiving a satisfactory income for their efforts. Group members recalled:

Initially things were very good...we earned good income and became famous for producing hot pepper in the district. ...But shortly after the first sales, the price became very unstable and then we started experiencing a sharp decline in the price. At first we sold at Shs.3000 per 4Kg box of produce which dropped to as low as Shs. 1000 or even Shs.700. Yet we depended on a single urban buyer who in the beginning used to collect our produce from the garden as we harvested. But later on he required us to transport the produce to Kampala at such a price reasoning that we

²⁹² The group involved in sweet corn was in located Kakukulu parish, while the one engaged in hot pepper was located in Kabimbiri parish.

²⁹³ In Kabimbiri parish.

couldn't supply him with the required quantities. This buyer was not transparent...kept changing the quality specifications using this as an excuse to offer a very low price for our produce. Things became even more difficult since there wasn't any local market for the hot pepper...people here didn't have much to do with hot pepper since it was largely a new enterprise. ...Also we incurred losses due to the perishable nature of the crop because we lacked the means and know-how of processing it.

Despite this the members cited a number of advantages of the hot pepper enterprise, notably providing opportunity for a quick income (i.e. short growing duration with regular harvests), high yields, a long harvesting period and a relatively low cost of production. As such they had not lost interest in being involved in the production of hot pepper again, if the current problems could be addressed.

Farmers in Wakisi sub county had also experienced problems in accessing a market for hot peppers. One women's group (affiliated with NAADS but existing beforehand) complained that they could not find a market for their hot pepper harvest. This was a main constraint on their joint income generating activities and one of their main disappointments since they became involved in NAADS activities. Members of this group had incurred heavy losses since they had invested in rented land and paying for the labour to clear the land.

Example 3: The goat enterprise in Wakisi sub county

Goat rearing is an important livelihood activity in the sub county and was selected as a priority enterprise under the farmer participatory planning process. According to local sources up to 80% of households in the sub county were involved in goat rearing (at the time).²⁹⁴ The local NAADS coordinator said that goat improvement activities were welcomed by many farmers as they saw improving the production of goats as a way out of poverty. As a result the goat enterprise was vigorously promoted through a goat improvement scheme, using South African Boer crosses. This scheme made a visible impact, especially in those parishes where it built on a strong history of goat rearing²⁹⁵. In one of the parishes²⁹⁶ a farmer hosting an improved Billy goat reported that "the goat had done a lot in improving the local breed". In a two year period it had fathered over one hundred off-springs in the neighbourhood, including eighteen (18) within his herd. This farmer's satisfaction was echoed throughout the parish and there were reports of increased goat sales within the parish. Across the sub county, it was reported that the improved goat scheme had contributed over 3000 improved off-springs within three years.²⁹⁷

In spite of the visible progress with the goat enterprise at the production level, farmers often complained about receiving low prices for their goats on the local market. Despite the relatively higher cost of acquiring and rearing the improved goats (compared to the local

²⁹⁴ As per the sub county NAADS' Coordinator: Mukono district News Letter (Vol.2, Issue 02, 2004-05).

²⁹⁵ Nakalanga and Kalagala parishes in particular.

²⁹⁶ Kalagala Parish.

²⁹⁷ According to the Sub county NAADS Coordinator, quoted in the Mukono district News Letter (Vol.2, Issue 02, 2004-05).

breed) buyers in the local market did not necessarily discriminate between different breeds of goats and their primary consideration was the (physical) size of the goat, which was usually determined by casual observation. Members of one of the farmer groups involved in the goat enterprise²⁹⁸ complained about the failure of NAADS to assist farmers to access a good market for the goats; which they claim had been promised when the improved goats were introduced.



Host farmer to an improved Billy goat, Wakisi sub county

These three examples reveal that the effectiveness of NAADS was constrained by difficulties in ensuring access to profitable markets for farmers' produce. The history of agricultural extension in Uganda is replete with experiences of farmers who have had difficulty in finding a rewarding market for their efforts, after struggling to invest resources. This has often affected their ability to realize benefits from their, usually limited, contact with the extension service. In the period of the Agricultural Extension Project (AEP) in the 1990s there was one widely reported case of a woman farmer who made use of extension advice on producing groundnuts and did so successfully only to find a non-rewarding market:

[Her] success, however, is not without constraints. Her main problem is marketing her bumper harvest. She feels that given a better market she should be able to enjoy bigger profits than she is currently realizing. She has tried to operate retail shop for her produce besides the other essential commodities but the turnover is rather low. (MAAIF, 1998:10)

It appears that, ten years later NAADS faces a similar situation. Farmers and other stakeholders think that NAADS should play a more active and direct role in improving farmers' access to markets, acting as a broker (or even according to some as a buyer), in order that the farmers can properly benefit from NAADS drive to promote farming as a business.²⁹⁹ Likewise, the 2004/05 District NAADS Stakeholders Semi-annual Review

²⁹⁸ In Nakalanga parish.

²⁹⁹ This observation recognizes efforts and achievements of the NAADS Secretariat at the national level in establishing linkages with private companies such as FICA, Tilda, Uganda Grain Traders (UGT), the Mukwano Group of Companies, Nile Breweries and Bee Natural Products. Some of these companies became involved in supplying inputs to farmers, while

Meeting, which drew participants from various participating sub counties, identified the lack of information on potential markets for produce as one of the key obstacles to NAADS realizing its goals.

The following case studies discuss the complexity of transforming subsistence farming into commercial, market-oriented farming, and pursuing a goal of modernization.

4.4 Turning farming into a business amidst resource constraints: case studies

People cannot be expected to commercialize their farming activities without capital to enable them to acquire the inputs they need to apply the knowledge and improved technologies. (Service provider)

The NAADS enterprise approach is essentially focused on the goal of moving agriculture from subsistence to market-oriented and/or commercial production through increasing farmers' use of productivity-enhancing technologies and advice and integrating their farming activities with the market. This 'farming as businesses' approach involves farmers engaging in a few selected enterprises which are "wanted by the market," (as defined by NAADS guidelines) rather than continuing to farm in a "botanical garden-like" style (Kayanja, 2003).

Originally, farmers welcomed the NAADS campaign on farming as a business, which seeks to promote the income-generating agricultural enterprises. In spite of this optimism it proved impossible for many farmers to successfully engage with some of the enterprises (and their associated technologies) that had been selected and supported with sub county NAADS funds. The experiences of farmers with some of the enterprises left them with a mix of enthusiasm and scepticism. The enthusiasm mostly arose from their anticipation of improving household incomes through engagement in potential income-generating enterprises being promoted by NAADS. Yet scepticism set in when they found that their hope of receiving a rewarding price was not fulfilled. In some instances they also became frustrated by their inability to engage meaningfully in some of the enterprises.

It was common for farmers (and other stakeholders) to point to the need for some form of material and/or financial support to complement the advisory and technology services. This tendency was more pronounced among some specific enterprises, particularly those focusing on coffee, banana, vanilla, dairy cattle and improved goats. Vanilla and cattle were two enterprises that were reported to require quite substantial amount of initial capital outlay, and these are taken as case studies in this section.

others were buying produce from the farmer groups in some areas. For example Nile Breweries were buying 'epuripur' sorghum in Soroti District and Bee Natural Products were buying honey from groups in Arua District. Furthermore, the FOODNET market information systems (MIS) aimed to provide farmers with timely and accurate information on market conditions (Agona, 2005).

These two enterprises were given high priority by NAADS' selection processes. The two case studies illustrate how venturing into either vanilla or cattle was constrained by the dynamics of output markets or by financial and technical requirements. However, NAADS also included enterprises that involved less investment and were more affordable and accessible to many farmers. Local chicken and pig rearing are two examples of this. These activities proved particularly attractive to women and youth in Kasawo sub county. Here the enterprises were able to draw on pre-existing knowledge and experience from the local production practices/systems and the produce was mostly targeted at local markets (see Chapter 5).

4.4.1 Case study 1: Vanilla

Following a (recent although temporary) decline in the production of vanilla in traditional producing countries, notably Madagascar, the short-lived rise in the world market price for vanilla between 2002 and 2003 led to unusually high prices in the local and farm-gate price for vanilla in Uganda. These unusually high prices for green vanilla beans generated a lot of enthusiasm amongst farmers and encouraged many to go into vanilla production. During this period NAADS put a specific emphasis on promoting vanilla as a strategic enterprise for the export market, and as an incoming generating enterprise for farmers. Kibwika (2006) has done a detailed analysis of the trends in vanilla production in Uganda over the years, and of the recent vanilla boom. Here the focus is on the experiences of farmers at the local level. The discussion focuses on both the enthusiasm that was generated by the unusually high prices paid to vanilla farmers and the subsequent disappointment that followed the drastic fall in price.

Up until the recent vanilla boom Mukono district was the traditional and main vanilla producing district in the country. As a reporter in one of Uganda's daily newspapers noted "the quantum leap in (vanilla) prices was most felt in Mukono district where living standards rose dramatically two years ago"³⁰⁰. The observed economic returns in vanilla production made it one of the priority enterprises selected by farmers during the farmers' participatory planning process, especially in 2002/03 and 2003/04.

The vanilla boom was timely for farmers in most sub counties many of whom were desperately looking for an alternative to coffee, the traditional cash crop in the area. Coffee production was in decline in the area, partly as a result of the coffee wilt disease, which adversely affected the yield of the crop, and partly due to persistent falls in coffee prices on the world market. This led to an increase in farmers selecting vanilla as an enterprise, which was reflected farmers selecting vanilla as a priority enterprise and an increase in the numbers of advisory contracts on vanilla. For example during 2002-3 23% of the total number of contracts on advisory services in the district were on vanilla, compared to about 6% for coffee.³⁰¹ Vanilla featured prominently on the list of priority enterprises during the participatory planning exercises in the two study sub counties. In the following year

³⁰⁰ The New Vision, March 3, 2005.

³⁰¹ According to the NAADS Mukono District Local Government: (NAADS) Mid-term review report (2001-2005).

(2003/04), vanilla was selected as the first priority enterprise in three out of the six parishes in Kasawo sub county and overall the first priority enterprise across the sub county (Table 4.5).³⁰² The same happened in Wakisi sub county where vanilla was selected as the first and second priority enterprise by the majority of farmer groups and the first priority enterprise overall (Table 4.6).

Table 4.5: Results of the farmers' enterprise prioritization exercises in the various parishes in Kasawo sub county during the third NAADS year (2003/04)

Enterprise	Rating of various enterprises in the respective Parishes						Over all sub county rating	
	Kigogola	Namaliri	Kasana	Kabimbiri	Kitovu	Kakukulu		
*Local chicken	286 (1)	488 (1)	194 (2)	-	342 (2)	571 (1)	1881	2
*Piggery	257 (2)	417 (4)	175 (4)	-	-	-	849	4
Coffee	240 (3)	351 (6)	87 (8)	-	-	-	678	7
*Vanilla	236 (4)	444 (2)	203 (1)	429 (1)	348 (1)	463 (2)	2123	1
*Dairy cattle	190 (5)	422 (3)	168 (5)	405 (2)	184 (3)	386 (3)	1755	3
Banana	115 (6)	-	187 (3)	372 (3)	-	-	674	8
Goat	-	321 (7)	159 (6)	142 (4)	-	110 (5)	732	6
Vegetable	114 (7)	204 (8)	153 (7)	-	-	367 (4)	838	5

Source (modified): Farmer Institutional Development Report (2004/5), Kasawo sub county³⁰³

The first and second figures (in brackets) in each cell represent the total score for an enterprise and the relative ranking of an enterprise within the parish.³⁰⁴

- = means that the enterprise never featured on the first list of enterprises in a particular parish.

* indicates the enterprises which qualified (in that order) for provision of services.

After training sessions on vanilla, quite a number of farmer groups were formed with some specifically organized with vanilla as their main enterprise of interest. In Wakisi sub county vanilla was generally a new crop for most farmers. One characteristic of the farmer groups that organized around vanilla growing (either as the sole enterprise or in combination with other enterprises) was the unusually high number of (mostly) male youth who were attracted to join these groups³⁰⁵. These farmer groups were also typically much larger than other farmer groups. In Wakisi sub county, three of the farmer groups, organized solely around vanilla, had between 50 and 65 members, compared to 30 members or less for farmer groups

³⁰² Vanilla had also been selected among the sub county priority enterprises in the previous year (NAADS FY 2002/03).

³⁰³ This report was compiled by staff of the participating NGO (The World Vision Area Development Programme).

³⁰⁴ The total score is based on a formula in the NAADS official matrix for enterprise selection.

³⁰⁵ Female youths were frequently reported to be constrained by a lack of land. For instance, in two of the farmer groups organized around vanilla the female youths constituted a mere 8% and 10% of the total number of youth, totaling 12 and 10 respectively.

organized around other enterprises.³⁰⁶ Youths accounted for between 20-40% of the membership of vanilla-based farmer groups, compared to 20% or less within other farmer groups.³⁰⁷ During a meeting with the members of one of the farmer groups,³⁰⁸ they indicated that vanilla was a new crop to them and that they had formed the group after attending a few training sessions on vanilla. Their primary aim was to seek and share knowledge, information and experience on vanilla production.³⁰⁹ Since the group formed it grew in numbers, from 42 to 65, as more and more farmers in the village became interested in vanilla production due to the (then) attractive farm gate price. Thus people associated vanilla growing with wealth – giving rise to a popular local slogan–“Vanilla *Buggaga*”.³¹⁰

Table 4.6: Results of the farmers’ enterprise prioritization exercises in different parishes in Wakisi sub county during the third NAADS year (2003/04)

Parish level				Sub county level			
Parish	Enterprise	Priority ranking	No. of groups	Weight	Score	Grand total	Overall Ranking
1	Vanilla	1	19	6	114	328	1
	Vanilla	2	30	5	150		
	Vanilla	3	16	4	64		
2	Local poultry	1	16	6	96	155	4
	Local poultry	2	07	5	35		
	Local poultry	3	06	4	24		
3	Maize	1	10	6	60	198	2
	Maize	2	14	5	70		
	Maize	3	17	4	68		
4	Banana	1	5	6	30	138	5
	Banana	2	12	5	60		
	Banana	3	12	4	48		
5	Dairy cattle	1	13	6	78	168	3
	Dairy cattle	2	06	5	30		
	Dairy cattle	3	14	4	56		
6	Piggery	1	10	6	60	92	6
	Piggery	2	04	5	20		
	Piggery	3	03	4	12		

Source: (Modified): Farmer Institutional Development Report, Wakisi sub county³¹¹

³⁰⁶ With the exception of some of the mixed farmer groups organized around local poultry (mainly female youth) and maize (mostly male youth) and in rare cases where women farmer groups organized around informal credit and savings, which were particularly attractive to female youth.

³⁰⁷ The situation was much less clear in Kasawo sub county where it was found that the farmer groups who had vanilla amongst their enterprises of interest typically organized around more than one enterprise. In general the youth were much less present in farmer groups in Kasawo sub county than in Wakisi sub county.

³⁰⁸ In Nakalanga parish.

³⁰⁹ This was in contrast to farmer groups who organized around other enterprises (both crops and livestock) and other activities whose objectives were usually wide in scope. Farmer groups that were organized solely around vanilla focused almost all their objectives around vanilla. These objectives ranged from accessing production knowledge and related support, ensuring security of the crop in the field and storage to issues related to post harvest handling and marketing.

³¹⁰ A Luganda phrase meaning ‘vanilla is wealth’.

³¹¹ This report was compiled by staff of the participating NGO (Sasakawa Global 2000)



Members of a women's farmer group in Kasawo beside their chairperson's house constructed out of earnings from vanilla (in the background is the money-making vanilla orchid).

The popularity of vanilla was further demonstrated by farmers' attendances in the training sessions on vanilla. In Kasawo sub county, the individual farmer/household survey³¹² indicated that nearly 80% (n= 178) of the farmers in both categories of respondents had attended at least one training session on vanilla. About 82% amongst the farmer group members (n=131) and about 72% of the non-farmer group members (n=47) claimed to have attended at least one of the training sessions that had been offered on vanilla. Similarly in Wakisi sub county, although less frequently attended (in comparison to maize, for instance) nearly 66% of farmer group members (n=143) and about 52% of the non-farmer group members (n=29) reported to have attended in at least one of the training sessions on vanilla, which were attended by about 63% of all farmers (n=172).

Farmers and groups wishing to join the vanilla-wagon needed to find a way to access planting materials, and this sometimes led to competition among farmers. Members of the farmer groups pooled their financial resources and hoped they would receive planting materials from NAADS or any other external agency.³¹³ In Kasawo sub county World Vision's Area Development Programme played a key role in providing farmers with planting materials, targeting members of organized groups. Although the NGO programme did not target NAADS-affiliated farmer groups this practice was reported to have led to a temporary rise in the number of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups in some parishes.³¹⁴ As a consequence, World Vision was not able to meet all the demands for planting materials. One group that missed out was a women's and youth farmer group³¹⁵ organized around vanilla production and goat rearing. They had also missed out on the opportunity to host one of the vanilla demos that World Vision supplied. During a meeting with the group it emerged that there was a general feeling among the members that they had not benefited from the sub county NAADS services, as illustrated by the following statements:

³¹² The survey was conducted towards the end of NAADS FY4 (2004/05), more than a year after the peak of the vanilla boom.

³¹³ Local Government also supplied some, limited, vanilla planting materials to communities, which was procured with funds under the Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant (NSCG) of the PMA.

³¹⁴ This was because the NGO was also involved in implementing the farmer institutional development activities under a Memorandum of Understanding with the sub county NAADS Administration.

³¹⁵ In Namaliri Parish.

We are not happy since our group hasn't received any thing from NAADS....we need to grow vanilla but can't get the vines ...Even World Vision has left our group out...yet two other groups in the village have each received a vanilla demo from World Vision. (*Woman chairperson*)

The scarcity of vanilla planting material amongst farmers in Wakisi sub county was a topic of concern among farmers attending a community meeting.³¹⁶ They were upset about the use of the group TDSs/demos approach as a channel of distributing material to the farmer members and thought an individual farmer approach would be better:

The vanilla vines are usually given to (farmer group) leaders...often the persons who are given these materials do not share these around the group members so that each member gets something, however small it may be. ...Also the group members do not get to decide on these host farmer group members ...it would be good if we could at least be presentbut it is better for the leaders to let group members decide who within the group will host the vanilla demo.(*Emphasis of several men*)

Did NAADS really come to fight poverty... will every member get the vanilla vines if they go through the group...when some farmer groups have up to 40 members?
(*Woman*)

Vanilla is a sensitive issue...it is not easy for individuals to share...it is not like the case of the communal bull scheme where it is possible for individuals to share equally. (*Man*)

The official policy was that the planting materials should be multiplied by the group. However some leaders adopted a different approach and distributed the materials given to the group among the members so that each member could multiply a little vanilla material on their own. A chairperson of a farmer group whose members preferred this more direct approach³¹⁷ explained the reasons:

The leaders of these groups wanted to calm fears among some of their members who were not comfortable with the group approach, and also to avoid problems that had occurred in other groups.

The enthusiasm amongst farmers in the sub county for getting into vanilla production was hampered by a shortage of planting material, as revealed in the NGO report on farmer institutional development activities in the fourth year of NAADS (FY4: 2004/2005). The report noted that although there did not appear to have been much need for advisory services

³¹⁶ In Kalagala parish.

³¹⁷ That is, where the individual group member multiplies the little material by themselves.

on vanilla,³¹⁸ it had nonetheless been selected as the first priority enterprise during the farmers' enterprise priority selection process in the previous year³¹⁹. This led the SFF to decide to prioritize establishing TDSs, not only to demonstrate improved production practices, but also to multiply the vanilla vines in order to improve the supply of planting material.

The vanilla fortune did not last for long. More and more local farmers went into production and at the same time production of the crop in Madagascar (and other major producing countries) recovered. This led to an abrupt and drastic fall in the world market price for vanilla which was reflected in local and farm-gate vanilla prices, and led many farmers to abandon the crop in the fields³²⁰. Farmers who joined the vanilla boom later, who didn't have a chance to enjoy the abnormally high profits were the first to abandon the crop. This may in part explain the low frequency of vanilla growing among the respondent households, shown in the individual household/farmer survey (Table 4.7)³²¹, despite the quite intensive mobilization campaign by NAADS and the government in general to encourage farmers into vanilla production. Relatively more households (18.0%) in Kasawo sub county reported being engaged in vanilla production compared to only about 7% of the households in Wakisi sub county. Overall it had been grown by about 13% of respondent households. The survey also indicated that the acreage of vanilla grown by these households was also small. On average a vanilla growing household in Kasawo sub county cultivated about 0.9 acres of vanilla whereas one in Wakisi sub county cultivated about 0.75 acres, with an average overall acreage of 0.88acres. However given the small scale of most household plots this implies that vanilla occupied something like 50% of these farmers' land in Kasawo and about 31% in Wakisi. The results showed that there was not much difference between members and non-members of NAADS-affiliated groups in terms of their take up of vanilla production and the amount of land dedicated to it.

The drastic fall in the vanilla price had a wide effect on the farming communities, as at one point almost everyone of farming age (children and parents alike) cultivated some vanilla. Within households some had their own vanilla gardens, others just a few plants. Everyone wanted to have some of their own vanilla which they could have control over. In Kasawo sub county the roller-coaster realities of the vanilla boom came into perspective during an informal conversation with young *boda boda*³²² man as I rode on his motor-bike (i.e. *boda boda*) during my routine visits to the villages. He confided that when the price of vanilla became attractive and offered good prospects for making a living from farming he had momentarily left the *boda boda* business and gone back to farming. But the price quickly fell too low and it no longer made any sense for him to continue investing his time and energy on

³¹⁸ This was after advisory services had been provided on vanilla in the previous two years.

³¹⁹ These were enterprises on which the farmers would be provided with advisory and technology services during NAADS FY4 (i.e. 2004/2005).

³²⁰ Production has since fallen drastically from 13, 546 tons in 2003 to 6.3 tons in 2007 (See, for Example, Business Agenda, The East African, November 3-9, 2008).

³²¹ As hinted at earlier, the survey was conducted towards the end of the NAADS FY4 (2004/05), nearly over a year after the peak of the vanilla boom.

³²² A local term for a motorcycle

the crop. He was a late entrant into vanilla production and, given the long growing period of the crop (nearly two and half years), he did not see any benefit from the surge in vanilla price before the price fell too low³²³ and he decided to return to his *boda boda* business, apparently abandoning the vanilla crop in the field.

Table 4.7: Vanilla production among respondent households within the two sub counties (2005)

	Kasawo (N=300)		Wakisi (N=300)		Overall (N=600)	
	Mean acreage	% Hhds	Mean acreage	% Hhds	Mean acreage	% Hhds
<i>Vanilla production by sub county</i>						
	0.93 (0.12)	18.00	0.750 (0.10)	7.3	0.9 (0.09)	12.7
<i>Vanilla production within sub counties by farmer group membership status</i>						
	(N=150)		(N=150)		(N=300)	
	Mean acreage	% Hhds	Mean acreage	% Hhds	Mean acreage	% Hhds
Member	0.99 (0.99)	19.3	0.8 (0.17)	6.7	0.9 (0.13)	13.00
Non-member	0.87 (0.17)	16.7	0.7 (0.12)	8.0	0.8 (0.12)	12.3

Source: Individual/household survey

%Hhds= proportion of households

*The number in the parenthesis is the standard error of the mean.

In Wakisi sub county, many farmers had rushed into vanilla production at a time when there was a widespread shortage of planting material in the hope of benefiting from the price surge. But this was never to be the case. During a parish-wide community meeting,³²⁴ participants appreciated the knowledge they had received from NAADS, but complained about the absence of any assistance on helping them find a market for their produce or coping with the sudden fall in prices. The participants shared a number of observations during the meeting:

The government has tried to guide the farmers to engage in income generating enterprises and it has also helped in giving us knowledge about both crops and livestock ...Yet it still has to help in the area of markets. For example, vanilla is currently selling very cheaply...at only between Shs.3000 and Shs. 7000 per Kg, from more than Shs. 100,000 previously. This has discouraged many farmers in the area...some now think that they are wasting their time attending NAADS trainings.
(Participants, community meeting)

³²³ By this time the price of a kilo of green vanilla was reportedly about Shs. 5000 (equivalent to about \$ 2.9) at most down from more than Shs. 100,000 (equivalent to about \$ 58.8). Other sources show that the local vanilla price fell as low as Ug.Shs.1500 (See, for example, Kibwika, 2006).

³²⁴ In Kalagala Parish.

The sudden fall in the vanilla price led farmers to be less interested in NAADS training activities. According to a report published by the NGO Sasakawa Global 2000 for NAADS' fourth year (NAADS FY4 2004/05) this was one of the key challenges of the time. The report noted that "the fluctuation in prices of agricultural products as had been recently experienced in the case of vanilla had resulted into abuse of the [NAADS] programme and hence neglecting it".³²⁵ By this time, vanilla had completely disappeared from the list of priority enterprises and this was also reflected in the sudden decline in the number of advisory service contracts on vanilla. The proportion of advisory services contracts on vanilla in Mukono district fell from 23% in NAADS FY 2002/03 to 14% during NAADS FY 2003/04 and to about 6% by NAADS FY 2004/05.³²⁶

This case study of vanilla reveals that access to inputs, i.e. planting material, was an important determinant of the extent to which farmers were able to enter into a new business and to find new markets for agricultural products. Likewise, the fluctuating nature of the international vanilla markets made the NAADS-enterprise vulnerable to dynamics that were beyond the sphere of influence of both farmers and support agencies, which eventually discouraged farmers from continuing to grow vanilla.

4.4.2 Case study 2: Dairy cattle

The dairy cattle enterprise was selected for the NAADS programme in three consecutive financial years in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties.³²⁷ In Kasawo its popularity was evident in the number of farmer groups organized around the enterprise. Nearly 35% (8 out of 23) of the farmer groups in the survey indicated that they had specifically organized themselves around the dairy cattle enterprise either as the sole enterprise or as one of their main enterprises of interest. These farmer groups typically had quite a large membership, usually between 15 and 35 members.³²⁸ In half of the seven mixed-gender groups there were more women than men.

The individual farmer/ household survey also highlights the popularity of the dairy cattle enterprise. Training courses on cattle attracted great interest, with more farmers attending these sessions than any other livestock related training sessions (apart from local chicken training sessions). Sessions on cattle were attended by 74% of farmer group members (n=147) and 65% of non-members (n= 43), with an overall attendance level of about 72% (n=190). Farmers who attended these trainings gave a wide variety of reasons for participating, although the most common responses was the need for knowledge on improved production methods and improved breeds or general information on the enterprise. Seventy-six percent (76%) of farmer group members (n=71) cited one of these two reasons and 90% of the non-members (n=20). Other frequently cited reasons included previous involvement in

³²⁵ SASAKAWA GLOBAL 2000 (SG2000). 2005. Farmer institutional development and participatory planning under NAADS programme. Final report for 2004/2005 collaboration between SG2000 and Wakisi sub county, Mukono district) to the chairperson sub county farmers' forum Wakisi (NAADS - SG2000 partnership): page 25.

³²⁶ According to the NAADS Mukono District Local Government NAADS Mid-term review report (2001-2005).

³²⁷ According to sub county and district levels sources the dairy enterprise was selected in the two sub counties consecutively between 2002/03 and 2004/5.

³²⁸ With the exception of one case of a woman-only farmer group, with 10 members.

the enterprise and/or membership in a group organized around the enterprise and interest in getting involved in the enterprise. Similar attendance patterns and motivations were discovered in Wakisi sub county, although a slightly higher proportion of farmers there reported having attended training sessions on dairy cattle.

Despite the popularity of the dairy cattle enterprise, experiences from the dairy cattle parish bull schemes in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties, showed that very few households in the two sub counties had cows as the cost of acquiring one was generally well beyond their means. Therefore, only a small section of community members could take advantage of the services offered by the bull schemes.

A number of farmers who hosted the parish bull schemes disclosed that the potential of the schemes had not been fully realized due to the small numbers of local cows within the parishes, as well as other limitations, such as physical and economic access, facing many local farmers. This meant that it had proved quite difficult for the host farmers or farmer groups to meet the costs of maintaining the bulls (such as feeds, drugs, labour, veterinary services etc.). It had been assumed by most groups that the cost of maintaining the bulls would be met by the income from the service users' fees, but this was often insufficient to cover these costs. In some parishes the farmers expressed concern about the long distances that prospective users had to travel, with their cow, to the host farmers' households. And in some cases there were complaints about the user fees that were charged. These users' fees were decided upon by the members of the host farmer group and were usually less than the going market rate for the same service.

The issues facing host groups can be best illustrated by examining the experience of one such group, a mixed-farmer group and village-based farmer group with a 15 members (6 women, 7 men, 2 male youths) who hosted a bull under the parish bull scheme, in Kasawo sub county.³²⁹ While the members had organized themselves around livestock production (particularly the dairy cattle enterprise) as their nearly half of the members (i.e. 7 out of 15) had no cows. The group was formed in 1997 (some years before NAADS) around income-generating farming activities. It was already registered with the District Office of the Department of Gender, Labour and Social Development. The group joined and registered with NAADS upon its inception, in 2002. After joining NAADS, the group organized around several livestock and crops enterprises, with (dairy) cattle as their main enterprise of interest. One of the main activities was hosting a parish bull provided by NAADS. However those members of the group without any cows didn't see any benefits from hosting a bull and started lobbying for a dairy heifer scheme to complement the bull scheme. The host farmer spoke of his regret in not making full use of the opportunity to generate income through the bull scheme. This was because take up rates were very low, due to the scarcity of local cows:

³²⁹ For Kabimbiri parish.

Although the bull is generating some income which is used towards meeting the expenses related to its maintenance the bull is still under used. Most people in the parish don't have local cows and some find it difficult because of the long distances involved. ...Yet again some even complain about the fee charged. (Key informant, host to parish bull scheme)



Host farmer to a dairy bull under the Parish dairy cattle bull scheme, Kasawo sub county

Women and youth members of the farmer groups most frequently lacked of the capacity to rear cows In one woman-only farmer group, organized around cattle, the majority of the members did not have even a single local cow. Many women in this group were quite elderly and financially constrained. In two other mixed farmer groups that were hosting a bull under the parish bull scheme³³⁰, most women members did not have local cows, and the members of these groups decided to form sub groups focusing on raising poultry with the aim of providing an opportunity for the (mostly) women members to engage in an income generating activity that was within their financial means.

The situation among farmer groups in Wakisi sub county was quite similar. The shortage of grazing land was a constraint to rearing cattle and livestock. Here we look at the example of one parish³³¹ where despite a serious shortage of land and most people only having small plots, livestock rearing (goat rearing in particular) provided a major source of a people's livelihoods. This village had a mixed farmer group of 20 people (4 women, 8 men; 5 male youths and 3 female youths) that participated in NAADS. The group was formed in 2003, not long after the arrival of NAADS. After affiliating with NAADS, the group decided to focus on cattle rearing as their main enterprise of interest, even though only a few of them owned local cows. Most of their group activities focused on hosting a bull under the Parish bull scheme.

The few people in the parish who did have some cattle were only able to keep a few (typically less than three) because of the land shortage. These cattle were raised under the

³³⁰ For Namaliri and Kakukulu parishes.

³³¹ Nakalanga parish.

zero grazing system, which also limited the number of cattle that people could keep, as this system is relatively labour intensive, with much of the burden of gathering fodder falling on women in the household. As a result few people in the parish had any cows and most people could not meaningfully benefit from the parish dairy cattle bull scheme.

Several members of the group were involved in rearing other types of livestock, (e.g. goats), which they hoped to sell (or exchange) to acquire local cows. The group had also initiated a savings and credit scheme under which the qualifying members could borrow money to acquire cattle. In order to borrow money from the scheme members had to have at least 5 shares (of Shs. 1000 value each or a total share deposit of Shs. 5000 - equivalent to about \$3.00). In discussions it emerged that the women members had more difficulty than the men in qualifying to borrow from this internally-mobilized fund. Given the long term nature of cattle rearing (in terms of realizing any income on an initial investment) people in the area generally found it necessary to compliment cattle rearing with activities that provided an income in the shorter term and required relatively little investment. Maize cultivation was a common activity and upland rice was cultivated to a lesser extent.

These case studies show that that farmer groups often mobilized themselves around the (dairy) enterprise more out of sheer interest or in anticipation of being able to access animals through their respective groups in the future. Many did not have the basic capacity to successfully engage in dairy farming when they joined the group. One farmer group in Kasawo sub county³³² built a cattle shade in the expectation of being provided with animal. According to the woman group chairperson:

Although at the moment we don't have any animal, we built the cattle shade in anticipation of some support because were told that if we unite we shall be supported.

Leaders of this group considered patience among their members as the main source of group's strength. They claimed that theirs was the only surviving group in the village. All the other groups in the village had disintegrated once they failed to realize the material or financial support they had initially anticipated from the NAADS. This was a mixed and village-based farmer group, with 20 members (8 women, 9 men and 3 male youths), mostly elderly people, with an average age of 48 years. It was formed in 2002 with the coming of NAADS in the sub county in a remote and apparently excluded village. On registering with the sub county NAADS office the group identified themselves with several crops and livestock, but chose dairy cattle as their central enterprise of interest. The group members were at the time involved in some joint activities for which they pooled resources (labour and finances), as a strategy to tap into possible support from external sources. They expected a bull from the sub county NAADS administration, and constructing a cattle shade on their initiative in anticipation of receiving one.

³³² In a remote village within Kigogola parish.

Another informative example in Wakisi sub county is a mixed farmer group in a remote village.³³³ Most of the members of this group had not previously been involved in rearing local cattle. Nevertheless, they claimed that their common identity and indeed source of strength was their common and keen interest in dairy cattle production. They came together to seek assistance from NAADS (both knowledge and improved cows) and to become involved in dairy farming as a business. They hoped that through selling milk they would be able to generate ample income and lessen the poverty that their individual households experienced. However, the anticipated assistance did not materialize. As a result, the group had long lost touch with NAADS activities in the sub county and many members no longer had contact with the farmer group itself. Many of the members were evidently not clear about whether their group was represented on the SFF, and had forgotten the year when their group had been formed. Initially the members seemed unsure whether they had representation on the SFF only to learn later that they had actually met as a group to elect the group's representatives as was required. These representatives had participated in the formation of the SFF committees. But this seemed to have been a one-off activity as it was clear that the group had not convened any meetings in a long time.

The cases above show that the selection by farmer groups of cattle as an enterprise for receiving NAADS support was unrelated to any actual economic interests in cattle. Rather, it appeared primarily motivated by the hope of accessing improved livestock. The most common request from farmer groups in parishes in both sub counties (including those who were host to parish bull schemes) to their sub county NAADS administration was to have the bull scheme complemented with a similar heifer scheme. The farmers wanted to see (and participate in) a scheme along the lines of the heifer scheme being implemented in the area by the 'Send A Cow' (Uganda) programme. Farmer groups felt that without a parallel heifer scheme the dairy cattle bull scheme would only benefit the community members who already had local cows.³³⁴

Only 16.2% of agricultural households in Mukono district were recorded as having (indigenous) cattle (UBOS, 2004). Less than a half (48.4%) of these households had between two and four heads of cattle and 40% had just one. Survey data (Table 4.8) shows the number of farmers who actually own cattle. In Kasawo sub county, 43% of households owned cattle, compared to 34% in Wakisi sub county. More than one third (39%) of the households participating in the survey owned cattle. Farm households with cattle in Kasawo sub county reared an average of 3 heads of cattle, whereas those in Wakisi sub county reared an average of 2. The survey results also indicated noticeable differences in the proportions households of who kept cattle between the farmer group and non-farmer group members with the percentages of members of groups rearing cattle higher than those for the non-members in both sub counties. In Kasawo sub county close to 49 % of members of farmers group kept cattle, compared to 36% of the non-farmer group members. However, there was little difference in the number of cattle kept by the two groups' households, both keeping an

³³³ Nakalanga parish.

³³⁴ Nakalanga parish.

average of close to 3 heads of cattle. In Wakisi sub county the difference was more marked, with 47% of farmer group members and 22% of non-members owning cattle. Here again there was hardly any difference in the number of cattle kept by the two groups of farmers, with each category rearing an average of about 2 heads of cattle. Considering all members in each of the two farmer categories 48% of the farmer group members' households and 29% of the non-farmer group members' households owned, on average, 2.5 and close to 3 heads of cattle respectively.

Table 4.8: Number of cattle owned by the respondent households within the two sub counties (2005)

	Kasawo (N=300)		Wakisi (N=300)		Overall (N=600)	
	Mean no.	% Hhds	Mean no.	% Hhds	Mean no.	% Hhds
<i>Number of cattle by sub county</i>						
	2.8 (0.24)	42.7	2.3 (0.16)	34.3	2.6 (0.15)	38.5
<i>Cattle owned within sub counties by group membership status</i>						
	(N=150)		(N=150)		(N=300)	
Member	2.6 (0.17)	49.3	2.3 (0.20)	46.7	2.5 (0.13)	48.00
Non member	3.0 (0.52)	36.0	2.3 (0.29)	22.00	2.8 (0.33)	29.00

Source: Individual/household survey

%Hhds= proportion of households

*The number in the parenthesis is the standard error of the mean

The reasons farmers gave for lower attendances at the training sessions on dairy cattle suggest that farmers primarily considered NAADS as a way to gain ownership of productive assets, i.e. cows. In Kasawo sub county about 20% of farmer group members (n=44) indicated that they 'lacked the necessary capital to get involved in the cattle enterprise.' Here a farmers' report, based on a previous survey³³⁵ in one of the participating parishes, revealed that of the twenty farmer group members who had attended training sessions on dairy cattle only two of them actually had some local cows and could apply the knowledge acquired. The intervention scheme did not build sustainable linkages between farmers and input markets; but aimed to make bulls available, which would create a self-reproducing scheme around bulls and local cows and later generate linkages to dairy markets.

Both the vanilla and cattle case studies illustrate how extension services are embedded in the constraints and opportunities that exist within output and, to some extent, input markets. The case studies show a major vulnerability of NAADS, that it focused strongly on selecting a specific enterprise, which then needs to become successful. Neither case study provides

³³⁵ Conducted by the farmer trainees of the farmers' capacity building activities for the NAADS community-based Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PM&E). The researcher was part of the consultant team which implemented this programme during the pilot phase of the NAADS PM&E in Kasawo sub county, during NAADS FY3 (2003/04).

compelling evidence of the public extension services successfully building local capacities so that local communities could create and maintain linkages with output and input markets. The following section gives an empirical account of how factors constraining the development of prioritised enterprises in NAADS shaped subsequent discussions at different levels in the public extension system.

4.5 The market for inputs and financial services: ‘capital’ in farming

NAADS has tried to provide the knowledge...yes, knowledge is good but knowledge alone can't change the status of farmers. (Farmer, Kasawo sub county)

This section describes how NAADS affected farmers' ability to access the needed inputs and credit. These two issues have been particularly problematic throughout NAADS' implementation. In rural Uganda (but also generally among the Ugandan population) production credit (or any kind of monetary support) is popularly referred to as '*entandikwa*', which literally means 'seed' or 'start up' capital. This captivating Luganda term underscores the importance that people in rural farming communities attach to any form of financial or material support, even when they are obliged to repay such assistance. This raises the question of the conditions that farmers need in order to be able to apply the knowledge and skills they had acquired during trainings. The lack of tangible changes in production and economic practices eroded much enthusiasm that farmers might have had for NAADS and its activities, and also among implementers and local authorities.

The concerns among the farmers regarding the (apparent) failure of NAADS to meet their expectation for financial or material assistance vindicated the worries of some members of the interim SFF in Kasawo sub county during the early years of NAADS (2003). They expressed the growing impatience among farmers, who had been challenging them with questions such as: "Shall we benefit from NAADS after death?" "If NAADS targets the active poor why then don't they identify those active poor, so that they are assisted with the necessary financial or material support?" In Kasawo sub county, two leaders of the local government unit (LC3) argued that:

There is the issue of lack of integration of NAADS with other components of the PMA ...farmers find it impossible to apply the knowledge without such things like micro financial services. In fact analyzed critically, NAADS does not seem to be a component of the PMA...partly because responsibility for implementing lies with local councils and the political establishment

It is therefore not surprising that up until the fourth year of NAADS, one of the main challenges it faced was changing farmers' attitudes so that they fitted with NAADS' mandate.³³⁶ After several years of NAADS implementation it became increasingly apparent

³³⁶ According to the Sub county NAADS Coordinator and Chairperson SFF, quoted in the Mukono District News Letter (Vol.2, Issue 02, 2004-05).

to both implementers and other stakeholders that there was a need to supplement NAADS' package of advisory and technology services with additional financial and/or material inputs.

The members of the District Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) and Technical Audit teams,³³⁷ disclosed that their experiences from the field, after nearly three years of NAADS implementation, had led to question whether the (limited) scope of services provided by NAADS actually met farmers priority needs. They noted that when NAADS was designed it was built on the assumption that farmers lacked knowledge and therefore needed advisory services. However, experience had shown that what the farmers needed most was production capital and markets for their produce. This analysis was repeated during the District NAADS Stakeholders' Annual review workshop at the end of the 2003-4 year, where the participants (and especially farmers' representatives) argued that farmers had received enough training and advice but that most of them had failed to make use of this knowledge, due to a lack of capital. They unanimously called for the rural micro finance component of the PMA to be activated. While closing the meeting the Assistant Resident District Commissioner acknowledged the limited capacity of local government in meeting farmers' need for credit. She called upon the staff of the Department of Trade and Industry to sensitize communities on how to mobilize financial resources through saving and credit cooperative activities. The same issues emerged again during the following years semi-annual review workshop.

These types of discussion prompted debate at different levels about the mandate of NAADS, and also about how to align NAADS with complementary policy frameworks. For example, in his official opening speech at the 3rd NAADS GoU-Donor Review Meeting the Vice-President of Uganda noted that "farmers' access to credit for agricultural production remained a major block to the agricultural modernization process"³³⁸. Equally Byekwaso et al. (2004), in a paper that focused on the lessons emerging from NAADS implementation, highlighted the challenge of targeting the poor with advisory services. They concurred with Tinsley (2004) who argues quite strongly that the main reason why small holder farmers may not adopt technologies is not because of an absence of such technologies per se but because many farmers have very limited resources to operate with. The Sixth PMA Forum (held on May 25, 2004) explicitly recognised the hardship that farmers were experiencing in acquiring improved technologies (such banana and vanilla planting material) and noted the need to revise the guidelines for the PMA-NSCG (Non-Sectoral Conditional Grant) so it could better meet the farmer demands, including empowering farmers to acquire credit as groups (PMA, 2004). One weakness of the PMA was brought forward by evaluation, which concluded that NAADS was not able to provide farmers with linkages to financial services (GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005). A survey, conducted as part of this evaluation, showed that the high cost of new technologies was one of the main reasons for farmers who had had access to improved

³³⁷ This interview was conducted as part of the NAADSEC/DFID-commissioned lessons learning study towards the end of NAADS FY3 (2003/04). The Monitoring and Evaluation team was composed of technical staff mostly from the (District) Production and Marketing, and Planning Departments responsible for (technical) monitoring of NAADS' activities in the District. The Technical Audit Team was composed of relevant District SMSs specifically charged with supervising the technical performance of the service providers.

³³⁸ Speech by His Excellency the Vice-President of Uganda, Prof. Gilbert Bukenya at the 3rd NAADS GOU-Donor Review Meeting, 19th -21st May 2004, International Conference Centre, Kampala?.

technology not changing their practices (ibid.). It is therefore not surprising that a study conducted by Garforth et al. (2003) showed farmers to be less satisfied with the provision of financial services (in comparison to roads) by their Local Governments. Farmers also only gave a modest rating to advisory and agricultural research/technology services.

The issue of whether NAADS actually addressed the real problems of farmers was a recurrent issue raised by the range of informants in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties. Farmers and other stakeholders in both sub counties often asked “between knowledge and (financial) capacity to apply the knowledge, which did the farmers need most?” In Kasawo sub county, two local council leaders noted that absence of a component of financial services within (or alongside) the NAADS had led to a decline in the initial interest that communities had exhibited towards NAADS and to the training activities it organized in the sub county. One of them, a female Councillor on the District Council emphasized that there was:

Nothing much to motivate farmers to participate actively (when they face a) situation of widespread constraints to farming, especially when farmers could not easily access the necessary inputs and a good market for their produce.

People often cited the recent experiences with vanilla where people had firstly found it difficult to acquire planting material due to the scarcity and high cost of the material and were later disappointed later by the low price for the crop. As one retired civil servant and opinion leader emphatically put it “the issue was not so much a lack of knowledge but rather a lack of capacity to apply the knowledge.” A former sub county NAADS Core Team member noted that “although the small poor farmers are able to produce for their own subsistence they hardly have any capacity to acquire the necessary inputs such as seed, chemicals and equipment.” An LC1 Chairperson in one parish³³⁹ said that she was repeatedly challenged by members of different farmer groups who wanted to know how they could move forward after attending the trainings and how they could be expected to apply the knowledge without any ‘*entandikwa*’ (i.e. seed capital)?.

A more practical example came from a discussion with a progressive coffee farmer. He revealed that in his village one could “hardly find any single piece of banana plot at the household level even after several NAADS sponsored training sessions on banana in the sub county.” He gave a graphic description of the differences between farmers, based on the farming enterprises (i.e. crop and/or livestock) they were involved in. He had noticed that only a few farmers with some financial capacity, especially those who were mostly involved in the livestock sector, had so far benefited from the training activities. He used the example of maize, which, despite being a relatively short duration crop, suffered from a low market price, and was also highly labour demanding. In his opinion this was one of the reasons why “the poor farmers expected some form of support (i.e. ‘*entandikwa*’) from NAADS, either as subsidized or free seed.” Also farmers who had some reasonable land and financial capacity

³³⁹ Nakalanga parish.

expected tractor services to help them to reduce their labour burden. An opinion leader in Kasawo sub county argued that: “the idea of farming as a business in a third world context where people are still using the (hand) hoe will take a long time to be realized...as for now it is building castles in the air.”³⁴⁰ Other key informants thought there was more opportunity to develop *demand-driven* services (such as fee-based veterinary services) in the area of livestock rearing than in crop production.

Although farmers acknowledged the importance of the knowledge provided via NAADS, this appreciation was easily eroded by their concerns about the absence of any additional material or financial support. This feeling is reflected in the views that farmers expressed during community meetings in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties:

NAADS taught many things...it has tried to provide the knowledge. ...Yes, knowledge is good but knowledge alone can't change the status of farmers. NAADS came to 'save' the poor but many cannot apply the knowledge without any tangible inputs such as seed and other planting materials...they have remained as they were...just with the knowledge. ...Nothing much has really changed. (Participants, community meeting).³⁴¹

Although we have had the necessary training we haven't been able to do much with knowledge acquired... farmers lack other things like planting material and farm tools....Many farmers are discouraged from attending NAADS' activities because they don't see any hope for inputs. (Participants, community meeting)³⁴²

Service providers highlighted the predicament the farmers faced in putting some of the recommendations from their training packages into practice. They recognized that some aspects of the technology packages required quite substantial investment by farmer groups and/or communities and more so at the individual farmer level. Service providers often cited their experiences about the difficulties faced at the community and/or group level in the area of livestock. They singled out the trouble farmers experienced in making their expected contribution (often in material form) towards constructing the improved animal structures. At the individual farmer level, the service providers more often talked about the difficulty farmers experienced in acquiring the necessary inputs and adopting improved (crops and livestock) technologies. The service providers, like the farmers and other stakeholders, repeatedly stressed the need to complement the advisory services with suitable micro-financial services. In one case a director of a service provider firm stressed that “...people cannot be expected to commercialize their farming activities without capital to enable them to acquire the inputs they need to apply the knowledge and improved technologies.”

³⁴⁰ This was a retired civil servant.

³⁴¹ Kabimbiri parish.

³⁴² Kalagala parish.

In the 2004/05 District NAADS stakeholders' semi-annual review meeting the participants were uniformly concerned that:

The poor farmers who are the target of the NAADS services find it difficult to afford the technologies...for example [whereas] majority of these farmers are interested in short-duration crops NAADS has mostly focused on long-term crops with high recurrent costs which is a disincentive to many farmers... this is why many have not tried them.

To change this situation the participants tabled two proposals: that “the technologies promoted should be affordable” and that “farmers need affordable loans to be able to meet the high cost of technologies”.

Studies conducted by the NGO sector further contributed to discussions about whether the right conditions were in place for NAADS to be an effective tool for rural development. A study conducted by the Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA) an umbrella Civil Society Organization in Uganda, in four NAADS districts³⁴³ noted that farmers' ability to push forward with enterprises that they had identified as (potentially) beneficial projects had been delayed by a lack of start up capital. Another study conducted by Oxfam/FOWODE in Luwero district,³⁴⁴ claimed that just 1% of farmers in the district who had participated in NAADS trainings actually had the resources to put the NAADS advice into practice. Although NAADS top management dismissed the claims by the Oxfam/FOWODE study,³⁴⁵ it also acknowledged that a typical farmer who participated in the NAADS activities would already be involved in agriculture and therefore well placed to seek better technologies and agricultural practices. This is the archetypal economically-active poor farmer who is the target of strategies to lift farmers out of poverty (Hickey, 2005; OPM, 2005; GoU, 2006; c.f. Parkinson, 2008). NAADS officials also said that NAADS spends money on technology development to enable farmers to access new breeds, varieties, practices, either for free or at a subsidized rate. In other words, NAADS found it necessary to subsidize the provision of its services to the predominantly subsistence farmers, as Kidd (2001) had predicted at the inception of the NAADS programme. Parkinson (2008) observes that this meant that the NAADS Secretariat had to deal with a delicate situation, trying to balance the principles of farmer empowerment, ownership and inclusion with its other principles, and with the overall policy strategy of commercializing farming in Uganda.

At the national level, participants in the NAADS stakeholder review meetings recognized the frustration of those farmers who were unable to afford the investment required for some of the enterprises and/or technologies promoted by NAADS. Members of the field observation teams were of the view that: “affordability of technologies was of necessity a key element of

³⁴³ See, The New Vision, December 20, 2004. The study was conducted during NAADS FY4 (2004/05) in Arua, Kabarole, Kamwenge and Tororo districts.

³⁴⁴ Published in The New Vision July 27, 2004.

³⁴⁵ This was in an official statement by the NAADSEC issued in The New Vision, August 2, 2004. The Oxfam/FOWODE study was based on experiences in Luwero district between NAADS FY2 (2002/03) and NAADS FY3 (2003/04).

the needed improvements in [the NAADS] targeting methodology of the poor.”³⁴⁶ During the NAADS mid-term review meeting, participants stressed that NAADS needed to follow its original idea of disaggregating different farmer types and to adopt different approaches to providing them with advisory services, a strategy that would be at least (partly) compatible with NAADS’ market orientation and objective of promoting commercialization (MAAIF, 2005). This need was even more strongly expressed following the evaluation of the PMA (GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005). The CEED report (2004: 30), which followed an earlier NAADS Secretariat/DFID commission study in three of the NAADS trailblazing districts³⁴⁷, refers to “input and credit gaps” as a key challenge to NAADS achieving its aim of commercializing agriculture.

This shortcoming has, therefore, been widely acknowledged among official circles. For instance, in his opening remarks at the NAADS mid-term review meeting, the Ugandan Finance Minister highlighted poor access to capital for investment in production, mostly linked to the “unsuitable credit products for investment in agriculture” as one of the key gaps in the implementation of NAADS to date. Although farmers and others expected NAADS to address their need for inputs and production credit, NAADS clearly did not have a mandate to provide such services. On its own NAADS cannot be expected to meet the farmers’ need for inputs and production credit. Nonetheless, it could make an important contribution to empowering farmers to face the realities of an increasingly market-oriented economy.

This challenge was particularly linked to the promotion of new technologies which require an investment of resources way beyond the capacity of an average small holder farmer in Uganda (c.f. GoU, 2006). This observation was supported by a comment attributed to a farmer in Soroti district who said that: “You can’t teach me to plant groundnuts in lines when you are sure that I am not going to get the seeds to apply it in the garden.”

4.6 Conclusions

This last section describes discussions and dialogues, at different levels, concerning the conditions under which the knowledge and training offered by NAADS can be effectively used by farmers. The evidence suggests that most stakeholders (farmers, public extension workers, private service providers, local government authorities and national policy makers) acknowledge that the application and use of knowledge critically depends on the availability of capital, i.e. technical inputs and finance. Generally the farmers in both study sub counties appreciated NAADS’ campaign of promoting farming as a business. They were enthusiastic about the new initiative and its aim of revitalizing the agricultural sector by creating gainful enterprises. However, this initial zeal was followed by frustration which left most farmers (and other stakeholders) in the two sub counties with a feeling that NAADS had done little to improve their access to a market for their produce or to markets for capital.

³⁴⁶ In the overview of observations of field visit teams, May 2004. The 3rd NAADS GoU-Donor Joint Review Conference 19-21 May 2004.

³⁴⁷ Including Arua, Soroti and Tororo districts.

The survey of farmers and farmer groups suggests that farmers expected that their ability to acquire inputs needed for production would be enhanced by the provision of readily accessible and suitable credit for agricultural production. Yet, recent studies (including some conducted within Uganda) indicate that, unlike infrastructure [development] and effective delivery of advisory services, the availability of credit for agricultural production has no marked impact on the adoption of modern technology or, more generally, on agricultural production (Gautam, 2006; World Bank, 2006; cited in GoU,2007). Yet, as the experiences of farmers in Kasowo sub county showed, the real issue with farmers' access to production credit seemed not to have been simply about physical access to financial services, which is available through a range of micro-financial institutions that already exist in place. Rather, it is about access to capital that is appropriate to farmers and the conditions under which they farm.

The Luganda term '*entandikwa*' illustrates that capital is considered as fundamental for a successful performance in farming, and that farmers appreciate intervention schemes that provide access to capital, seeing this as being relevant to their needs. NAADS, however, seems to have been operating in a problematic middle ground, that lies somewhere between public provision and the market-driven supply of inputs. This hinders the task of those involved in trying to embed the extension services in the materiality of agricultural production. The situation was further complicated by the absence of easily accessible and affordable agricultural production credit for purchasing material inputs. This constraint was not confined to the two sub counties, but was common place throughout the rest of rural Uganda (Bagamba, 2007; GoU, 2007; GoU, 2006; Kidd, 2001). Uganda's drive to modernize agriculture emphasizes the need for farmers to use productivity-enhancing technologies (e.g. improved seed varieties) which are intended to improve farmers' incomes. However, despite relatively better farm-gate price than before, farmers' ability to apply such technologies and benefit from them is constrained by the high cost of inputs (Nyangabyaki-Bazaara, 2000)..

This study shows that NAADS has limited institutional capacity to broker new linkages to output and input markets (cf. MFPED, 2004). Matters have been further complicated by the clearly limited mandate, and seemingly poorly defined role, of NAADS in improving farmers' access to both output and input markets. Given such constraints it is debatable whether the 'marketization' strategy (premised on productivity-enhancing technologies and seeking to integrate mostly subsistence farming activities into markets) is either a feasible or appropriate means of improving farmers' incomes.

The literature suggests that there are two main approaches that can be used when seeking to improve rural livelihoods and enabling farmers to climb out of poverty (Farrington et al., 2002; Christoplos, 2004). The first involves helping poor people to cope with their vulnerability. The second involves assisting them to escape from poverty and thrive through becoming profitable enterprises. The former approach emphasizes security, subsistence and safety nets while latter stresses commercialization and market participation (ibid.). Farrington

et al. (2002) note that the vast majority of rural development -interventions seek to enhance farmers' incomes. This applies to both governmental and commercial extension schemes (Christoplos, 2004). It is clear that NAADS and Uganda's agricultural policy have prioritized the latter approach, that of enhancing the incomes of subsistence farmers through improved agricultural productivity within commercial market-oriented enterprises. This led NAADS to favour the non-traditional and/or new enterprises, to the exclusion of more established and relatively affordable enterprises that were clearly preferred by poorer and more risk-adverse farmers, such as the women and youth (GoU, 2006).

The 'marketization' strategy adopted by NAADS is also reflected in its demand-driven approach to service provision which is, among others, considered to be enhanced by improved farmers' access to markets as well as increased incomes from their farming activities (Neuchatel Group, 2006). The evidence presented in this chapter confirms the observations made by several authors that, in the context of market liberalization and state withdrawal, smallholder farmers (especially in non-globalizing or poorly integrated areas) are having to face ever complicated and challenging markets (Kydd, 2001; Berdegúe and Escobar, 2002; Dorward et al., 2004; Kydd and Dorward, 2004; Hellin et al., 2005).

If NAADS is to more effectively provide the range of services needed by its primary clients, i.e. subsistence farmers, it needs to broaden its mandate so as to include new activities within its remit. Such activities should strengthen the traditional intermediary aspect of extension work, with NAADS moving to the forefront in forging the necessary relationships of coordination and partnership between the various actors in agricultural support services, notably research, marketing and agro-processing and rural financial services.

The next chapter (Chapter 5) addresses cross-cutting issues regarding the response and/or involvement of members of the small group of farmers targeted by NAADS, focusing on issues of inclusion and exclusion issues, particularly in relation to socially vulnerable groups, such as women and youth.

Chapter 5

Who is included in and excluded from NAADS? An analysis of participation by women and youth

5.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters focused on the response of the NAADS target group, as farmers in general, to the NAADS supported activities in the two study sub counties, based mostly on the nature and scope of services provided under NAADS. Each chapter focused on a thematic aspect of the NAADS extension technology relating to what NAADS tries to deliver vis-à-vis farmers' expectations and preferences and linking farmers to input and output markets in the context of NAADS's drive of 'farming as a business'. The present chapter addresses cross-cutting issues regarding the response and/or involvement of the members of the small farmer target group of NAADS, focusing on women farmers and youth in particular. More specifically, the chapter examines the incentives and/or opportunities and disincentives and/or constraints governing the responses and involvement of the different genders and age groups to NAADS activities in the respective communities examined. Thus, the chapter examines evidence concerning exclusions from NAADS in the two case study sub counties and pays particular attention to issues of inclusion and exclusion of socially vulnerable groups (viz. women and youth). This analysis is linked to the two thematic fields of focus of NAADS' extension technology (i.e. improving delivery of knowledge and/or skills and technology to farmers and enhancing their access to output and input markets).

As noted in Chapter 2 a key principle of NAADS is participation. The (initial) design of NAADS committed it to be inclusive in targeting its services to a primary target group – small-scale non-commercial farmers. Accordingly, NAADS lays special emphasis on targeting poor farmers (especially women and youth) and generally on being gender-responsive in all its interventions. In its emphasis on targeting the poor, in line with the Uganda's current national development framework – the PEAP – NAADS envisages a clear relationship between poverty and the social/gender position of its target group (see, MAAIF, 2000, for example)³⁴⁸. But in spite of the expressed desire to be inclusive, experiences during the first year of NAADS implementation led to concerns about (all-) inclusive and self-selecting processes of involving farmers.³⁴⁹ Hence, right from the outset, implementation of the NAADS was faced with issues of inclusion/exclusion. For instance, although youth were, from the design stage, considered an important target group for NAADS³⁵⁰ their subsequent lack of involvement has raised concern among local stakeholders and donors. Careful

³⁴⁸ This link between gender and poverty has for some time been at the centre of the criticism levelled against agricultural extension programmes, namely, that these programmes fail to reach the majority of poor farmers simply because the majority of the poor farmers are women, and extension agents do not [usually] work with women (see Christoplos, 1996, for example)

³⁴⁹ See, for instance, First Annual NAADS Programme review report (2001/02).

³⁵⁰ Youth (as defined shortly) was one of the special interest groups of NAADS

investigation and analysis of inclusion/ exclusion issues is thus an important topic for this thesis.

If NAADS underperforms with regard to inclusion issues it is by no means unique. Indeed many authors regularly see this as a problematic aspect of participation. First, note the diverse and contested definition and scope of participation (Cornwall, 2008; Agarwal, 2001; King, 2000, for instance) as well as lack of agreement on its goals and purposes (Leeuwis, 2000; Morrissey, 2000). According to Morrissey (2000) the absence of agreement about goals and purposes of participation is one of the key issues making it difficult to assess quality of participation. Using a case study of a non-formal education project in Burkina Faso, Mechiner (1998) warns of the difficulties of implementing genuine participation as espoused at the academic and policy levels. This case study revealed, among other things, two key hindrances, namely the problem of well-placed stakeholders using participation to their own advantage and field realities. Furthermore, despite the centrality of inclusiveness - i.e. the inclusion in the decision-making process of those most affected by the intervention (Agarwal, 2001) - several authors have highlighted how difficult it is to include all interests in the process (Walters et al. 1999; Lowndes et al. 2001; Weinberger and Jutting, 2001; Simmons & Birchall, 2005). Accordingly, Wiebe (2000) concludes that one of the key issues in (participatory) development interventions is that of who participates and/ or responds (or not) and why.

This question is even more crucial (or problematic) when individuals are invited to participate in such activities through collective units such as a vague community, or through (community-based) service user groups (Agarwal, 2000; Mompati & Prinsen, 2000; Berner and Phillips, 2005). In particular the membership of community groups may be heavily skewed away from the more vulnerable and marginalised within rural areas (Storey, 1999: 310). In this case the participatory approach is often seen to fail, because it assumes “a homogeneous population base in which all rural residents have the same resource bases, opportunities, needs and interest” (Wiebe, 2000: 581). Yet as Wiebe (ibid.) observes it is rare to find that the entire population of a community becomes voluntarily involved in a community development project. This, in Wiebe’s opinion, suggests that the project might not be accessible to or even of equal interest to all the residents of a particular community. In other words, it is important to pay attention to why do some farmers participate more readily than others in rural development efforts (Walters, et al., 2001). Moreover Cornwall (2008: 269) even extends this participation debate beyond who participates to the question of participating in what and for whose benefit.

Writing specifically in the context of public service provision, Simmons & Birchall (2005) observe that despite the growing recognition of the need for involvement and representation of service users public policy makers are worried about the lack of willingness of service users to come forward and participate. This underlines the now well acknowledged point that participation has often been better supported in theory than in practice (Blanchet, 2001; Okali et al., 1994). In an effort to improve participation by service users, Simmons & Birchall

(2005) propose the need to go beyond the potential institutional barriers and look more creatively at a range of other interrelated factors. They caution that if user participation is to become a wider reality, there is as much need to explore possible limitations bearing down on service users (i.e. demand-side restraints to participation) as to focus on potential bottlenecks in participation affecting service providers (i.e. supply-side participation constraints). Looking at demand-side limitations is another way of approaching the participatory exclusions within ostensibly participatory institutions reported by Agarwal (2001) in the context of community forestry.

This chapter seeks to contribute to answering the overall question addressed in this thesis by clarifying how both internal factors (policies, practices, processes and institutional aspects of NAADS) and factors external to the NAADS might influence gender or age-based responses to and involvement in NAADS supported community level activities. Hence, the chapter addresses the following question: what are the internal and external factors that enable and/or constrain the inclusion of women and youth in NAADS related activities within the two case study sub counties? The explicit focus on women and youth does not mean that men were in any way less important in this study. Rather it is recognized, as NAADS and current policy in Uganda actually does, that women and youth are usually marginalized yet important social groups in the agricultural and rural development plan in Uganda. The overall aim of the chapter, therefore, is to describe and explain any gap between ambition and achievement in this regard.

The chapter proceeds as follows: Section 5.2 describes various data sources and methods of data collection and analysis from which conclusions are derived. It also provides the operational definitions of key terms related to questions addressed in the chapter. Findings are presented in section 5.3. The chapter then offers a descriptive conclusion regarding the gap between NAADS ambitions and the reality of inclusion according to data collected in farmers' interviews.

5.2 Data sources and methods of data collection and analysis

The present section describes the different data sources and the methods used to collect and analyse the data in line with the specific question asked in this chapter. The evidence presented is based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The quantitative data were collected via a cross-sectional survey, using a pre-tested individual household questionnaire, which was administered in the form of an interview schedule. The survey involved a randomly selected sample comprising of two categories of farmers, namely members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups, and non-members of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups.

Qualitative material (and/or information) was collected from a variety of sources including key informants, NAADS affiliated farmer groups (and in a few cases non-NAADS affiliated farmer/community groups), community members, programme implementation reports and other relevant documents, and attendance at certain sub-county NAADS community level

activities and review meetings. Material was collected from the respective sources through semi-structured interviews, observation, and review of relevant documents; with information from the key informant, farmer groups and community interviews solicited using appropriate interview guides and/or check lists comprising of open-ended questions.

Where quantitative data were concerned (simple) descriptive statistics were used. The main procedure involved the Chi-squared (X^2) test of significance of the difference in the proportions within the different groups (i.e. based on age and gender differentiation) in relation to their status of contact with NAADS activities and satisfaction with NAADS services. For this purpose the measures of (status of) contact with NAADS activities (i.e. dependent variable) included the respondent's: (i) membership status with a NAADS affiliated farmer group (i.e. whether one is a member or not³⁵¹); (ii) (status of) awareness about NAADS activities in their respective communities; (iii) (status of) attendance in NAADS related training activities; and subsequently (iii) self-rating on (status of) contact with NAADS activities on a four-point scale from 'high contact' to 'no contact at all'. It is worth mentioning that for the purposes of this analysis 'awareness about NAADS activities' was considered as the first level of contact by farmers with NAADS³⁵². In addition, where applicable, the respondents were asked to express their level of satisfaction with services provided by NAADS on a three-point scale (i.e. 'satisfied', 'fairly satisfied' and 'not satisfied'). For assessment of level of awareness, a respondent was considered to have been aware of NAADS activities if she or he mentioned 'at least one' NAADS-related activities in their respective communities (or even outside their immediate communities).³⁵³ Likewise, for the assessment of attendance at NAADS related training activities, a respondent was considered to have attended if s/he had attended at least one of such activities. The indicator of 'at least one' was used because NAADS activities were infrequent and changed overtime.

Analysis of the qualitative material was done by hand. However, an ordinary word processor allowed some basic thematic analysis, through linking key words with themes raised by informants. The process might be described as lying on testing inductive-deductive continuum since it largely aimed at 'discovering' what was in the material rather than testing any 'definite hypothesis'. Analysis then entailed sorting and organizing the material into common response categories (focusing on certain themes and/or sub-themes). Basically this resulted in manageable and more relevant data sets, involving somewhat subjective judgement, as might be expected from a largely manual exercise. This was followed by a more demanding stage in which an attempt was made to conceptualise, refine and interpret themes. For most part, the qualitative materials are presented descriptively in a narrative form

³⁵¹ A respondent (i.e. farmer) who is not a member of a NAADS affiliated farmer group is, for the purpose of this classification, referred to 'non-member of a NAADS affiliated farmer group' or simply 'non-member'.

³⁵² In the same way 'awareness' is considered a crucial first step in the adoption process under E.M. Roger's theory of diffusion and adoption of innovations (See, for example, Rogers, Everett M., 1983: *Diffusion of Innovations*. Third Edition). Likewise in the conceptual theory on participation 'information giving or sharing' is deemed an important stage in the various typologies (or ladders) of participation proposed by different authors on participation (see, Pretty, 1994, for example).

³⁵³ For example, NAADS related activity at the parish or sub county level; as long as s/he is able to associate such an activity with NAADS and it is truly a sub-county NAADS supported activity.

in the running text. Some of the interview materials collected via the farmer group discussions/meetings was used for quantification purposes whereas other materials were used as illustrations.

5.2.1. Operational definition of key terms

In this chapter the terms ‘response to’ or ‘involvement in’ - a key aspect of participation for the NAADS target group - is assessed in terms of the type of contact women and youth have with NAADS community level activities. In this respect specific attention was placed on attendance in training activities (related both to farmer institutional development and delivery of technical agricultural knowledge and technologies) and membership status with a NAADS affiliated farmer group. This is because most community members understood involvement in NAADS as meaning taking part in these two key sub-county NAADS activities. Contact status is considered a dynamic factor, related to the place any particular individual occupies along a continuum of participatory activity. This is particularly so regarding attendance of individuals in NAADS-supported training-related activities. This cannot be measured strictly and easily on the basis of all or nothing. Descriptive approximation was used to assess different levels of commitment.

It is now well established that the meanings assigned to the categories ‘man’, ‘woman’ and ‘youth’ vary by society. Two of the commonly used bases to assess age are life years and social obligations.³⁵⁴ The second aspect is commonly based on social responsibilities associated with marital status, generally seen as ushering in adulthood.³⁵⁵ Indeed the distinction between ‘man’, ‘woman’ and ‘youth’ on the basis of social responsibilities associated with marital status is common in Uganda. In this sense, ‘youth’ means a physically mature but unmarried person. Nonetheless, the terms also have a strong age connotations, reinforced by the official policy in Uganda which gives primacy to age in classifying citizens. This is in fact manifest in the official definition of a ‘youth’ in Uganda. Officially, ‘youth’ refers to a person from 18 to 30 years³⁵⁶. This study makes use of age categorization, but extends the official limit upwards. Thus, ‘youth’ is here defined as a male or female person from 18 to 35 years of age. This fits better with local understanding, as apparent during the survey of NAADS affiliated farmer groups.³⁵⁷ ‘Man’ refers to an adult male member of a community above the age of a ‘male youth’. Likewise ‘woman’ refers to an adult female community member above the age of a ‘female youth.’ It is important to note, however, that for some of the quantitative analysis the terms man and woman are used as gender categories to refer, respectively, to a ‘male person’ and ‘female person’ irrespective of their age. This was intended to avoid the likelihood of confusing informants. Although reasonable effort

³⁵⁴ Richards (pers.comm.).

³⁵⁵ Matsiko (pers.comm.).

³⁵⁶ According to the National Youth Statute, Republic of Uganda (1993, in Nuwagaba, 2006), as amended under the National Youth Council Amendment Act (2005).

³⁵⁷ As Waldie (2004:7-8) notes in study on youth and rural livelihoods (within East Africa) every culture or society has its own concept of ‘youth’ and one that is determined by traditions, roles, and status rather than physical age. And that because there is no generally agreed definition of ‘youth’ in development debate it is difficult for those who shape and implement policy to share ideas and build a basis for understanding. Nevertheless Waldie (ibid.) reports that youth is usually defined in terms of ‘age’ but that although this appears a ‘neat and tidy’ way of doing things until one realizes that for some organizations, a youth can be ‘some one between the ages of 9 and 35 years’.

was made during the qualitative interviews to ensure that informants understood the terms ‘man’ and ‘woman’ as referring to ‘an adult male person’ and ‘an adult female person’ as defined above, and ‘youth’ as referring to a male person or female person from 18 years to 35 years at most, informants were doubtless influenced by local social categorization. One aspect of this is that people in the area of study (and other parts of the country) when using the term ‘youth’ mean male youth. It was thus in some contexts better to stick to ‘male’ and ‘female’ without qualification.

5.3 Findings

Empirical findings are presented in two major sections linked to the two main questions addressed in this chapter. Section 5.3.1 deals with the question focused on response to, and/or involvement in, NAADS related activities within the local communities. Even though both quantitative and qualitative data and/information are used, quantitative data predominate. Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3. present the findings and analysis in respect of the second question, regarding the reasons, respectively incentives and/or disincentives, for the observed state of response and/or involvement by women and youth in sub-county NAADS-related activities.

5.3.1 Response to and/or involvement in sub-county NAADS related activities

This section explores the involvement of women, men and youth as the key gender and/or social groups of NAADS’s target group. Qualitative analysis was used to establish, in more general terms, the level of response and/or involvement of women, men and youth in regard to attending sub-county NAADS related training activities and joining the NAADS affiliated farmer groups. The level of response and/or involvement was established via self-rating by informants on a scale from high to very low. First, comparison was done between women and men as gender groups, irrespective of age. This is followed by comparison by age (i.e. between youth and adult members) irrespective of their gender. Subsequent to this, further analysis involving controlling for gender was done to assess whether the relative marginalization of youth was greater for any gender category (i.e. male or female).

Status of response to and/or involvement in Sub-county NAADS activities by gender

Excepting a few dissenting voices, the common view from qualitative interviews³⁵⁸ was that women had, on the whole, responded to NAADS related activities in their respective communities³⁵⁹ more than men. Commonly informants in qualitative interviews described women’s response and /or involvement in such activities as high and only rarely as moderate. This assessment was often based on the purportedly higher numbers of women in the NAADS affiliated farmer groups and to, a large extent, on their high attendances in the NAADS related training activities in their respective communities.

For the part of the men, with some exceptions, informants in qualitative interviews generally described their response to and/ or involvement in NAADS activities as low or at best

³⁵⁸ Including key informants, community meetings and meetings with members of farmer groups.

³⁵⁹ As used in this study community refers to local-level administrative units i.e. parish or village.

modest. The range of informants nearly always rated men’s response and/ or involvement (as) below that of women. This was especially in regard to belonging to the NAADS affiliated farmer groups. In fact information available in records for the first three years in Wakisi sub county supports this view although not necessarily in Kasawo’s case (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1: Official statistics on the number and gender composition of NAADS affiliated farmer groups in the first four NAADS sub counties in Mukono district during the first three years (i.e. 2001/02 to 2003/04).³⁶⁰

Sub county	Number of farmer groups in place	Number of registered farmer groups	Total number of members in the farmer groups	Total number group members by gender**	
				Male members	Female members
*Kasawo	91	61	1005	576 (57.3%)	429 (42.7%)
Kyampisi	73	61	1008	465 (46.1%)	543 (53.9%)
Nakisunga	97	60	199	68 (34.2%)	131 (65.8%)
*Wakisi	120	109	2503	1046 (41.8%)	1457 (58.2%)
TOTAL	381	291	4715	2155	2560

Source (with modification): Mukono district NAADS Programme, Proceedings of Mukono district Annual Review Workshop (2003/2004).

*Case study sub counties.

**Figures in parentheses are percentages.

This information should, however, be treated with caution as such records did not necessarily reflect the situation on the ground. As noted already (Chapter 2) information in the official records regarding the number of community members belonging to the NAADS affiliated farmer groups often differed from what was usually known among the community-level programme implementers or community members generally. This appears to have been the situation in Kasawo sub county where, as shown in Table 5.1, available records show a relatively higher number of men in the farmer groups than women. These inconsistencies may reflect a dynamic situation on the ground (with memberships changing faster than records) but it is perhaps also a product of laxity or inadequate capacity on the part of NGOs mandated to carry out farmer institutional development activities within the sub counties.³⁶¹ This indeed was my experience in the two sub counties. I observed relatively more commitment among (staff of) the participating NGO in Wakisi sub county to the memorandum of understanding with the sub county (NAADS) administration than the participating NGO (staff) in Kasawo sub county.³⁶² However, regarding attendance in training

³⁶⁰ It notable that the number of ‘registered’ farmer groups is somewhat smaller than the number of farmer groups that were actually ‘identified’ to be in place at the time. Usually, as a first step in farmer institutional development, the participating NGO had to verify the number of farmer groups in place taking note of those that had previously been registered as well as those that had not been registered. As explained in Chapter 2 to be able to qualify for registration with their respective Sub county NAADS administration the farmer groups had to meet certain requirements. Also, it is clear from this table that the group membership of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups is quite small (about 16 members per group in Kasawo and 23 members a group in Wakisi). Apparently, the farmer groups under NAADS are meant to be of a fairly small size –an official information suggested that farmers were advised to form groups of not more than 30 members. However, as can be seen from the examples of the farmer groups presented in this chapter, some are actually much smaller while others are much larger than this.

³⁶¹ Under a memorandum of understanding with the Sub county NAADS Administration.

³⁶² However, the absence of reliable information in Kasawo Sub county may also have been in part because of changing the participating NGO (i.e. World Vision Area Development Programme) after the first round of farmer institutional development activities. Apparently after the first round some staff of the NGO (including the NGO Programme Coordinator)

meetings on agricultural related topics, men were on occasion reported to have attended more than the women. This scenario was reported relatively more frequently in villages within Wakisi sub county compared to Kasawo sub county (as is elaborated in section 5.3.2).

Indeed the finding from the qualitative interviews with regard to the generally higher response and/or involvement of women in NAADS activities is confirmed quantitatively by self-reported data (Table 5.2). The results of cross tabulation and chi-squared (X^2) analysis show significant differences in the proportions of the members of the two genders on all the measures of contact with NAADS activities, with women having more contact than men. In both sub counties women especially had a higher presence in the NAADS affiliated farmer groups ($p=0.01$).

The importance of membership in NAADS affiliated farmer groups and (perceived) contact with NAADS was further indicated by a side analysis which showed a significant difference between the perception of members and that of non-members of NAADS affiliated farmer groups with respect to contact with NAADS based on the other measures (Table 5.3, Appendix 8). This has important implication for inclusion in the NAADS since NAADS hopes to deliver farmer empowerment (especially by way of a collective voice) via farmer institutions, starting with grassroots farmer groups.

Also higher proportions of women attended the training activities under NAADS in both Kasawo sub county ($p=0.01$) and Wakisi sub county ($p=0.05$) than men. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that male respondents established contact with NAADS more through attending training meetings than they did through membership in farmer groups, as indicated in Table 5.2. This was in agreement with the information from qualitative interviews (the key informants especially) which indicated that men were attracted to NAADS more by the training offered on agriculture-related topics but were less interested in joining farmer groups. The possible reasons for this state of affairs are discussed in section 5.3.

Awareness about the NAADS activities was stronger among female respondents in Wakisi sub county ($p=0.01$). The result for Kasawo sub county was similar, though the strength of association was less strong statistically ($p=0.1$). Based on self-rating, female respondents in both sub counties expressed greater connection with NAADS activities than male respondents. About 73% female and only 42% male respondents in Kasawo sub county rated their level of contact with the NAADS activities as 'fairly high' or 'high'. In Wakisi sub county 57% of female respondents and 41% of male respondents rated contact with NAADS activities as 'fairly high' to 'high'.

was transferred. Reportedly, this made it difficult for the Subcounty NAADS Administration to engage the NGO in the second round of these activities. However after the second year the Sub county NAADS Administration signed a new MoU with the previous NGO which thereafter continued implementing these activities in the sub county. Yet in Wakisi the same NGO (i.e. Sasakawo Global 2000) had since been responsible for implementing the farmer institutional development activities under a similar arrangement.

Table 5.2: Contact with NAADS activities and satisfaction with services by gender

Measures on contact and satisfaction	Kasowo sub county			Wakisi sub county			Total sample		
	Female n=120 (%)	Male n=180 (%)	X ²	Female n=131 (%)	Male n=169 (%)	X ²	Female (n=251) (%)	Male n=349 (%)	X ²
Membership of NAADS affiliated farmer group	75.0	33.3	50.00** *	64.9	38.5	20.61** *	69.7	35.8	67.00** *
Awareness of NAADS activity	92.5	85.6	3.37*	88.5	75.1	8.61***	90.4	80.5	11.07** *
Attendance in NAADS training activity	85.0	63.9	16.04** *	70.2	56.2	6.18**	77.3	60.2	19.45** *
Self-rating on contact with NAADS			35.95** *			10.48**			41.00** *
High	48.3	19.4		23.7	11.8		35.5	15.8	
Fairly high	24.2	22.8		32.8	29.6		28.7	26.1	
Low	13.3	18.9		13.7	14.2		13.5	16.6	
No contact at all	14.2	38.9		29.8	44.4		22.3	41.5	
	n=89	n=92		n=77	n=78		n=166	n=170	
Self-rating on satisfaction with NAADS services			Ns			7.42**			5.30*
Satisfied	37.1	32.6		36.4	21.8		36.7	27.6	
Fairly satisfied	51.7	53.3		59.7	64.1		55.4	58.2	
Not satisfied	11.2	14.1		3.9	14.1		7.8	14.1	

Ns: not significant; *significant at 0.1; **significant at 0.05; ***significant at 0.01

A much smaller number of the respondents for both gender groups responded to the question that required self-rating on satisfaction with the NAADS services in the two sub counties (Table 5.2). This was because this question applied only to respondents who claimed to have been in contact with NAADS activities and who, at the same time, were able and /or willing to assess their level of satisfaction with NAADS services. My experience in administering the questionnaire showed that this was not easy for some respondents especially those who felt that their contact with NAADS activities was just meagre. Whereas everything possible was done to ensure that the respondents express their honest opinion one cannot rule out completely that some of these respondents were uncomfortable to judge a government programme negatively in an interview situation. Things were not helped by the general feeling that NAADS had not delivered much tangible benefits, particularly in as far as it did not provide for financial assistance or material inputs thus far (as detailed in section 5.3.3).

All together these factors might render the results of less consequence statistically. Nonetheless this analysis may still provide some useful insights regarding satisfaction with the NAADS services among the gender groups. In Wakisi sub county female respondents expressed higher satisfaction with the NAADS services than male respondents ($p=0.05$) whereas in the case of Kasawo sub county the difference between the genders was not significant. Note, however, that overall a majority of both the female and male respondents in each of the two sub counties was at least 'fairly satisfied' with NAADS ($p=0.1$). This may be understandable in a situation where many farmers had not had much contact with extension in the past.

Involvement in sub-county NAADS activities by age

A similar analysis was carried out for involvement of NAADS target group members by age. Again, both qualitative and quantitative data were examined. For the quantitative analysis comparison was made between youth (< 36 yrs) and adult members (> 35 yrs). Almost without exception, the general view from the qualitative interviews in both sub counties was that the response of the youth (both in terms of attitude and physical involvement) to NAADS related activities was low or very low. Especially in relation to belonging to the NAADS affiliated farmer groups the response of youth was said to be lower than adults (whether male or female).

Evidence for this general opinion was to be found when the data was subjected to quantitative analysis (Table 5.3). Disengagement of youth was especially marked in the case of Wakisi sub county. With the exception of awareness about NAADS activities, cross tabulation and Chi-squared(X^2) analysis for Wakisi sub county showed significant differences between the two age groups on three measures of contact with NAADS. The analysis indicated that adults (>35 years) had higher presence in farmer groups ($p= 0.01$) and higher attendance in training activities ($p= 0.01$) when compared to youth (<36 yrs). Equally, based on informant self-rating, the adult respondents expressed significantly greater contact with NAADS activities ($p= 0.01$) compared to youth. More than half (54%) of adult respondents rated their level of contact with NAADS activities as fairly high to high compared to 36% of youth rating contact at this level. Nonetheless it is worth noting that a good proportion of respondents (49%) among youth and about 33% among adults said they had until this time had no contact with NAADS activities at all.

In the case of Kasawo sub county, however, there were significant age-related differences only for membership status in NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. Adults were more likely than youths to belong to farmer groups ($p=0.05$). Here, too, a relatively high proportion of respondents stated that they had 'no contact at all' with NAADS activities thus far, about 32% among the youth and 27% within the adults.

As regards satisfaction with NAADS services, significant differences were observed only in the case of Wakisi sub county ($p=0.1$) with, surprisingly, the youth perceiving themselves to have been somewhat more satisfied. This, however, may mostly be a matter of differences

between the level of expectations of youth and adults. The adult members may have had higher expectations from the services offered by NAADS especially considering their seemingly greater investment in participating in NAADS activities.

A side analysis based on the official age definition of youth (<31 years) was undertaken (Table 5.4, Appendix 9). This analysis showed an (almost) similar pattern regarding the differences in contact with NAADS activities (as for the 35 year age cut-off point) for Wakisi sub county and the combined sample. However for Kasawo sub county the age-based difference on all criteria was small and statistically insignificant. It is notable, however, that at this low age cut-off the youth in Wakisi Sub county expressed a rather higher satisfaction level with NAADS service compared to that at the upper age cut-off (<36 years).

Table 5.3: Respondent's contact with NAADS activities and satisfaction with its services by age group in the two case study sub counties

Measures on contact and satisfaction	Kasawo Sub-county			Wakisi Sub-county			Total sample		
	≤ 35 n=115 (%)	>35 n=185 (%)	X ²	≤35 n=100 (%)	>35 n=200 (%)	X ²	≤35 n=215 (%)	>35 n=385 (%)	X ²
Membership of NAADS affiliated farmer group	41.7	55.1	5.09* *	36.0	57.0	11.76 ***	39.1	56.1	16.01** *
Awareness of NAADS activity	88.7	88.1	Ns	79.0	82.0	Ns	84.2	84.9	Ns
Attendance in NAADS training activity	68.7	74.6	Ns	52.0	67.5	6.82***	60.9	70.9	6.25**
Self-rating on contact with NAADS			Ns			9.80**			10.16**
High	23.5	35.7		11.0	20.0		17.7	27.5	
Fairly high	27.0	21.1		25.0	34.0		26.0	27.8	
Low	17.4	16.2		15.0	13.5		16.3	14.8	
No contact at all	32.2	27.0		49.0	32.5		40.0	29.9	
	n=62	n=119		n=38	n=117		n=100	n=236	
Self-rating on satisfaction with NAADS services			Ns			5.00*			Ns
Satisfied	32.3	36.1		31.6	28.2		32.0	32.2	
Fairly satisfied	58.1	49.6		68.4	59.8		62.0	54.7	
Not satisfied	9.7	14.3		0.0	12.0		6.0	13.1	

Ns: not significant; *significant at 0.1; **significant at 0.05; ***significant at 0.01

Table 5.4. Respondent's contact with NAADS activities and satisfaction with its services by age group (at the 30 years age cut-off) in the two case study sub counties

Measures on contact and satisfaction with NAADS	Kasawo Sub county			Wakisi Sub county			Total sample		
	≤ 30 (n=66) (%)	>30 (n=234) (%)	X ²	≤30 (n=65) (%)	>30 (n=235) (%)	X ²	≤30 (n=131) (%)	>30 (n=469) (%)	X ²
Member with NAADS affiliated farmer group			Ns			8.66 ***			9.39 ***
	42.4	52.1		33.8	54.5		38.2	53.3	
Awareness of NAADS activity			Ns			Ns			Ns
	89.4	88.0		76.9	82.1		83.2	85.1	
Attendance in NAADS activity			Ns			7.57 ***			8.96 ***
	65.2	74.4		44.7	66.4		56.5	70.4	
Self-rating on contact with NAADS			Ns			11.51 ***			13.12 ***
High	21.2	33.8		7.7	19.6		14.5	26.7	
Fairly high	28.8	21.8		23.1	33.2		26.0	27.5	
Low	13.6	17.5		15.4	13.6		14.5	15.6	
No contact at all	36.4	26.9		53.8	33.6		45.0	30.3	
	n=34	n=147		n=22	n=133		n=56	n=280	
Self-rating on satisfaction with NAADS services			Ns			4.99 **			7.40 **
Satisfied	61.8	50.3		18.2	30.8		28.6	32.9	
Fairly satisfied	2.9	15.0		81.8	58.6		69.6	54.3	
Not satisfied	35.2	34.7		0.0	10.5		1.8	12.9	

Ns: not significant; *significant at 0.1; **significant at 0.05; ***significant at 0.01

After the comparisons between the gender groups (irrespective of age) and between the two age groups (irrespective of gender) further analysis entailing controlling for gender was done (Table 5.5). This was to establish whether the relative marginalization of young people (male or female) was greater within any gender category (i.e. male or female). For the female respondents, the analysis revealed significant age-related gender differences in contact with NAADS activities as regards membership in NAADS affiliated farmer groups, attending NAADS trainings and self-rating on contact with NAADS for Wakisi sub county (and for the entire sample, not shown in Table 5.5). The adult females were more in contact with

NAADS than the young females. This, however, was not the situation in Kasawo sub county. Here neither age group within the two genders was more or less marginalized relative to the other on all the other measures of contact; with the exception of self-rating on contact with NAADS activities ($p=0.1$) for which the adult females perceived themselves as more in touch with NAADS than their counter parts. On the other hand age-based gender differences were less observable among the male respondents. In this case significant differences were shown only in relation to membership to NAADS affiliated farmer groups in Wakisi sub county ($p=0.1$) and the combined sample ($p=0.05$) with the adult males having a relatively higher presence in these groups.

Table 5.5: Contact with NAADS activities and satisfaction with NAADS service by age group within the different genders

Measures on contact and satisfaction	Kasawo sub county						Wakisi sub county					
	Young female n=38 (%)	Adult female n= 81 (%)	X ²	Young male n=77 (%)	Adult male n= 104 (%)	X ²	Young female n=49 (%)	Adult female n=81 (%)	X ²	Young male n=52 (%)	Adult male n=116 (%)	X ²
Membership of NAADS affiliated farmer group	68.4	79.0	Ns	28.6	36.5	Ns	44.9	76.5	13.37***	28.8	43.1	3.08*
Awareness of NAADS activity	94.7	91.4	Ns	85.7	85.6	Ns	83.7	91.4	Ns	75.0	75.0	Ns
Attendance in NAADS training activity	84.2	85.2	Ns	61.0	66.3	Ns	55.1	79.0	8.31**	51.9	58.6	Ns
Self-rating on contact with NAADS			5.83*			Ns			9.14*			Ns
High	34.2	54.3		18.2	21.2		16.3	27.2		13.2	17.7	
Fairly high	31.6	21.0		24.7	21.2		24.5	38.3		25.6	26.4	
Low	21.1	9.9		15.6	21.2		14.3	13.6		16.3	16.8	
No contact at all	13.2	14.8		41.6	36.5		44.9	21.0		45.0	39.1	
	n=27	n=61		n=35	n=58		n=20	n=56		n=54	n=117	
Self-rating on satisfaction with NAADS services			Ns			3.91*			Ns			9.23**
Satisfied	33.3	37.7		31.4	34.5		50.0	30.4		24.1	29.9	
Fairly satisfied	51.9	52.5		62.9	46.6		50.0	64.3		72.2	51.3	
Not satisfied	14.8	9.8		5.7	19.0		0.0	5.4		3.7	18.8	

Ns: not significant; *significant at 0.1; **significant at 0.05; ***significant at 0.01

As regards satisfaction with NAADS services, again for the reasons noted earlier the analysis was affected by the much smaller number of the respondents to whom this analysis was applicable (Table 5.5). Nonetheless the analysis seems to give some insights regarding the self-reported satisfaction with NAADS services in this respect. It showed no significant age-based differences among the female respondents for either sub county (and for the entire sample). However, the analysis indicated significant differences within the male respondents in Wakisi sub county ($p=0.5$) and for the total sample ($p=0.5$) and Kasawo sub county ($p=0.1$). This was largely on account of the differences in a majority rating at 'fairly satisfied' for all the three samples, which was also the case with the female respondents, not significant though.

On the basis of this analysis the following points can be made in respect of the two case study sub counties. For Kasawo sub county, there appeared to be no significant difference between youth and adults in relation to contact with NAADS-related training activities. However, concerning contact with NAADS via membership to NAADS affiliated farmer groups the lower level of youth involvement was statistically significant at the upper age cut-off point (i.e. 35 years), but not at the lower age cut-off point (i.e. 30 years). This indeed seemed to have been true for the age-based gender analysis which also showed that neither age group within the two genders was more or less marginalized relative to the other.

In the case of Wakisi sub county, analysis showed a significant difference between the youth and the adults with respect to contact with NAADS through both memberships of NAADS-affiliated farmers groups and attendance in NAADS-related training activities for both the 35 years and 30 years age cut-off points. Moreover the analysis showed that, compared to the adult females, the young females were less in contact with NAADS activities implying possible marginalization of this age group of women farmers. Additionally, unlike the situation in Kasawo sub county, here the young males were somewhat at a greater disadvantage (compared to the adult males) regarding engagement with the NAADS-affiliated farmers groups.

There was also a marked difference in self- rating of age-based level of contact with NAADS, with the adult age group claiming greater contact. This was further reflected within the age-based gender analysis with the adult females showing greater satisfaction with NAADS services compared to their young counter parts. The difference between youth in Kasawo sub county, in terms of inclination to attend sub-county NAADS-related training activities when compared to counterparts in Wakisi sub county is worthy of note. A possible explanation for this somewhat greater inclination among the youth in Kasawo sub county might be the local response to the NAADS campaign, 'farming as a business'. From my early experience the Kasawo population was enthused by the campaign. In Wakisi sub county, by contrast, many farming communities are quite remote, but in Kasawo sub county communities enjoy better access to urban markets. Possibly, Kasawo youth saw greater opportunity to engage in production for market, thus being motivated to seek knowledge on improved agricultural production methods. A second factor is that youth in Wakisi probably suffer more from

problems of access to land. Land shortage is greater here than in Kasawo sub county (as is elaborated in section 5.3.3).

The analysis did not show any major difference in awareness of NAADS activities by age within the two sub counties. In each sub county 80% (and above) of respondents in both age brackets revealed awareness of at least one or more NAADS- related activities in their respective communities. Nor did the analysis suggest any major age-based differences concerning (self-rated) satisfaction with the NAADS services thus far. A majority of respondents across the sample expressed themselves as ‘fairly satisfied’ with NAADS services.

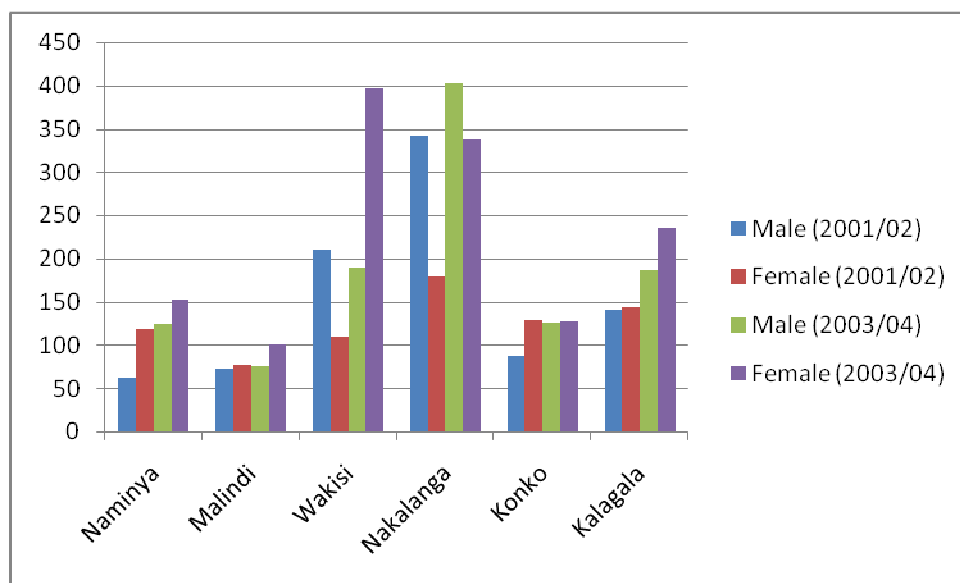


Figure 5.1: Membership in farmer groups by gender for Wakisi sub county

Both interviews and implementation documents in the two sub counties suggested that involvement in NAADS activities by age and gender varied over the years. Whereas response of women appeared to have increased over time that of men and youth seemed to have declined. In the case of Wakisi sub county, for instance, a sketch based on information available in the NGO reports on the farmer institutional development activities for alludes to this trend (Figure 5.1)³⁶³. Although these reports usually lacked specific information on youth, participants in the sub-county NAADS stakeholders’ review meetings consistently noted that the decline in youth enthusiasm and actual involvement in NAADS activities over the years³⁶⁴.

³⁶³ The figures on the vertical scale represent the actual numbers of men and women in the NAADS- affiliated farmer groups in the different parishes for the respective years. This information suggests that the proportion of men in these groups declined from about 55% (i.e. 915) in the first year (2001/2002) of NAADS implementation to about 45% (i.e. 1104) in its third year (2003/04) while that of women increased from about 45% (i.e.755) to 55% (i.e.1350) over the same period.

³⁶⁴ Reporting by participating NGO puts more emphasis on the gender of the participating farmers and less on their age. But the official forms provided by the NAADS in the beginning had a provision for the age of the participating farmers.

Various reasons for the perceived level of response and/or involvement (high or low) in NAADS activities of members of the different social/gender groups (i.e. women, men and youth) were identified (Figure 5.2). These reasons form the main focus of the discussion in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

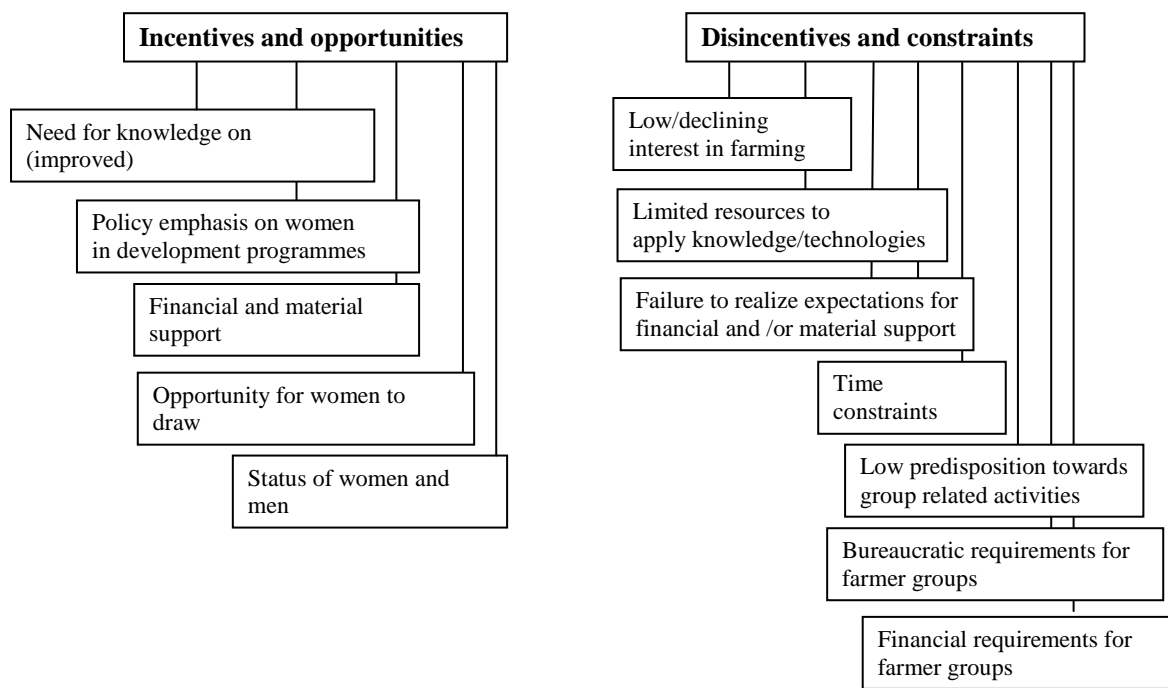


Figure 5.2: Summary of factors explaining the difference in response to and/or involvement in NAADS activities between men, women and youth

5.3.2 Incentives for involvement in NAADS-supported activities

This section presents the main reasons for relative degrees of involvement by the different genders and age groups in NAADS activities. The findings described in this section are based mainly on information from qualitative interviews, complemented by direct observation and review of relevant documents.

Need for knowledge on (improved) agricultural production practices

Frequently the key informants and (ordinary) community members met in both community and farmer group meetings noted that the need for knowledge of improved agricultural production methods was a main incentive for involvement of farmers in NAADS activities. Often times these informants disclosed that farmers needed to apply this new knowledge in the production of various crops and livestock. This way the farmers hoped to be able to realize better production, to meet individual responsibilities and household food and income security. It was usual for the different informants to generalize-that farmers needed more and/or better knowledge and skills for their agricultural activities when discussing this topic. Nevertheless on many occasions (at times with a bit of probing) these informants noted how

the need for knowledge on (improved) agricultural production practices applied to women and men on the basis of their specific farming and household responsibilities.

Women

For women, the search for knowledge of improved production practices was, first and foremost, associated with their greater role in farming activities, and in particular to their responsibilities for household food security (cf. Isubikalu, 2007). Additionally, it was frequently mentioned that the role of women in securing the general wellbeing of their households had increased over time. For instance, besides traditional reproductive (child bearing and raising) and productive (food cultivation) roles key informants often reported that women were increasingly also called upon to contribute to the education of their children e.g. by paying fees and attending school meetings.³⁶⁵ In certain situations women claimed to undertake more responsibilities of this sort than their husbands. This was more commonly reported by women with polygamous husbands. It was often claimed that such men abandoned responsibilities, including education of their children. In such cases wives had no option but to make good the lack. It is for such reasons that some key informants regarded women as being more committed to family welfare than male partners. Equally, key informant interviews and community meetings drew attention to situations of extreme misfortune, where, for example, a widowed or single woman might have to support a family single handed. Such women seized any opportunities for income generation, and this was said to be a factor in attracting such people to NAADS-supported training activities for better agricultural production.

Opinion regarding higher involvement of women in training activities (linked to family welfare activity) is reflected in the following sets of comments from two people - a woman in Kasawo sub county and a community mobiliser in Wakisi sub county, respectively:

Women are more involved in the trainings, they need the knowledge to be able to apply it and solve farming related problems and needs, especially to ensure food security for their households. Also many men tend to leave this [farming] responsibility to the women. Others leave all matters concerning the well-being of their families to their wives, including the education of the children, some just provide fees and leave the rest to the women.³⁶⁶

Women are more active in attending training activities than the men....they bear greater responsibility for the welfare of families, especially feeding and educating the children. They want to get knowledge for improving household food security and incomes; they also want to pass on such knowledge to their children.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Richards et al. (2004) in a social assessment study in Post-war Sierra Leone also report that women attended school meetings concerning the progress and welfare of their children even though they faced time-related hardship with attending meetings related to mobilizing community action.

³⁶⁶ Woman while in attendance in key informant interview with his husband in Kabimbiri parish. The husband agreed with his wife's observation.

³⁶⁷ Male key informant, sub county community mobiliser.

Apparently, women felt it their obligation to initiate their children (especially the girls) into future agricultural production roles by passing on to them necessary knowledge and skills as part of their upbringing and socialization process.

In fact the increased responsibility among women in relation to provisioning for the welfare for their households was also commonly reflected in the aspirations of women, as manifest in the objectives and activities of several female farmer groups. This is evident within a women-only (farmer) group in Wakisi sub county (Box 5.1).³⁶⁸ This group is important not so much because it pre-exists NAADS but more for the aspiration and commitment among the members to self-improvement as well as the improvement of their households generally through joint effort. Certainly this group was not typical of a normal group formed by women either within or prior to the NAADS. This indeed was reflected in the name of their group, namely *Jangu Tukole Women's Group*.³⁶⁹ In a meeting the members cited access to micro credit from their group as the main benefit especially because they were able to invest the loaned money in individual income-generating activities. Almost all of the members said that they had at one point used the income from such income generating activities to pay school fees for their children. It is perhaps for this reason that in the opinion of many the savings and credit scheme was the single most important feature of the group. It is remarkable that the benefits the members of this group had realized were an inspiration for others to form groups. For example, a youth farmer group in a neighbouring village (discussed in section 5.3.3) stated in a focus group meeting that they were inspired to come together by the benefits the members of this women's group had attained. They particularly singled out benefits arising from the savings and credit scheme within the women's group. It is significant that the experience of this (women's) group offers a clear opportunity for NAADS to build upon and nurture the pre-existing social capital if it were to achieve genuine and lasting farmer empowerment. As Richards et al. (2004) suggest, farmer demands (on government and private-services) are likely to be better expressed if organized around genuine collective interests, such as self-initiated resource mobilisation in this case.

Box 5.1: A women's group for child and household welfare

This women's group began in 1995, several years before NAADS. It was formed to help its members mobilize financial resource through an informal savings and credit scheme. This also included a need to instill a savings culture among the women members.³⁷⁰ In addition, members engaged in joint (income-generating) farming activities. Different from many other groups (including groups that predated NAADS) this group was unusually large, with up to 60 members (including 15 female youths) and was parish-wide in nature.³⁷¹ Most group members had attained some formal education,³⁷² with

³⁶⁸ In Wakisi parish

³⁶⁹ '*Jangu Tukole*' is a Luganda phrase for 'let us come and work together'.

³⁷⁰ The group operated a group bank account for the savings and credit scheme as the leadership interested and assisted interested members to open their individual bank accounts with time.

³⁷¹ This was different from most predominantly female groups encountered in the sub-county; the others were smaller and often consisted of members from a single village or village group.

³⁷² With majority (of the 19 members present) having attended primary school at Primary One to Primary Five.

five of them having educational attainment of Primary Seven and up to four members having completed secondary school education of Ordinary (Certificate) level. Most members were aged between 25 and 60 years, with a majority above 35 and of 44 years on average.

Reportedly, prior to NAADS, the group had registered with the Mukono District Gender and Community Development Department, giving a formal status to a previously informal women's group. The group affiliated with NAADS in 2004, on registering with the sub-county NAADS Office³⁷³ with its central objective remaining improvement of the welfare in the households of its members. On registering with the with the Sub county NAADS Office, they identified crops and livestock farming as the group's main enterprise, while also continuing to engage in a joint income generating farming activities³⁷⁴ and the savings and credit scheme.³⁷⁵ They also had future plans for engaging in joint craft and livestock activities.

Source: Meeting with group members, Kasawo sub county, 24/10/2004

Men

Men were more attracted to training activities than to joining farmer groups, and this was almost always linked to their interest in acquiring knowledge of NAADS-promoted income-generating agricultural enterprises. Despite the growing role of women in contributing to household income security men frequently acknowledged that they had primary responsibility for meeting household income needs.³⁷⁶ Thus promotion of income-generating agricultural enterprises under NAADS's 'farming as a business' campaign proved a good opportunity for involvement of men. Some men noted that this had generated their renewed interest in farming. Their ability to engage in such enterprises was commonly said to be enhanced by their better resource endowment, chiefly greater access to land (compared to women). Key informants several times remarked that quite a number of men had previously been involved in major traditional cash crops such as coffee and banana, and livestock. These were identified via farmers' participatory planning exercises in the early days of NAADS. Men were also generally believed to have better finances to engage in some of the more recent income-generating enterprises, notably vanilla and dairy cattle, both of which were targeted by the NAADS drive to promote profitable new agricultural enterprises. In Kasawo sub county a woman³⁷⁷ commented:

It is the men who own animals, so they need knowledge on animal production. They are also better able to engage in production of new enterprises such as vanilla.³⁷⁸

³⁷³ It was learnt in a meeting with the group members that the delay in registering with Sub-county NAADS Office partly arose because of lack of adequate information regarding registering groups under the NAADS. The members disclosed that they were initially not sure if it was necessary for them to registered their group again since it had been registered already with the Department of Gender and Community Development.

³⁷⁴ They had so far been involved in joint production of maize, beans and hot pepper.

³⁷⁵ The group's savings and credit scheme had by this time attained a formal status.

³⁷⁶ This was the emphasis of a woman Parish Councilor for the Elderly in Nakalanga parish in Wakisi sub county.

³⁷⁷ Formerly a parish representative for Kakukulu parish on the interim Sub-county farmer forum.

³⁷⁸ See chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the 'vanilla boom'

Because of the general focus of sub-county NAADS training activities on enterprises that seemed to favour men (because of their better resource endowment) some key informants felt that the main beneficiaries of NAADS so far had been adult men (rather than women or youth).

Policy emphasis on targeting women in development programmes

Quite frequently the various informants attributed the relatively high response and/or involvement of women to the NAADS activities to government policy that had, over the years, put emphasis on targeting women in all its (development) programmes. It is worth mentioning here that tendency for women to become more responsible for meeting family basic needs (beyond their traditional roles) was often associated in discussions with the government policy of affirmative action towards women. Actually this view was common among both women and men. This policy initiative involved, among other things, sensitizing women about both their gender roles and rights something that women often felt proud of. It was common during key informant interviews - especially among women leaders in the two sub counties - to make statements like “women have been liberated so they now go out for training activities more than before”. Even though this view was mostly expressed by women in local leadership positions it was also on some occasions voiced by ordinary women. This was especially in relation to the benefits women had begun to realize from membership in their respective farmer groups. In Kasawo sub county, in a meeting with members of a predominantly women farmer group³⁷⁹ a relatively young woman remarked:

We as women can now stand up and speak in a public meeting ...even if there are a hundred people.

It was a familiar among women, when talking about their increased exposure to activities outside their immediate homesteads, to say we were brought out of the kitchen or courtyard. The positive effect of exposing women to programmes focused on gender issues and participation of women in development activities has been recorded in other studies also. For instance, during the short-lived Village Level Participatory Approach (VLPA) experience in the late 1990s the difference in response of women in four of the VLPA districts covered in the beneficiary assessment study (World Bank, 2000) was partly attributed to the differences in the level of contact of women with intervention agencies addressing gender issues. Generally, it was noted that women were likely to respond to extension or development activities where they viewed themselves as being targeted specifically.

On the other hand, it significant note that although less frequently mentioned the emphasis on women in the NAADS (as a special interest group) seemed to have been at times interpreted by at least some of the men as “putting less attention on the men”. This, for example, was the strong opinion of a by-passing man in one of the parishes in Kasawo sub county who intervened during a key informant interview with a woman LC1 member.³⁸⁰ He observed that:

³⁷⁹ This was a mixed group comprising 13 women, one adult man and 5 youths (of whom 3 were females).

³⁸⁰ The key informant was the wife (Kakukulu parish, Kasawo sub county).

Although some men may have lost interest in farming due to various constraints (such as lack of a good market price), men are given less attention, NAADS emphasizes women, mostly.

A comparable scenario is alluded to in the VLPA beneficiary assessment report (ibid.) where it is noted that VLPA was perceived by some men as having paid more attention to the needs of women. These remarks tell us more about male (-culturally influenced-) attitudes in rural Uganda than actual programme biases.

Financial and material support

The need for and expectation of financial and/or material support was commonly mentioned to have been a key incentive by all the three main social/gender categories in their response to the NAADS-supported activities, albeit to somewhat different extents. Details on the level of expectation during the early days of NAADS are presented in Chapter 3. For the purposes of the current section suffice it to mention some specific examples by age and gender.

Men

While discussing men's motivation during a community meeting in Kasawo sub county one of the participants noted:

...men have also learnt the trick from the women...of joining groups in order to access external assistance.³⁸¹

Other evidence indicated that a few farmer groups in which men predominated had organized themselves in clear expectation of receiving financial assistance from NAADS (or Government). In Kasawo sub county one such group was organized around banana and vanilla enterprise.³⁸² The group reported that it comprised mostly former members of a local branch of a male-dominated farmers' association (MUDFA). Apparently the members mobilized themselves (and a few others, including women and youth)³⁸³ to form a group in preparation for the coming of NAADS. This was because they anticipated assistance from the NAADS, as reflected in one of their stated objectives:

To respond to the government's call for 'cooperation' to be able to get assistance through the farmer group.

A further typical example of such a farmer group from Wakisi sub county has been discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.2).

³⁸¹ In Kasana parish.

³⁸² This group was resident in Kabimbiri parish.

³⁸³ This group was formed in 2001 and affiliated with the sub-county NAADS office in 2002 (with the coming of NAADS). It comprised 15 members (10 men, 2 women, 2 male youths and one female youth). Of six members present in my meeting with the group, ages ranged from 30 to 48 years (averaging 39 years).

Women

The greater response to and involvement in NAADS activities of women was, at times, directly linked to their hope of getting financial and/or material assistance. Women, in particular, had often accessed financial or material assistance (e.g. seed and other planting materials and animals) from external sources through (community-based) women's groups.³⁸⁴ This indeed was a common view in Kasawo sub county. For example in a community meeting in another parish³⁸⁵ a participant noted:

...women also expected some financial assistance and material inputs...they are used to getting assistance through their groups.

This implies that women were also expecting this kind of support from NAADS, (possibly) given its requirement for farmers to organize into groups. The expectation is that groups are synonymous with input supply to farmers.

In Wakisi sub county, for example, several key informants referred to the established practice of women getting financial assistance on the basis of group activities as one of the reasons why some women expected similar assistance through the NAADS affiliated farmer groups. In addition, the hope of accessing support through NAADS-affiliated farmer groups was enhanced among women by NAADS' specific emphasis on targeting women (as discussed above). As a matter of fact there were several examples of women-only or predominantly women farmer groups in both case study sub counties formed primarily to tap external support (for further examples see chapter 3, section 3.2).

Youth

The case of youth is perhaps even more indicative in this regard. In the few instances where youth were reported to have been seriously involved in NAADS, in its days, the initial motivation was nearly always said to be anticipation of financial and/or material support. Some informants referred also to the relatively high attendances by youth at training meetings or noted their high numbers in farmer groups at a time when refreshments were still regularly supplied.

In Kasawo sub county, there were two parishes in particular where youth were initially enthusiastic about joining.³⁸⁶ Sharing the experience in her parish³⁸⁷ during a key informant interview a woman (a member of Local Council 2) indicated that:

³⁸⁴ Before and during NAADS implementation some interventions involved supply of financial and/or material support or services to communities in Kasawo sub county through existing or purposively-formed community groups, mostly focusing on women (for example, the World Vision Area Development Program; micro finance activities by FINCA and UWESO, and the Community HIV and AIDS (CHAI) programme).

³⁸⁵ Kabimbiri parish.

³⁸⁶ Namaliri and Kabimbiri parishes.

³⁸⁷ Namaliri parish.

...many male youth - mostly those who were involved or interested in the production of passion fruits and other horticultural crops - rushed to register their groups in anticipation of financial support to buy inputs.

Similarly, in Wakisi sub county, a former LC3 secretary for the youth³⁸⁸ observed that better attendance by youth in the early days of NAADS was witnessed when refreshments and a small attendance allowance was still being offered at training meetings. A comparable finding is documented in Obaa et al. (2005) from a study conducted in three sub counties in the same district.³⁸⁹ Many of these youths are asset-poor, and seize any opportunity if it provides minor benefits while offering hope of dealing with their major problem of lack of capital and other resources.

Some youths were clear about expecting financial assistance via NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. A meeting with a group in Kasawo sub county organized around production of vegetable crops as their main enterprise revealed lack of adequate financial resources to be their single most important weakness.³⁹⁰ They were honest enough to say that because of this they expected any possible support from the NAADS. Indeed in an earlier discussion with some of the leaders of group they stated that one of key challenges was of not being able to satisfy the individual members' expectations from the group.

From the foregoing, despite some age and gender-based differences of intensity and scope of need and expectations a focus on NAADS as an answer to lack of affordable inputs was a cross-cutting issue affecting all groups within the target group. This was reinforced by a general legacy of previous development agencies (both governmental and non-governmental, including extension and research) which involved material-like supplies to farmers and communities. This reality comes most clearly from the comment of an elderly chairman of a farmer group in Wakisi sub county who in reference to the declining self-reliance within communities (due to increasing dependency on external assistance) once remarked "...we now prefer being given instead of working for ourselves"³⁹¹ Thus as a study by Parkinson (2008) conducted in different regions of the country shows, this widespread expectation is related to the nature of the NAADS process, to widespread poverty and to a history of intervention characterized by dependency of communities on external support (at times in form of handouts).

³⁸⁸ Also a former member of the interim SFF.

³⁸⁹ Including Kasawo and Wakisi Sub counties, covered in this study. This study was based on the experiences of the first three years of NAADS implementation in the three sub counties.

³⁹⁰ Kigogola parish. The group was reportedly composed of 12 members, 10 of them youth (6 male and 4 female youth) and 2 adult men, according to their age definition of a youth from 18 to 35 years. The youth members joined mostly as couples. The youth members reported to have been involved in vegetable production (individually) long before the coming of NAADS.

³⁹¹ In Naminya parish. The group's chairperson comment was specifically in reference to the challenge previous activities under a NARO project and the SEND-A-COW Programme which purportedly involved material supplies had created for NAADS which primarily focused on advisory services (at least at the time).

Opportunity for women to draw on existing collective culture

A key factor frequently mentioned to have influenced response and/or involvement in NAADS-related activities was the prior existence of a communal culture and previous experience with group related activities. This factor was almost always mentioned to explain women's greater involvement in farmer groups, when compared with men and (male) youth. In general the group approach (used under NAADS) was seen to have given an opportunity to women to draw on and strengthen their pre-existing collective culture, especially as acquired from *munomukabi* associations and other informal group activities. Women members benefited from such informal associations in various ways, but mostly through pooling labour, mobilizing financial resources through informal savings and credit schemes,³⁹² and engaging in various joint income generating activities. Some key informants (men and women) described women as either innovative in using groups for the benefit of members³⁹³ or as being interested in development-related group activities. One community worker in Wakisi sub county remarked that women considered groups profitable. Accordingly, women were often described as being more receptive of and/or active in self-initiated and externally-induced development activities.

My own interaction with women during the individual farmer group survey confirmed a high level of appreciation for the benefits realized (or anticipated) from group membership. This was also often reflected in objectives many of these groups stated (see Table 4.1, Chapter 4). In one case a farmer group comprising mainly women and young people meeting in one of the parishes of Wakisi sub county³⁹⁴ revealed that its main objective was to have opportunity to emancipate women and youth in the community. By way of clarification one woman added that "...through groups, women are able to work and improve their condition".

To emphasize the relatively high inclination among women towards working in groups it was common for key informants and community members to refer to activities by other development agencies in their areas, some of which had used a community-based group approach or development committees to offer services to communities. This was the case in Kasawo sub county, where the NGO-driven Area Development Programme³⁹⁵ used community-based development committees in its approach to the engagement of the rural population. Women were also, at times, described as having a high spirit of voluntarism inspiring them to serve on such committees was a voluntary service to their communities. The group or community-based approaches of such agencies was thought to have strengthened the pre-existing group culture among women who were the main participants (and also often the target group)³⁹⁶ in these programmes. It was thus typical for key informants to say that women also tend to trust one another and their groups tend to last. In

³⁹² Informal Rotating Saving and Credit Associations (RoSCA).

³⁹³ Woman member of a village development committee (VDC) and the LC1 Chairperson in Kabimbiri parish, Kasawo sub county.

³⁹⁴ In Naminya parish. The group consisted of 15 members: 6 women, 6 youth (including 4 male youth) and 3 men.

³⁹⁵ World Vision.

³⁹⁶ For instance, a big component of the World Vision programme focused on welfare activities which targeted primary vulnerable groups notably women and orphaned children especially those afflicted by the HIV/AIDS scourge.

fact, one woman key informant felt that a reason for the relatively low involvement of men in NAADS-affiliated farmer groups in Kasawo sub county was because some men find it difficult to mix with women since most pre-existing groups (prior the coming of NAADS) were typically dominated by women.

Given this history of targeting women through groups it is hard to decide whether these kinds of explanations serve only to ‘essentialise’ a donor-driven tendency or reflect a genuinely independent cultural resource in the women’s domain. The idea that women are “naturally” (or culturally) group-minded is somewhat undermined by the fact that some women-only groups were affected by mistrust arising from absence of accountability by the leaders to members. This tendency seems to have increased when previously self-initiated groups encountered sources of external support. This was particularly a factor in Kasawo sub county where community-based groups had been increasingly transformed by activities initiated by NGOs. A case in point was one of a previously seemingly cohesive self-initiated women’s association in which the autocratic manner in which the chair person conducted the affairs of the group, and lack of accountability to members, especially concerning use of external assistance, led to group disintegration.³⁹⁷



Members of a previously cohesive women’s group that disintegrated with increasing access to external support.

³⁹⁷ This group is resident in Kabimbiri parish. This group was reportedly formed in 1996 several years before the launching of NAADS and became affiliated with the NAADS in 2002. The group, comprising of members of age 35 to 45 years (39 on average) was founded on the basis of familiarity and friendship, and was therefore comprised of women from a defined neighbourhood within the village (*In fact a woman in the village complained to me that she had till then not had opportunity to join a NAADS-affiliated group because the only group she had wanted to join was this particular women’s group whose members had allegedly turned her request down hitherto*). Actually a key requirement for joining the group was a spirit of team work which according to them was necessary for ensuring cohesion among the members). As a matter of fact in a meeting with the group (07/7/2004), some members boasted of ‘enhanced friendship nearly to the level of seeing one another as relatives’, which they revealed to be one of the main benefits from their membership in the group. The group had pooled resources for both social support and income generating activities, (which included among others joint gardening and a mushroom project) with an aim of contributing to the improvement of the livelihoods of the households of the members. They attributed their success with these joint activities to the initial internal cohesion. Reportedly, the group had received some financial assistance towards their mushroom and poultry projects from, among others, the World Vision Area Programme office and the District NAADS Coordinator. It is this increased dependency on external financial support especially from the World Vision Area Development Programme. On affiliation with NAADS the group reportedly sought to ‘develop a collective voice to be able to access external support and a market access for their produce’ but retained their initial objective focused mostly on household welfare improvement (through economic and social support activities). At the time of meeting the group they had so far hosted vegetable and coffee demonstration sites and were at an early stage in establishing a poultry unit initiated within the framework of the sub-county NAADS local poultry community improvement scheme.

It is remarkable that this tendency (of autocratic and unaccountable leaders) within community-based groups (including self-initiated ones) and the consequent breakdown of such groups is quite an extensive phenomena both within Uganda and the East African region generally. In Uganda, for instance, Isubikalu's (2007) study on farmer field schools within the context of agricultural technology generation and extension reveals similar scenarios in community-based or farmer groups (see also Parkinson, 2008³⁹⁸). This is also revealed to be the case in Western Kenya as Kiptot's (2007) adoption study of fertilizer trees promoted through a community-based participatory approach in Western Kenya shows.

Status of women and men in communities

Availability of men and women was commonly noted to have influenced their level of involvement in sub-county NAADS-related activities. This was mentioned in regard to the apparently higher involvement of women in comparison to men. Women were, on the whole, thought to be more readily available in homesteads and villages than men. Thus, notwithstanding restrictions imposed by some social cultural norms being home-based was thought to offer more opportunity to attend NAADS-related activities and other community activities. Men were not as much at home (as will be detailed in section 5.3.3). It is worth mentioning that this was mainly a male viewpoint, held by those involved in implementing sub-county NAADS activities as well as by local leaders. Nevertheless the view was shared by some of the women key informants as well as some ordinary women participating in community meetings. In some parishes, however, greater availability of women was usually linked to the idea that there more women in the population.³⁹⁹

The foregoing section has highlighted some key factors reported as providing, in one way or another, an incentive or opportunity for men, women and (male) youth to respond to and get involved in NAADS-related activities. Generally, women are shown to have had a wider range of incentives potentially motivating higher involvement in NAADS activities compared to men and youth. Apart from expectation and need for financial and /or material support from the NAADS, common across the three groups, the other factors specified mainly or specifically applied to women. The next section identifies and describes disincentives and/or constraints constraining response to and/or involvement in NAADS by men, women and youth.

5.3.3 Disincentives for involvement in NAADS-supported activities

Various disincentives or constraints constitute major reasons for a relatively low response to NAADS activities. Findings derive mainly from qualitative interviews, complemented by personal observations and document review.

³⁹⁸ In her study on 'Learning participation in rural development' (based on the NAADS as a case study) Parkinson (2008) observes, though, that the tendency of 'power abuse' (hence lack of transparency and trust) by leaders was mostly witnessed within weaker groups (i.e. the inactive ones or those at the verge of dissolving) compared to the stronger ones (usually characterized by, among others, unity and a relatively high degree of trust).

³⁹⁹ Available census data shows only a slightly higher number of females than that of males in the two sub counties: 16, 976 female vis-à-vis 16, 620 male in Wakisi sub county and 16, 293 female vis-à-vis 15,520 male in Kasawo sub county (Based on the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census). In some of these parishes in Wakisi a few informants linked the relatively higher number of women to the polygamous Moslem culture.

Low and declining interest in farming

Men

Information from key informants and community meetings linked the growing loss of interest in farming among the men to poor income from farming, notably from coffee and banana, due to disease, and in the case of coffee, poor prices (as detailed in Chapter 4). One woman key informant in Kasawo sub county remarked that because of the drastic decline in production and incomes from coffee sales men no longer see farming as a profitable activity.⁴⁰⁰ Another key informant (from the staff of an NGO operating in the sub-county) was concerned about the different attitude people, especially men, now exhibited towards farming, but also remarked that

on the positive side...men are highly enthusiastic when it comes to...business related activities...[and] they are quite enterprising when it comes to [such] business opportunities.

In Wakisi sub county one of the key informants noted the dilemma facing many men following the decline in coffee production, once the main source income for households. Many men, he reported, found it difficult to adjust to new enterprises. He described men as a conservative group.⁴⁰¹ Several key informants remarked that men did not find time for or give priority to attendance at training activities. They preferred to prioritise other more immediately rewarding activities, such as trading (including buying and selling of produce) and a range of artisan activities. The men who continued to attend NAADS-related training activities attended mostly sessions on the most immediately profitable enterprises, such as vanilla production and dairy cattle. But this activity was then limited to the rather smaller number of men with the financial capacity to engage in such enterprises.

Additionally, it was common for informants to say that men consider farming and food production for the household in particular, a primary responsibility of the woman.⁴⁰² This view was especially prevalent in Wakisi sub county. It was not uncommon, in fact, for informants to describe men as either simply not interested in farming or as lazy or, worse still, as spending most of their time drinking or politicking.

Youth

Almost without exception, the first reason advanced by informants for the low level of response to and involvement of youth in sub-county NAADS-related activities was their (ostensible) general lack of interest in agriculture. Youth were often described, in fact, as having a negative attitude to farming. This perception was especially common among the elderly folk and local leaders. For the most part, youth were said to prefer quick income opportunities. It was then often noted that such activities, by and large, tended to fall outside

⁴⁰⁰ An LC1 Committee member in Kakukulu parish.

⁴⁰¹ This informant was the Chairperson Local Council 2.

⁴⁰² As was emphasized by one of the opinion leaders in Wakisi sub county.

farming. Thus, on account of failing to provide quick returns, farming was deemed no longer to provide a rewarding enterprise for many youth.

Male youth were noted for involvement in important services, particularly transportation (so-called *boda boda* business)⁴⁰³, artisan activities such as brick-making and petty-trade in farm produce. In the case of Wakisi sub county the youth were also commonly reported to have been involved in charcoal-making⁴⁰⁴ and selling farm labour. In addition to availing themselves of every opportunity for quick returns the youth of today were described as being anxious to avoid much sweat and hard labour. Agriculture was too much like hard work. In the opinion of a key informant in Kasawo sub county, because farming gave no opportunity for immediate economic returns youth don't see it as business.

In one community meeting in Wakisi sub county,⁴⁰⁵ several participants (especially women) remarked on what appeared (to them) to have been the core of the growing dislike for farming among the youth. They noted that some youth view farming as a job only fit for the *bakopi*.⁴⁰⁶ Some informants mentioned youth in the age range 10 to 25 years as the category particularly showing no interest in farming. This group of youth reportedly still depended on their parent's income. In one of the parishes a key informant⁴⁰⁷ partly attributed such dependency among this age group to the long tradition of coffee production which in the past provided a good income enabling parents to support their children through education. A related view was that some youth found it unnecessary to attend in farming-related training activities since they as yet had no marital obligations (such as raising children) that required them to earn money.⁴⁰⁸

The experiences of youth themselves may help to clarify their preference for income generating activities that offer quicker returns than farming. A particularly instructive example in Wakisi sub county was that of a group of youths who considered stone mining and brick-making more viable activities compared to what seemed to them as a rather hopeless farming situation.⁴⁰⁹ When asked how they came up with the idea of getting involved into the stone mining project they disclosed that this was an idea they come up after they realized the need for an (alternative) income generating activity. They added that it was

⁴⁰³ This activity was mostly carried out by the (male) youth in both urban and rural areas. It was a main source of livelihood for many youth in Kasawo sub county. Many of those involved in this business rented bikes or rode for wages, usually on a daily basis.

⁴⁰⁴ Charcoal making was reported to have been a main activity for the youth, and men more generally, in the sub-county before a government ban on the use of a nearby forest reserve for farming and other economic activities (timber and charcoal making).

⁴⁰⁵ In Wakisi parish.

⁴⁰⁶ A Luganda term for primitive.

⁴⁰⁷ Apparently this informant (a migrant resident) based this observation on his experiences with youth in this area (Buganda generally) and those in his area of origin in South Western Uganda.

⁴⁰⁸ It is important to note that a similar picture of the youth was reported in Masaka District during the short-lived VLPA experience (see World Bank, 2000, for example).

⁴⁰⁹ This was a predominantly youth group in Nakalanga parish whose members organized around (a self-initiated) income generating project involving stone mining and brick-making activities. The stones were mined from a stone quarry in one of the villages within the parish. The group comprised 45 members (42 male youths and 3 older men). This number included 12 couples. The age of the 11 youth members present in the meeting ranged from 18 to 35 years and on average at 24 years. The three elderly men were 45 years and above. It was formed in 1998, before NAADS.

because of lack of employment that they depended on farming only. Despite some constraints they associated with the stone mining (like limited availability of capital and the erratic nature of sales and payments)⁴¹⁰ they noted several advantages in comparison with farming, including quick returns and fewer risks. On the members explained this during a group interview as follows:

We are able to get some income within a shorter period, at least within a month; by comparison even growing tomato - a short term crop - will take up to at least three months. Also we are able to get a reasonable income and address household needs, including acquiring some assets like animals (such as goats and cattle)...but also there are fewer risks in these activities compared to farming. For example, these activities are not affected by weather...one is assured of some income.

They stated that the extent to which they engaged in each of these two activities (i.e. brick making and stone mining) depended on the availability of market demand for the products of the two activities. They claimed that they were not involved in any farming activities at the time, except for food production. They had, however, previously been involved in some income generating crop production and livestock keeping activities.

The experiences of this youth group underline the rather limited focus of NAADS, with important implications for inclusion of youth. The seemingly increasing loss of interest in farming among youth in the case study sub counties was not an isolated instance, but had apparently, overtime, become national, raising much wider concerns, amounting to moral panic at an apparent refusal of rural youth to address a labouring burden on which the wider society depends. This concern is, for example, reflected in the suggestion by Nuwagaba (2006) that a negative attitude towards agricultural work among youth was one of the impediments to wealth creation in Uganda. The concern about the youth bucking farming among the older generation is understandable, given the long-term importance of farming for food security in rural communities in Uganda.

On the other hand this situation could also point to the possibility of an intergenerational tension between the interests of youth and adults in their respective communities. Contrary to social expectations on youth, youth are increasingly viewed as abandoning their own traditions because they no longer value them.⁴¹¹ However, this perception of the youth is seen by some as failing to consider changed economic realities (see Waldie, 2004, for instance). In this respect, writing on challenging old perspectives, based on the findings from DFID's Natural Resources Systems Programme (NRSP) Youth Livelihoods Study in (parts of) East Africa, Waldie (2004: 6/7) notes that:

⁴¹⁰ With such delayed payments sometimes ending into total loss as for some of the occasions when apparently some of their customers 'disappear forever.' They also acknowledged the risky nature of the stone mining activities (citing possible health risks and fatal accidents).

⁴¹¹ Parkinson calls this phenomenon 'cultural reprogramming' (Pers. Comm.).

Negative stories about young people are commonplace and difficult to challenge. (...). These youth...are either unwilling or unable to work at making a living from farming (...) further the temporary nature of many youth activities and enterprises is seen as reflecting a lack of seriousness and competence.

In a similar vein Waldie (2004) observes that in societies which are governed by principles of age and where control of key resources is expected to remain in the control of older people youth have limited voice and opportunities. Waldie also notes that current development policy continues to focus on the household thereby centring on the lives of adults. This potential intergenerational conflict has indeed been reported in other contexts, for instance, among communities in Europe (Jentsch, 2006). Yet as Jentsch also (ibid: 236) points out, this conflict is sometimes missed in policy debates and policy proposals when it is assumed that meeting the needs of the community is identical with meeting the needs of the young people.

Nevertheless, as Parkinson's experience suggests, the attitude of (rural) youth in Uganda towards farming appeared to differ somewhat in the different regions of the country. In areas, such as the remotely located Kapchorwa district where youth seem to understand the pivotal role of farming in the livelihood of the people in the area they seemed to have generally remained faithful to, valued, and were actively engaged in farming. According to Parkinson (pers. Comm.) in Kapchorwa district youth (30 years and below) were the majority NAADS (including having a high presence in leadership) because they see a lot of economic potential in farming. People in Kapchorwa are generally known for treating agriculture a bit more seriously and are especially famous for production grain crops (notably maize and ground nuts) as well as cereal crops (such as finger millet and wheat). Certainly the situation in the much nearby Mukono district is different with people here generally having more livelihood options, including off-farm sources). Hence the higher likelihood for youth to buck farming in favour off-farm income generating activities which almost always includes migrating to urban centres given the scarcity of such activities in rural areas.

Limited resources to apply knowledge and technologies

Access to and/or control over the relevant means of agricultural production - especially land and finances - was commonly cited as a factor influencing response of youths and women to NAADS-related activities. The range of informants often noted that it was for lack of these resources that youth and women found it hard to apply the knowledge and technologies supplied via NAADS. Equally, the restricted resource status of these groups apparently made it difficult for members of these groups to fit into the NAADS enterprise approach. This approach raised extensive concerns not only about the limited number of enterprises supported but also about their largely extraordinary nature as elaborated below.

Women

In some cases where involvement of women was low a fairly frequent reason was that compared to men, women generally had much more limited access to capital and land. In the case of land, women were often reported to lack full control over land available within their

respective households. Even though a woman (and indeed all members) of the household had customary access to family land, tradition dictated that the ultimate decision-making power lay with the husband. This meant that despite household dynamics (where a skilful or forceful wife might make her presence felt in domestic decision making) the man made key decisions about investment or disposal of landed assets. As could be expected, the problem of poor access to land was even worse than average for certain kinds of women, such as the elderly, the single, or the woman in a polygamous marriage. In general, this prevented women from engaging in the production of certain cash crops (such as vanilla) or certain types of livestock enterprises (owning dairy cattle, for instance). These were restricted to men, because they required substantial land or financial capital. Yet these were in most cases revealed to have been the kind of enterprises selected during the farmers' participatory planning process, especially in the earlier years of NAADS activities in the two sub counties. An elderly woman leader in Wakisi sub county gave a typical account in a key informant interview⁴¹²:

Women are less involved, many don't have enough access to land...land is mostly owned by the men. And some women are in polygamous marriages, such women have small pieces of land. Also other women especially the elderly and single women don't have land. Yet especially in the beginning (NAADS) trainings emphasized men's crops like coffee and vanilla...these didn't attract women because many women don't own land for producing such crops.

Thus women had to conform to the enterprises selected, even if such enterprises were unsuited to their resource endowment. In fact there were several examples of predominantly women farmer groups (often with a few youth) evidently hindered from getting involved in (or expanding their) joint farming activities by lack of access to land, particularly in Wakisi sub county. Stories about the difficulty members of such farmer groups experienced in finding land for rent, or about their problems with land owners were commonplace.

During a meeting with the members of one such group⁴¹³ they told me about the impact of land access problems on their joint group farming activities. They stated that they usually have to rent land and sometimes were stopped by the land owners, who, after seeing that they are benefiting, or after they cleared the land. In a similar meeting in another parish the members disclosed that their efforts to expand their joint maize garden during the on-going season had been hampered by failing to find land to rent even when they had financial resources to do so.⁴¹⁴

Even in the apparently relatively more land-abundant Kasawo sub county some farmer groups reported experiencing land access problems. For example, a meeting of predominantly

⁴¹² A woman Parish Councilor for the Elderly in Nakalanga parish. A recent survey (Green watch, 2007) reports that polygyny is a widespread marital practice within the culture the common tribal groups in areas around River Nile including part of Wakisi Sub County.

⁴¹³ Naminya parish.

⁴¹⁴ The group reported to have informal saving and credit scheme which enable them to mobilize some resources.

women farmers⁴¹⁵ spoke about the troubles they faced when they used land offered by a fellow group member. Allegedly, this member⁴¹⁶ for no clear reason withdrew the tenancy while the crop was still in the garden. This not only caused financial loss to the group but also damaged group cohesion.

It is important that the issue of women's limited land access in these cases be placed in the broader context of generally inadequate access to and control over land by women in Uganda. The magnitude of this issue comes into proper perspective from the findings of a study conducted by Oxfam-GB and FOWODE in 2004⁴¹⁷. The study noted that even although women are estimated to provide 90% of agricultural labour in Uganda only 7% of the agricultural land is under their (direct) control.⁴¹⁸ Their case study in Luweero district suggested that the landless and individuals with small holdings (including married women) were not able to participate in the NAADS activities. Equally a report by the Coalition for Effective Extension (CEED), based on the lessons of the farmer institutional development process under NAADS from three districts⁴¹⁹ after three years of NAADS implementation, emphasizes the importance of ownership and control over resources, notably land, in relation to the influence farmers can exercise over their respective group activities (CEED 2004: 38). Talking specifically about the disadvantaged position of women the report cites a case where a women's group chair needed to beg for land for her group activities from male relatives. It is noted that such a situation inevitably provides chances for men to exert undue influence over women's group affairs. In fact following an evaluation, it was noted that the most important gender concern for the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) was women's lack of ownership and control over land and productive assets (OPM, 2005). Hence it was concluded that men would continue to be better placed than women to benefit from services provided under the PMA (ibid). There is some consensus that land rights are an important issue for rural women in Uganda, and it might be concluded that land reform is a major issue to be addressed if women are to benefit from NAADS-like initiatives⁴²⁰ (see Chapter 2).

As regards scarce financial resources, it was often mentioned that women found it hard to find capital to undertake enterprises such as vanilla and livestock production. Meetings cited the (high) cost of vanilla planting material for example. Similarly, members of a women's savings club stated that their plan for livestock rearing was hindered by lack of the necessary

⁴¹⁵ Namaliri parish.

⁴¹⁶ Apparently this member was one of the few male members of the group.

⁴¹⁷ Forum For Women in Development.

⁴¹⁸ The findings of this study were also reported in *The New Vision*, July 27, 2004.

⁴¹⁹ Conducted in Arua, Soroti and Tororo districts.

⁴²⁰ Other studies on land access and ownership in Uganda (e.g. Tripp 2004; Sebina-Zziwa, 1995; Baland et al., 2007) point to the impact of land inheritance practices – the commonest means to acquire land for the family, especially in Buganda (or Central) region – on women. This system favours sons, under rules of patrilineal devolution. Despite a trend towards land purchases particularly in the Central region, which increases the opportunity for some women to acquire land for their households jointly with their husbands or even in their own right (Sebina-Zziwa, 1995; Baland et al., 2007), the ultimate control over such land largely remains with men. For instance in Sebina-Zziwa's (1995) study, based on samples of households from the four main regions of Uganda, it is reported that of 296 wives interviewed only about 17% (or 50) could claim to own a piece of land of their own. Land ownership by women is somewhat more common in Central region than elsewhere.

capital. Another group wanted to begin a joint piggery but only had resources only to acquire one pig at a time.

One option is for women to lower their sights, and focus on chickens not larger animals. In Kasawo sub county 39% (n=23) of farmer groups covered by the farmer group survey had organized around the local chicken enterprise either as the sole enterprise of interest or in combination with other enterprises. All the three women-only farmer groups and two predominantly women (with some youths) included local chicken as one of their main enterprises. Five out of eight mixed farmer groups (i.e. groups comprising men, women, and youth) also included local chickens among their main enterprises. In two of these cases members had originally organized around dairy cattle as the main enterprise, but the local chicken enterprise was later introduced to cater for the needs of the women members.



Women members of a women's farmer group in Kasawo make a foundation for their poultry structure

Whether this was always a valuable activity can be doubted since apparently many members within these largely women groups did not have local chickens in their households. One women-only farmer group Wakisi sub county⁴²¹ was found to have received an improved cock under the NAADS local poultry improvement programme when some of their members did not even have a single local chicken! After constructing the necessary housing the individual members were supposed to bring a local chicken from their individual household stock - initially one chicken per group member – to benefit from the services of the improved cock. According to group members, it was at this point that they realized not all the members had local chickens to bring to the unit, creating a dilemma in the group. This was a major challenge for members with regard to mobilizing the necessary commitment of members towards maintenance activities, such as labour and feeding of the joint poultry unit.⁴²² This accounted for low motivation and commitment, for the rather obvious reason that not all members could see how they were going to benefit from the improved cock. The chairperson noted that this caused members to lose interest and eventually quit the group. Other examples

⁴²¹ In Wakisi parish.

⁴²² Purportedly, it was, in part, because the low commitment among the group members that the improved cock died.

came to light of poultry projects initiated after attending trainings on improved local poultry that stalled for lack of necessary financial resources.

But it should not be concluded that women lacked interest in NAADS overall. They were often evidently desperate for help in acquiring key inputs, such as improved seed. This is because women have primary responsibility for household feeding. For instance, in Wakisi sub county the survey revealed that ensuring food security of households was a priority objective in 44% of farmer groups (n=27) (see Table 4.1, Chapter4) and these groups were mainly women's groups.⁴²³ Nevertheless this desire for inputs to help with food security sometimes led to unrealistic choices. One women's group found it essential to expand the scope of their objectives through increasing contact with external development agencies, and this led members to state that they had to fit into the NAADS enterprise approach in order to benefit from a collective voice in accessing services.

Youth

Perhaps more than any other factor, the various informants frequently reported the response and/or involvement of the youth in NAADS activities to have been constrained by their limited access to the basic means of agricultural production, namely land and capital. This did not only limit meaningful engagement of youth in farming activities but it equally affected their ability to engage in other preferred income generating activities. As such there were frequent accounts of examples of youth who apparently were interested and some actively involved in farming, albeit amidst resource constraints. Consequently, many youths had to rely on either borrowed or hired land, arrangements that were usually available or could only be afforded on a short-term basis.⁴²⁴

According to several informants, including the youth themselves, the poor resource position of many youth, to a large extent, explained the rather extensive preference by youth for short-duration or quick income generating crops. This opportunity existed within some vegetable and horticultural crops including tomatoes, water melons, cabbages, and passion fruits. Yet, seemingly even these crops required considerable investment in terms of production inputs, especially needed to control pests and diseases prevalent in the production of these crops. On several occasions youth noted that it was almost impossible to grow such crops without spraying because of the high incidence of crop pests and disease in the area. Some of the youths especially in Wakisi sub county were involved in maize growing. But despite requiring a relatively short growing period (compared to the more the traditional perennial cash crops and food crops (such as coffee and banana) maize requires considerable amounts of land which ordinarily was out of reach for most youth.

Some of the key informants explained that lack of access to land and cash was a major reason for a number of male youth to resort to certain off-farm income generating activities, which

⁴²³ This group was reportedly formed in 2000 and became affiliated to the Sub county NAADS office in 2002, the year when NAADS was launched in the sub county. Ten out of the 16 members were women; three were men and three male youth.

⁴²⁴ This arrangement was typically based on the local agricultural season.

they perceived as offering opportunity for quick income. Key among these was providing (rural) transportation services on the motor-bike (popularly the *boda boda* business) and brick making. The issue of limited resources especially land among youth and how this affected their involvement in NAADS activities often generated extended debates during community meetings. One such occasion was during a meeting in Wakisi sub county.⁴²⁵ Discussion on this occasion centred mostly on the disadvantaged position of the youth with respect to allocation of the popular TDSs and/or demos. After an extended debate the participants were united in observing that the youth had been left behind NAADS activities mainly because they lack land. They highlighted the growing frustration among the youth for lack of opportunity for hosting the much desired TDSs/ demos. And that without the prospect of being host to their own TDS/ demo, many of them saw no good reason to attend NAADS training meetings. One woman observed that these youth did not see how they could benefit personally from demos established on their fathers' land.

In Wakisi sub county the already dire land situation was worsened by a (recent) government ban on the residents from using land within a nearby forest reserve. Interviews with key informants revealed that until the time of this outlaw many residents in the neighbouring communities, including youth, depended on land within this forest reserve to produce several food and cash crops. And that besides the need for physical access to land, people in the area preferred forest land for its relatively better fertility status compared to land within the mainstream villages, which had been farmed for decades. Both the key informants and the youth themselves noted that this ban affected the youth more than the rest.

There were actually several examples of youth in the two sub counties who (either individually or in groups) were actively involved in farming (some in innovative ways) amid resource constraints. In Kasawo sub county, for example, an edifying case was that of a NAADS-affiliated youth farmer group⁴²⁶ who organized around vegetable and horticultural crops as their main enterprises of interest (Box 5.3). In a meeting with the group their leaders disclosed that one of their objectives was to change the bad image of the youth within the community. They noted that (especially) the adult folk and community leaders perceived youth negatively. They explained that there was a common perception that today's youth have a peculiar dislike for work, and farming in particular.

The main on-going activity within the group at the time was a joint vegetable garden planted with cabbage and water melon. The members revealed that this garden served as demonstration site and venue for joint learning about good agronomic practices. Their idea was that the members would then be able to apply the same on their individual gardens. They confided that although the idea of the demo was their own initiative the seed they had planted on their shared vegetable garden was availed to them by the SFF Chairperson.

⁴²⁵ In Wakisi parish.

⁴²⁶ In Kabimbiri parish.

Interaction with the group raised (my) curiosity to know a bit more about their individual farming activities. I learnt that members were individually involved in a range of income generating farming activities. These included production of vegetable (i.e. egg plants, water melon, and cabbage), vanilla and banana as well as rearing of local chicken, pigs and cattle. These youth, including two school-going male youths were engaged in some long term enterprises notably production of vanilla and cattle rearing.⁴²⁷ Further probing aimed at learning more about the experiences of the two school-going young men with such normally adult dominated enterprises revealed that they actually talked from real practical experience! They disclosed that by getting involved in such long term enterprises they wanted to secure long-term income security. The engagement of these youths in farming with such long term objectives challenges the widely held view of the temporary nature of many youth activities and enterprises (See Waldie, 2004, for example). According to Waldie (ibid: 7) such a perception of youth suggests a lack of seriousness and competence among the youth.



A (secondary) school-going young man attending to his vanilla crop grown on their family land

Despite the many optimistic aspects (such as the positive and innovative out look to farming) among the group, these youths were no exception to the general plight of youths in the area – that of inadequate access land and capital. This reality came to light as they shared experiences with their joint farming activities, indicating that most of all them lack access to land and capital needed to acquire the necessary inputs like chemicals and spraying pump. Yet it is difficult to grow vegetable and horticulture crops without spraying. This was considered as the main limitation to their joint farming activities. More generally, they underlined that the youth in the area were interested in farming but were mainly constrained by lack of access to capital and land, something which had resulted into low interest exhibited by many youth towards farming.

⁴²⁷ The two youngest school-going male youth were 15 and 17 years old, reportedly in Senior two and three respectively. All the members present reported to have been involved in vanilla production at the time. They also reported to have attended in several training sessions on such enterprises as banana, cattle, vanilla as well as attending in the participatory planning exercises in their parish.

Box 5.3: Striving to change the bad image of the youth amidst resource constraints

This group was a predominantly male youth farmer group, consisting of 10 members (7 male and 3 female youth).⁴²⁸ Initially the group had 18 registered members before some lost interest on failing to realize the anticipated benefits. Their age ranged from 15 to 27 years, with majority of them below 25 years and 21 years on average. For one to qualify to join the group one had to be a youth (i.e. male or female) between 18 to 35yrs. This requirement was, however, less strict for school going youth who could be allowed even at 15 years. All but one member had secondary school level education of up to senior level six, with most of them still in school. Previously, to join the group one had to pay a membership fee of Ug. Shs. 5000. Apparently some members found it hard to raise this amount⁴²⁹. As a result, the idea of a standing membership fee was dropped in favour of instant individual contributions as and when need arose. The group had three main objectives which focused on: initiating joint income generation activities for improved welfare; encouraging cooperation (for a collective voice) to access external support and changing the bad image of the youth by participating in activities usually involved in by the adult folk within the community⁴³⁰. The group became formal on registering with the Sub-county NAADS Office within NAADS first year in the sub-county.⁴³¹ However, they had prior to this associated informally.

Source: meeting with youth farmer group, Kasawo sub county, 07/7/2004

In Wakisi sub county, too, experiences of youth struggling to derive a livelihood from farming amidst limited access to the requisite resources were demonstrated in two youth groups, including a NAADS affiliated farmer group and a hither to non-NAADS group.⁴³² The NAADS affiliated farmer group offers an interesting comparison with that met in Kasawo sub county⁴³³. In a meeting with the group, the general view about their predicament with

⁴²⁸ Six of the members (three male members and all the three female members) were reportedly still in their secondary school at the time. They indicated that two (of the three) female members seemed not all that involved and/ or interested.

⁴²⁹ Evidently, however, the idea of paying a membership fee seemed not to have been well internalized (or even liked) by some of the members. The members reported to have realized a number of benefits from and/or through their membership to the group. Some of the main benefits thus far were: increased access to knowledge from (especially) NAADS training activities; increased teamwork and social support. Actually interaction with the group during the meeting suggested high interest among the members in the activities of the group as well as reasonable cohesion and respect for one another. As the later, for instance, even the youngest school going members could express their views freely. Also few felt proud of their exposure to the outside through their participation in sub county level NAADS activities. The group had two very dynamic members who were involved in community work with sub county-wide exposure, with one of them holding several leadership positions NGO and Local Council related activities. They nevertheless cited several constraints to their activities, including: lack access (production) capital to acquire the necessary inputs (notably chemicals and spraying pump), shortage of land, and; loss of members and declining interest among some members apparently partly due to failure to realize the anticipated benefits from their membership to the group, including assistance from the from NAADS.

⁴³⁰ Like their counter part in Kasawo, here, too, majority of the members had attained education at secondary level, with up to 9 (out of the 10) members allegedly attended secondary school education (two of them having completed ordinary level education)

⁴³¹ In September 2002

⁴³² The NAADS affiliated farmer group was resident in Wakisi parish whereas the Non-NAADS affiliated farmer group was resident in Kalagala parish.

⁴³³ Like their counter part in Kasawo, here, too, majority of the members had attained education at secondary level, with up to 9 (out of the 10) members allegedly attended secondary school education (two of them having completed their Ordinary level, and the rest from senior one to senior three. In this case, however, all the members were already out of school. They were therefore, relatively older, ranging from 20 to 34 years of age with the majority below 30 years and on average at 26 years. There were 3 female and 7 male youth members, including three couples (apparently members tended to join as husband and wife). In fact most of them had marital obligations. Like the women's group (the women's group in a neighbouring village whose members were involved in a savings and credit scheme discussed earlier, see Box 5.1) that inspired these youth to form their own group, they also hoped to benefit from their group by way of accessing external assistance through the influence of some 'District Officials.'

limited access to the necessary resources for more meaningful engagement in farming can be captured as follows:

We don't have enough land for our group farming activities...we mostly rely on hiring which limits the size of our crop acreage. We also find it hard to acquire the necessary inputs especially the spraying pump because of lack of adequate financial capacity. Currently, we hire the spraying pump yet previously we used to borrow it. Once its owner learnt that we were producing the vegetables for income he started charging us for using his pump. Also we failed to continue with our joint poultry project because of lack of capital, it became difficult to meet the costs involved yet it was not easy to access a loan.

The non-NAADS affiliated farmer group was a parish-wide group, with up to 70% of the members in the youth age bracket.⁴³⁴ The group was formed in 2004, after the coming of NAADS into the sub country.⁴³⁵ They revealed in a meeting that they had been involved in several joint income generating activities including brick-making, production of crops (mostly maize and tomatoes) and mobilising resources through an informal saving and credit scheme. The latter entailed making weekly cash contributions to a selection of (beneficiary) members, in Sunday evening meetings. The cash contribution was intended for the beneficiary members to improve their household standing through acquisition of basic household items such as mattresses and bedclothes, utensils and the like.⁴³⁶

As regards the major constraints, they highlighted scarcity of land which had reportedly affected their farming (maize production especially) and brick making activities, as well as the high cost of inputs related to these activities. Hence besides the need to pool labour for joint farming and brick-making activities another reason for joining together was the need to maximize on the limited land available to them. They pointed out the hardship they had getting the necessary inputs especially insecticides and a spraying pump, and noted that it was impossible to get any profit from crops such as tomatoes without spraying and with the high cost of inputs. They observed that although maize takes a relatively short growing period (compared to other major crops) it required more land than most other short duration crops. They also revealed that brick making is a long and costly process since it required hiring land and buying inputs like the drums and firewood.⁴³⁷ Equally, they were desperate about the adverse weather conditions over which they lacked control. They, for example, attributed loss of their entire tomato crop during the previous season to the prolonged drought.

⁴³⁴ Reportedly 28 of the 40 members were youth based on the group's age definition of a youth in the range of 18 to 35 years (20 members were present in the meeting: 11 male youth, 7 female youth, and 2 adult members)

⁴³⁵ They, however, disassociated its formation from the sub county NAADS activities and in fact denied any contact with the NAADS activities in the sub county up till that time.

⁴³⁶ Although in practice the activities of this scheme resembled those of the popular '*nigina*' groups, in most cases a typical '*nigina*' group involved donation of similar material items rather than direct cash. In addition, in their pure form the '*niginas*' were a women's activity.

⁴³⁷ The problem of scarcity of firewood was reportedly exacerbated by the government ban on using forest products.

The difficult time this group had with accessing a spraying pump was in fact confirmed during a key informant interview with the LC1 Chairperson of the village.⁴³⁸ He disclosed that the members of this group frequently relied on the spraying pump availed to the village by the Sub-county NAADS Office. This, he noted, despite that the members of this group had thus far shown little interest in the NAADS activities in the parish.

Not surprisingly the generally under privileged resource position of youth made it difficult for many to engage meaningfully with the NAADS enterprise approach to service provision. According to various sources the enterprise selection process for most part tended to favour some traditional food and cash crops like banana and coffee (in the earlier days) and vanilla in the more recent times. Likewise on the side of livestock, for several years, the process mostly favoured large livestock types particularly (dairy) cattle. Yet such enterprises required substantial amount of investment in terms of both land and money—the two resources that were evidently most scarce within this age-group. Because of this reality, youths mostly preferred short-duration crops (notably vegetable and horticultural crops) which they perceived to provide quick return to their limited resources. The disadvantaged position of the youth as regards NAADS enterprise approach comes into perspective from the story by a male youth who during a community meeting in Kasawo sub county noted that:⁴³⁹

When NAADS came we had high hopes, farmers met and formed groups based on their enterprises of interest. However many farmers were surprised to hear later from the NGO staff that only three enterprises were to be selected. In my group, for example, we are involved in passion fruits; we lost interest when our crop was not selected.

Local programme implementers (including farmer group representatives) and other stakeholders often acknowledged this marginalized position of the youth within the enterprise approach, an issue that surfaced as early the second year of NAADS implementation in the sub county.⁴⁴⁰

The situation became even more apparent in Wakisi sub county where (as noted already) land shortage was relatively a bigger problem. This situation can best be demonstrated with the experience of the members of the youth group who were at the time involved in stone mining and brick project. In a meeting they stated that they had been discouraged from affiliating with NAADS by, among others, the prohibitive nature of the enterprises supported hitherto. They specifically cited vanilla for both the high cost of planting material at the time and its long-term nature. There were in fact several examples of farmer groups whose members had organized around vanilla as their main enterprise with a good number of mainly male youth who complained about the trouble they had getting the scarce and costly vanilla planting

⁴³⁸ Also a member of the SFF Executive.

⁴³⁹ This youth was a member of a non-NAADS youth farmer group. This was during a parish-wide meeting in Kabimbiri parish held as part of the NAADSEC/DFID commissioned lessons learning study. This study was conducted in the third quarter of 2003/2004, nearly two years back since the first round of enterprise selection.

⁴⁴⁰ NAADS FY2 (2002/03).

material. They also often reported the difficult time they had to find land for establishing joint mother gardens for multiplying the usually meagre vanilla material received from the SFF. It is remarkable that the problem was even much greater for the female youth. For instance in one vanilla farmer group in which 20% (out of the 50) of the farmer members were youth, only one of them was female.⁴⁴¹ When asked about the small number of female youth in the group they unanimously pointed to the restriction imposed on female youth (or girls generally) by the difficulty of finding land on which to plant vanilla.

It is worth noting that the situation with vanilla (regarding the participation of the youth) was in sharp contrast with that in the case of the local chicken enterprise. For example, one (mixed) farmer group whose members organized around local and exotic chicken production had an exceptionally high number of youth both male and female, who together constituting up to 41% (i.e. 17 out of 41 members) of the membership of the group.⁴⁴²

Because of the marginalization of youth during the enterprise selection process, they were generally disadvantaged at the subsequent stage of service provision since this focused exclusively on the enterprises selected. This led to steady loss of interest among the youth in NAADS activities. Yet the more they shunned these activities the more they became distanced from the NAADS process (hence its benefits). Moreover, the outcome of the enterprise selection exercises depended primarily on a majority presence (Obaa et. al, 2005).

Men

Generally men were, on the basis of their relatively improved resource endowments, believed to have been in a somewhat better position to engage with the enterprise approach and to take advantage of the knowledge and /or technologies availed by the NAADS. Nevertheless, this was not the case for all the men. Quite frequently the key informants and some ordinary men in community meetings reported the modest engagement of men who were constrained by limited resources, specifically cash and land. In Wakisi sub county, for example, shortage of land was rather repeatedly cited to have affected the response of some men to attending NAADS (training) activities.

At the more general level, it became clear from mainly the key informant interviews that the response and/ or involvement of men in NAADS related training activities depended on the kind of enterprise on which training was provided. Thus whereas some men were apparently attracted to training sessions on some of the potential income generating enterprises, vanilla and dairy cattle, for example (as discussed in section 5.3.2), others were apparently discouraged by the ostensibly high resource demands of these enterprises. This category of men considered attending training sessions on such enterprises as a waste of their time, for they did not see themselves in position to apply the knowledge and/or skill acquired. This reality became more manifest in regard to trainings in the area of livestock, dairy cattle

⁴⁴¹ Wakisi parish.

⁴⁴² The group was reported to have been involved in exotic chicken production for income generation before the coming of the NAADS

especially. Quite informative was the distinction made by a progressive coffee farmer⁴⁴³ in Wakisi sub county in respect of the resource capacity of livestock farmers vis-à-vis and crop farmers. He believed that livestock farmers were better placed to apply and benefit from the knowledge supplied by NAADS. A similar observation was made by two members of LC1 during a key informant interview in Kasawo sub county.⁴⁴⁴ They observed that men who were already involved in cattle rearing were more active in attending the training activities compared to those who did not have any cattle at all.⁴⁴⁵ They disclosed that livestock rearing was a key income generating enterprise in their area and that men who were involved in this enterprise were mostly of middle age and often of a better-off social-economic status. This clearly suggests that even within the men the extent to which they were able to engage with NAADS depended on the type of enterprise involved vis-à-vis their socio-economic standing.

Although on most occasions the informants discerned clear differences regarding the response and/involvement of members of the different social/ gender groups (i.e. men, women, and youth) contingent upon their respective resource endowments this was not always the case. In the opinion of some key informants all farmers (irrespective their gender or age) were equally needy. This especially concerning the means of production other than the traditional household assets, principally land. These informants often attributed the deprived situation across the social/gender groups to rampant poverty; a situation that was exacerbated by limited access to affordable and appropriate production credit. For instance an opinion leader in Kasawo sub county observed in a key informant interview that it was because of the crosscutting nature of poverty that both women, men and youth were in one way or another attracted to NAADS activities, in anticipation of some form of assistance (financial and/or material).

The foregoing has described how the resource endowment of members in the different social/gender groups (i.e. women, youth and men) influenced their respective responses and/or involvements in NAADS activities. The evidence suggests gender and age-based differences among NAADS target group based upon their individual resource endowments. Undoubtedly women exhibited higher interest in NAADS activities and were evidently more engaged mainly on account of their greater responsibility for farming within their households and communities in general. Nonetheless women's involvement and ability to benefit fully from the NAADS activities was usually constrained by their meagre resources. This made NAADS enterprise approach, by and large, less conducive for women as it restricted the (enterprise) options available and because of its tendency to promote enterprises which were normally prohibitive for women.

As regards the youth, first, evidence suggested a growing loss of interest in farming among this age group. This was for the most part linked to limited access to capital and land of many youths. Indeed this was also reflected in their attitude and response to NAADS activities.

⁴⁴³ Wakisi parish.

⁴⁴⁴ Kasana parish.

⁴⁴⁵ This assessment was partly based on their experience with of the response of livestock keepers to the activities of a previous programme –Farming in Tsetse Controlled Areas (FITCA) in the area.

Markedly the dire poverty situation within this age group regarding key resources for agricultural production notably land and cash made it difficult for them to take full advantage of the knowledge and technologies availed by NAADS hitherto. Even more so the obviously restrictive enterprise approach to service provision within the NAADS provided little opportunity for many youths to take (full) advantage of certain enterprises of their first choice –usually the short duration vegetables and horticultural crops. Yet the enterprises favoured by this approach were often prohibitive for the youths. This was well illustrated by the recent experience with vanilla to which many youth were drawn because of the (then) attractive market price but many found the investment required quite unaffordable. Contrary to popular belief, the youth were, on the whole, interested in farming but their interest had, in a large measure, been stifled by their generally poor resource position. This was manifest in the testimonies of the youth themselves in the two sub counties. Also the miserable resource position of youth, to a large degree, explained the extensive expectations for financial and/or material support from the NAADS or government generally among this age group.

Men were generally better placed to engage with and benefit from the knowledge and /or technologies availed via the NAADS on account of their somewhat better resource endowments. Nonetheless its enterprise approach to service provision equally disadvantaged men of low socio-economic standing particularly those involved in crop growing.

All together because of its enterprise approach to service provision which is evidently biased towards the relatively more resource intensive (in terms of land and/or cash) and marketable enterprises there is a high likelihood in NAADS of excluding the less resource endowed sections of its target group. It is also worth mentioning that some of the resource constrained people are still relying on the traditional non-market exchange mechanism to acquire large livestock types.

Failure to realize expectations for financial and /or material support

In Section 5.3.2 it was described how anticipation of financial and /or material support attracted members of the various social/gender groups to the NAADS activities in the two sub counties. This section describes how, to varying extents, women, men and youth were discouraged from NAADS activities once the support expected was not forthcoming. Despite its widespread character this scenario was especially reported in respect of men and youth.

Men

The various informants commonly reported that once men failed to realize their expectation for financial and/or material support, quite a number of them lost their initial enthusiasm for joining the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and/or attending the NAADS training activities. Some key informants felt that it was because of this (frustration) that some men even down played the importance of the trainings delivered by NAADS service providers. Informants often noted that some men claimed that they had the necessary knowledge already since they had been farming for long time. Or that, at times, they did not need any more training because

the topics addressed in such training sessions had been the focus of previous extension efforts, usually citing MUDFA in particular.

Additionally, information from both the key informant interviews and community meetings in the two sub counties revealed that some men even expected some allowance to help them offset the transport cost they incurred travelling to distant training venues. They too purportedly wanted to be compensated for the time spent on attending training events. This feeling indeed became evident during a community meeting in Wakisi sub county⁴⁴⁶ after about three years of NAADS implementation. Some of the men explained that they expected some allowance because attending day-long trainings (as was especially in the early days) consumed most of their day's time. A few of them even complained about the practice in NAADS of giving all the money to the service providers when farmers could not afford inputs. They noted that this is why they were discouraged from staying in (NAADS-affiliated) farmer groups. Actually, as noted earlier (Figure 5.1) in Wakisi information in the farmer institution development reports indicates a decline in the number of men in the NAADS affiliated farmer groups between the first and third year of NAADS implementation.⁴⁴⁷

Women

Women were also reported to have been discouraged from engaging (fully) with the NAADS activities by lack of prospects for and/ or realization of financial or material support. More telling experiences in this respect come from Kasawo sub county. For example, in one community meeting the participants noted that although women are more active than men; there are some women who keep away and there are some who may not appreciate mere advice.⁴⁴⁸ In some places the key informants specified that the kind of women who had particularly been discouraged by the absence of financial support within the NAADS were known to be mostly women involved in off-farm income generating activities (mainly food vending and other petty trading activities) usually residing or operating in parishes with main trading centres⁴⁴⁹ in Kasawo sub county. In fact, commenting on the possibility that women may as well have been discouraged by the absence of financial or material support, two key informants linked the better attendances of women in the NAADS training activities over the years to their greater ability to endure even when it might take long to realize benefits.

Youth

Does NAADS help the youth who have no land to hire land and to acquire improved seed? (Male youth, Wakisi sub county)

⁴⁴⁶ In Nakalanga parish.

⁴⁴⁷ Other factors notwithstanding. For example the number of women was revealed to have increased as more favourable enterprises notably local chicken were included among the list of priority enterprises in both sub counties.

⁴⁴⁸ In Kasana parish.

⁴⁴⁹ Kabimbiri and Namaliri parishes. These two parishes were traversed by a main tarmac road with several small road side (food) markets and trading centres.

As perhaps was for limited resources, the response and/or involvement of the youth to NAADS activities in the two sub counties was revealed to have been influenced by scope of services supplied by NAADS. Repeatedly, various informants attributed the low response of the youth to NAADS activities to what was generally believed to be a limited package of services. This feeling became even more marked in some of the parishes where some youth were reported to have been relatively interested and actually involved in farming. Even then informants disclosed that youth were only barely involved in the NAADS activities in their communities. They noted that many youths had expected NAADS to address their need for capital or even land, which in their opinion had not happened thus far.

Concern among the youth regarding an apparently narrow package by NAADS constituted a major challenge for the community-level programme implementers. In Wakisi sub county, for example, a (woman) mobilizer⁴⁵⁰ and an LC1 chairperson⁴⁵¹ both complained of the difficulty of attracting youth to training meetings without any financial assistance - *entandikwa* (see chapter 4). The latter noted that even though quite a number youths in his village were involved in production of several short duration crops (including maize) and some in livestock rearing (including cattle and goats) they remained largely unexcited about NAADS activities. He demonstrated this with his experience with the members of the (non-NAADS) youth group in the parish who, although allegedly had not shown much interest in the NAADS activities, had nonetheless used the services of the improved he-goat under the NAADS scheme within the village.⁴⁵² However, based on his experience as a Local Council leader, he noted that youth generally disliked things that involve meetings. This may, however, suggest some kind of disillusionment among the youth with activities that don't deliver tangibles.

A resident service provider gave an even more vivid picture of the poor response of youth to NAADS in the sub county. He estimated that only about 5% of youth in the sub-county were participating in activities at the time. He likewise attributed the poor response of the youth to the apparent failure of NAADS to address the dire need for financial assistance and land among this age group. In his opinion it was because of such constraints that the youth expected to be supported in various ways.

Not surprisingly the voice of the youth expressing their disappointment with the narrow package of services delivered by NAADS came out clearly on most occasions. This frustration was particularly demonstrated in several of the youth farmer groups discussed at length in this section in relation to their resources endowment. For example, the youth farmer group in Kasawo sub county attributed loss of some of their former members as well as the declining interest among some to disappointment from failing to realize immediate material benefits they had anticipated from their membership to the group and NAADS in particular. This was also the case with members of the youth stone mining project in Wakisi sub county.

⁴⁵⁰ Parish mobilizer for Naminya parish, also a former member of the interim SFF and a community-based health worker.

⁴⁵¹ He was also a member of the SFF Executive Committee.

⁴⁵² He was the host farmer to the said improved he-goat in the village.

They disclosed that they had not affiliated with NAADS because NAADS was about farming for which they lacked the necessary resources (i.e. land and capital) yet NAADS did not provide such assistance. Similar voices of frustration among youth were often heard in several of the community-wide meetings. In such a meeting in Wakisi sub county,⁴⁵³ for instance, a male youth desperately asked:

Does NAADS help youth who have no land to hire land and to acquire foundation seed?

Nearly a year later in a similar meeting in another parish, several male youths were concerned about not seeing something more tangible like seed and/or planting material.⁴⁵⁴ They highlighted the trouble they were experiencing with getting money to buy the necessary inputs.

Time constraints

Quite frequently, the time available to the members of the respective social/gender groups was reported to have influenced their involvement in NAADS activities. The time factor was particularly mentioned in relation to the involvement of women and some categories of men especially those who engaged in livelihood activities outside their immediate communities.

Women

As noted already, women were commonly perceived to have been generally more available within their homesteads and/or immediate communities than the men. In spite of this fairly frequently women's involvement in NAADS activities was revealed to have been low or modest. In such instances women were again and again reported to have been constrained by the time at their disposal. Women were generally tied up by the household chores relating to their traditional reproductive (related to child bearing and raising) and productive roles (notably farm work) as well as other domestic and marital obligations. They found particular hardship with attending the training activities the scheduling of which was not always appropriate for many women.⁴⁵⁵

In Kasawo sub county, a woman village development committee member explained the modest involvement of women in NAADS training activities in her village, attributing this to among other things their time constraint. In a key informant interview she noted that because of the time constraint "even the few women who managed to attend usually arrived late".⁴⁵⁶ She, however, disclosed that the problem was more serious in the early days when the training sessions lasted for several hours. Yet in spite of efforts to improve the scheduling of NAADS activities in part to reduce the time spent by the farmers on these activities, it

⁴⁵³ This community meeting was held in Wakisi parish and was conducted during the second half of NAADS FY2 (2002/03).

⁴⁵⁴ In Nakalanga parish.

⁴⁵⁵ This was the time of the initial NAADS sensitization and institutional development activities when these activities were conducted for the most part of the day, reportedly from as early as 10.00 am to late afternoon. Apparently the situation improved with time especially after a decision was made to limit such training activities to the afternoon. In spite of this, the specific time preferences appeared to vary amongst the women.

⁴⁵⁶ In Kasana parish.

apparently was not always that easy to suit the specific time preferences of all the farmers, women in particular. A Wakisi sub county member of LC2⁴⁵⁷ noted the plight of some women who had to attend to their children as they returned from school for lunch. These need ample time around their homes to prepare food and serve it to the children, who in many instances had to return to school for the afternoon session. A social assessment study in post-war Sierra Leone reports similar time-related hardships women with young children find with attending meetings related to mobilizing community action (Richards et al., 2004).

However, the issue of time constraint of women did not apply only for NAADS activities or such externally organized activities. For time related constraints women also found it difficult to attend regularly meetings and other activities of their individual farmer groups. Here time constraint was said to have been a more serious problem for the married women. For instance, in Kasawo sub county these experiences were reported in a predominantly women farmer group consisting of both married and unmarried women⁴⁵⁸ as well as in a women (-only) farmer group.⁴⁵⁹ In the later group during a key informant interview the chairperson of the group talked about both the predicament of her fellow (married) women members and the strategy the group had adopted to alleviate the time constraint on their part:

One of the problems is the poor attendance of women at (training) meetings...many women are constrained by time. For instance, this is happening in my group...these women have to attend to household responsibilities, especially caring for the children. In our group we decided to meet on Sunday afternoon this has helped most members are now able to attend.

The time constraint, it was noted, was greater for women who, in addition to their domestic responsibilities, were also involved in off-farm income generating activities. This was revealed in parishes in Kasawo where a number of women were reportedly involved in food vending and other petty trading activities.⁴⁶⁰

The situation for women in this respect was complicated by the prevailing social-cultural norms especially related to domestic gender relations that restrict married women from attending activities outside their homesteads. This issue was mainly reported in Wakisi sub county. Here the informants and occasionally women themselves often made reference to restrictive husbands who did not want or encourage their wives to attend in outside activities. According to some informants the restriction imposed upon women by both domestic responsibilities and cultural norms limited their exposure and subsequently access to information about outside activities, this besides other limiting factors notably low education levels among women. These limitations also applied to women's involvement in NAADS related activities. This social distance between men and women was also at times evident during meetings in farmer groups with a mixed gender composition. In several of these

⁴⁵⁷ For Nakalanga parish.

⁴⁵⁸ In Kigogola parish.

⁴⁵⁹ In Namaliri parish.

⁴⁶⁰ Especially in Namaliri parish.

meetings women did not only wait for the men to lead the discussion but also found it more comfortable to sit separately from the men.



Women and men seated separately in a group meeting apparently in accordance with social norms of the area.

Actually the challenge of time constraint arising from women's traditional domestic responsibilities to women's participation in NAADS activities has also been documented in respect of other NAADS implementing districts (CEED, 2004). Moreover, elsewhere Agarwal (2001) notes the role of pre-existing restrictive gender-based social norms in limiting women's participation in community forestry activities.

Men

Whenever men were barely involved in NAADS activities their low involvement was nearly always linked to the limited time on their part. However, unlike the case of women men's main source of time constraint was their low availability within their immediate communities. Men were usually engaged in income generating activities other than farming, which in certain instances required staying outside their communities. It was therefore difficult for such men to easily harmonize their schedule of outside activities with that of NAADS activities or any other scheduled activities in their immediate communities. In Kasawo sub county, this problem was again mostly reported in parishes⁴⁶¹ with main trading centres located along a main tarmac road. Men here were usually engaged in various off-farm income generating activities, trading and transportation, for example. Reportedly, most men found it even harder to get involved in the activities of farmer groups (compared to attending the training sessions). In Wakisi sub county, this experience was, for instance, reported by a woman NAADS' parish mobilizer in respect of a parish located at the entrance of the sub-county within the vicinity of major town.⁴⁶²

In fact, (my) interaction with the farmer groups revealed cases of men who were involved in various off-farm income activities some of whom had long lost touch with their respective groups. In Kasawo sub county two men dealing in meat within a local trading centre admitted in a meeting with their group that they could hardly find time for participating in group

⁴⁶¹ Namaliri and Kabimbiri parishes.

⁴⁶² Of Naminya parish within a few kilometers to Jinja town.

activities.⁴⁶³ On the other hand, this kind of men could as well represent the relatively better-off community members (usually men) who were quite frequently noted to have privileged attending to their income generating activities over involvement in NAADS and other such activities. Usually these men associated attending such activities with a high opportunity cost particularly in a situation replete with concerns about the absence of much tangible (economic) benefit from NAADS, especially among men. Moreover part of the aversion among some of the men may as well have been just an issue of not wanting to change, an attitude that is often associated with those in the upper socio-economic class (Wiebe, 2000). Nevertheless where and /or whenever men were available within their communities or homesteads they were more likely to attend the training activities compared to their wives. Compared to women men were usually less tied up by household chores. This phenomenon seemed even more recurrent in Wakisi sub county as men (i.e. husbands) here purportedly had greater tendency to restrict their wives from leaving their homesteads to attend outside activities.

Youth

Unlike the case of the adults folk (i.e. women and men) it was not always clear to what extent (or even in what specific ways) time imposed a constraint to the involvement of youth in NAADS activities. The low response and/or involvement of the youth in such activities was in most instances considered simply an issue of their low interest (or even negative attitude) in farming. Youth actually appeared to have exhibited a similar attitude towards attending other kinds of meetings including the local council meetings. In Kasawo sub county, for instance, in an apparently doubtful tone a woman local council leader once remarked in a key informant interview that “some [youth] even claim they don’t have time to attend trainings.”

At times, however, some informants acknowledged that despite their generally modest willingness to participate certain categories of youth were actually time-constrained. An example of these in Kasawo sub county was the school-going youth members of the NAADS-affiliated youth farmer group in which up to 60% of the members were still in school. In fact (my) experience in the sub county revealed that compared to the non-school going youths (especially those residing within and around the main trading centres) a number of school-going youths showed reasonable interest in farming, including joining the NAADS affiliated farmer groups.

In general, however, it should be noted that time constraint was a major challenge to farmers’ involvement in the NAADS activities as is disclosed in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.3). This was also recognized by the participating NGO in Wakisi sub county in respect of farmer involvement in the farmer institutional development activities.⁴⁶⁴ Besides the normal domestic responsibilities there were also several other on-going externally (or community) initiated activities which equally competed for the farmers’ time. This was especially the situation in

⁴⁶³ Even though they worked within the vicinity of the venue where this group supposedly met. However, it became evident during the meeting that they hadn’t been much going within the group apparently due to a leadership vacuum in the group as two of their leaders (including the chairperson) had joined the sub county farmer forum leadership.

⁴⁶⁴ See, for instance, the NGO farmer institutional development report for NAADS FY3 (2003/04).

Kasawo sub county where the World Vision area development programme was quite involving on the part of the community members, women particularly.

Low predisposition towards group related activities

Disdain for the idea of farmer groups as the main channel of accessing NAADS services featured quite frequently among the reasons for the dismal response and/involvement of members of particular social/gender categories in NAADS activities in the two sub counties. Repeatedly, informants in the two sub counties reported the general loss of interest and/or negative attitudes towards group-related activities of men, youth and at times women, albeit to different extents. Usually, informants linked this negative outlook towards group-related activities to the ostensibly bad experiences the different individuals had, in various ways, experienced with previous group-based activities. Such group-based activities included both formal and informal activities. In the formal category various informants commonly cited the former cooperative societies, dating as far back as the 60s to the mid-80s or more recently activities of microfinance institutions involving joint access to financial services. Widely mentioned in the informal group type were the activities relating to the informal resource mobilization schemes, usually initiated by their own members. An example of a famous informal scheme in the area from which the (local) conveners were widely reported to have profited at the expense of the ordinary contributors was the so-called Burial scheme.⁴⁶⁵

Men

The dislike for groups among men was mainly linked to their experiences with the farmers' co-operative societies of the past. Information from various sources indicated that the former members of such cooperative societies harboured sentiments of having been duped by the leaders of these cooperative societies. Referring specifically to men's experiences during a (joint) key informant interview two LC1 members in Kasawo sub county disclosed that:

People used to be active in group related activities in the past, but this is no longer the case, this tradition was lost over the years. This is mainly because of the mistrust of previous bad experiences; people were exploited in these cooperative societies. Many people especially men are now more careful with group related activities.

In Wakisi sub county the distasteful experiences of these cooperative societies became marked in a meeting with the members of a mixed farmer group organized around vanilla production as their main enterprise of interest.⁴⁶⁶ These members claimed to have been involved in various joint activities on vanilla including sharing knowledge (through cross visits) and ensuring security for the individual members' crop. In spite of this they appeared not that keen to get involved in joint vanilla production activities. Some of members also

⁴⁶⁵ Reportedly this scheme was operated by the local residents in the various communities on a 'lucky draw' basis. Information from the informal conversation with some of the locals revealed that the scheme was introduced into the area by 'outsiders' from parts of Eastern Uganda. Apparently the scheme depended on cash contribution of interested community members in the respective areas. Questions seem to have arisen when the more ordinary members felt cheated after they realized that the winners almost always belonged to the same 'clique' –the conveners of the scheme. It was not easy to get accurate information about this scheme as different people gave varied stories about it.

⁴⁶⁶ This group was met in Nakalanga, over half of the farmer group members were men.

attributed this to lack of access to enough planting material. However, this was not the feeling of several of elderly men present. These linked this reluctance to the experiences some members had previously had with cooperative societies. One of them stressed that farmers are yet to overcome their bad experiences with the cooperative societies.

My interaction with the members of farmer groups in both sub counties revealed that dominated by women dominated in most farmer groups. Even in Kasawo sub county where the earlier official records suggested a slightly higher number of men in NAADS affiliated farmer groups than women, information from the farmer group meetings and key informant interviews often suggested more women in these groups. In fact several key informants felt that some men feared joining the NAADS in its early days in the sub county because majority of the pre-existing groups were women's groups. The common feeling was that the group culture had, on the whole, been eroded from the everyday behaviour of men in the area.

Women

For women, distasteful experiences with group-based activities were related to their interactions with some micro-financial schemes.⁴⁶⁷ Ostensibly these schemes used groups to deliver their financial services to women. According to several key informants and some of the women who had benefited from these services some beneficiaries felt betrayed by some of the micro-financial schemes, which claimed to have aimed to assist women out of poverty. They singled out the experiences with the loan schemes under the Uganda Women's Efforts to Save Orphans (UWESO) and the Foundation for International Community Assistance FINCA (-Uganda).

In Kasawo sub county, a woman LC3 leader⁴⁶⁸ disclosed during a key informant interview that some women were particularly angered by being jointly held responsible for the failure of some of their fellow members to pay back the money borrowed from the UWESO loan scheme. Similarly in Wakisi sub county a woman community worker⁴⁶⁹ recalled the bad experiences of some of the households of women who had received loans from the FINCA (-Uganda) loan scheme. She noted that because of such experiences many people in the area presently prefer to receive outside assistance as material inputs instead of cash.

The mentioned unpleasant experiences of women with these loan schemes were often echoed in several community and farmer group meetings. This was especially whenever the sensitive issue of the form and channel of support farmers would prefer, if NAADS were to provide additional support (advisory services) was discussed. For instance, during a meeting with a women's NAADS-affiliated farmer group in Kasawo sub county all of them concurred that there was need to complement the advisory services with a component financial support. Yet they were divided as to whether such a scheme should take the form of a loan or free grants. An even more revealing case was that of two elderly members of a women's NAADS

⁴⁶⁷ Similar experiences amongst the women were at times reported in respect of other schemes (the popular 'Burial' scheme, for instance.).

⁴⁶⁸ The Sub-county Woman District Councilor.

⁴⁶⁹ In Naminya parish, also a mobilizer for NAADS activities in the parish.

affiliated farmer group⁴⁷⁰ who expressed feelings of betrayal by the UWESO loan scheme, disclosing that:

We really had a hard time paying back the UWESO loans; even the children failed to go back to school. Yet these loans target widows to help us engage in income generating activities to enable us support the orphaned children under our care, including taking them to school.

Given such experiences it is not surprising that many women in several groups (notably the informal/traditional ones) were fearful of borrowing money especially for investing in farming. In Wakisi sub county, for example, this was the case with the traditional women's (*munomukabi*) group.⁴⁷¹ These women expressed a desire for some *entandikwa* to boost their income generating (which included farming) but were evidently fearful of taking the risk to borrow. In response to the question as to whether they had ever borrowed money they emphasized their preference for free *entandikwa* because some of them had experienced problems with such loans before.

Youth

Several informants, albeit to a lesser extent, attributed the general low interest in and/ or the negative outlook among the youth towards group activities to the unpleasant experiences of some in the past. More than appeared to have been the situation the adults (i.e. both men and women) in this case the unlikable experiences were usually linked to the informal group-based resource mobilization schemes which involved monetary contributions by their participants. And, in a few instances, where some youth were involved joint income generating projects.

As regards the informal group-based mobilization of finances several informants mentioned the disappointment of some youth with the Burial scheme. Apparently for either dissatisfaction with the benefits realized or even failing to realize the benefits they had expected the youth who had participated in the activities of this scheme were often left with a feeling of being duped by its conveners.

In a key informant interview with an LC1 Chairperson in Kasawo sub county⁴⁷² he explained that it was because of such experiences that many youth disliked group activities especially those requiring them to contribute money. He noted that it was because of this dislike that many had kept away from NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. More illuminating experiences were revealed in a community meeting in Wakisi sub county.⁴⁷³ Here again one of the youth participants pointed to the Burial scheme and the disappointment of youth:

⁴⁷⁰ In Kakukulu parish.

⁴⁷¹ In Nakalanga parish. This group had till then not been registered with the Sub-county NAADS Office.

⁴⁷² Of one of the villages in Kabimbiri parish.

⁴⁷³ In Kalagala parish.

We contribute our money in these groups but we come back crying (*tujayo maziga!*). Imagine if each member contributes Shs.10, 000 per month in a group of 20 people...that is Shs.200, 000. But you may find that after a few months one member runs away with all the money. This used to happen a lot at the time of Burial scheme. This is why some people especially the youth no longer like groups.

As regards income generating projects, informants reported that some youth joint hands and pooled resources (including money and labour) to engage in joint income generating activities such as farming and brick-making; but to the disappointment of some members only a few actually benefited from such projects. In Kasawo sub county, for example, a woman member of the VDC in a key informant interview cited some examples of youth groups whose members had in the recent past engaged in joint income generating farming activities. She disclosed that overtime these groups, some of which purportedly at times engaged in farming competitions, disintegrated due to mistrusting relationships among the group members. A (predominantly) youth farmer group whose members organized around production vegetable crops as their main enterprise of interest under NAADS is quite clarifying.⁴⁷⁴ In a meeting with the group they revealed that members had for some time been involved in collective marketing of individually produced specified quantities of a particular vegetable crop. Despite the joint marketing strategy it was obvious that members were not about to go into joint production. The only exception was maize production for which they reported to have been experiencing difficulty in accessing enough land. Even though they purportedly often planned what and how much produce in a particular season (apparently to try and meet quantity required by the buyer) they nonetheless remained sceptical of joint production activities. This appears to have been for fear of free-riding⁴⁷⁵ as was alluded to by the group's chairperson in an informal conversation before the meeting, attributed to previous experiences of some members with group farming activities. In fact many in this group believed that the idea of farmer groups was new in their area, having come with the NAADS.

It is significant that the reluctance of members of this youth group to get into joint (vegetable) production activities underlines the possible absence of a group culture within Kasawo sub county especially in relation to farming.⁴⁷⁶ This important social-cultural issue seemed to have been a key factor with respect to the absence of adequate teamwork around the

⁴⁷⁴ This was a predominantly youth and largely village-based farmer group in Kigogola parish. They, however, could allow selected members from other villages to join the group. The group had a membership of 12 people, including 10 youths (6 male and 4 female youth) and 2 adults (both men). The average of the (ten) youths who attended the meeting (7/07/2004) was 30 years. Only two of them had completed primary seven level education, with the rest of educational attainment of primary three to primary six. Most married members joined the group as couples. Prior to NAADS the members were reportedly involved in vegetable production under a loose informal association of vegetable growers. They produced their crop in a common swampy area within the village but on individual plots. The group became formal when they registered with the Sub county NAADS Office in 2003, after being sensitized about NAADS. They registered vegetable production as their main enterprise of interest but broadened the range of crops and included grain crops (such as maize, millet and beans) to accommodate the interests of the few 'adult' members who joined the group at this point. Apparently these adult members considered it difficult to engage in vegetable production, an activity which was carried out in the swampy area.

⁴⁷⁵ Yet their (self) perception of the main source of strength in their group was the commitment members to group norms and goals, and agreed upon activities as well as the unity amongst the members.

⁴⁷⁶ Surprisingly compared to situation in other places, the residents of Kigogola parish were generally perceived to have a more positive outlook to collective action especially around joint farming activities. Apparently a number of residents in the parish are migrants from Eastern Uganda where there exists a culture joint farming activities.

management of the TDSs within beneficiary farmer groups and/or communities (as noted in Chapter 3). This issue came out quite clearly during the NAADSEC/DFID commissioned NAADS lessons learning study at the end of the third year of NAADS implementation (see NAADS, 2004a). Commenting on the possible erosion of the previous culture of community spirit in this part of the country (i.e. Central Uganda) a concerned woman LC 1 Chairperson⁴⁷⁷ noted:

The people of Buganda don't have a culture of working together, they all the time think in terms of how they can benefit as individuals (in Luganda, *Abantu ba Buganda tebalina ndowooza yakolera wamu. Bulikisela balowooleza mu nfunilamu wa*)⁴⁷⁸.

In the case of brick-making a descriptive example came from Wakisi sub county. Here during a community meeting the participants cited a group of youth who had (recently) come together to engage in a bricking-making project.⁴⁷⁹ To their astonishment of the rest, their leader allegedly disappeared with all the money earned from the first few batches of the bricks sold.

Some of the key informants noted that such unpleasant experiences at times led to development of suspicious relationships especially among men and male youth. According to a long serving extension worker in Wakisi sub county such distrustful relationships could at times have arisen from the diversity in interests and/or views and characteristics within these groups. He attributed this to differences in political, ethnic and religion affiliation as well as divergences in individual characteristics related to education attainment and physique and/or ego, features especially reported in respect of (male) youth. In the opinion of this informant the suspicious feelings due such differences made it especially hard for both men and male youth to join and work harmoniously within groups.

The preceding has described how predisposition towards group related activities among the different social/gender groups influenced the respective responses and/or involvement of members of these groups to NAADS activities. To varying degrees the response and/or involvement of women, men and youth was shaped by their individual disposition towards group related activities. In this respect, too different levels, women, men and youth harboured a negative outlook towards group-based activities (farming in particular) apparently because of their previous unpleasant experiences with such activities in the past. It appeared that, in one way another, such regrettable experiences left the affected individuals or groups with a feeling of being cheated (for either unfruitful efforts or unprofitable cash contributions). In the case of men and (male) youth, however, there seemed to have been an additional factor which related to diversity of in interests and/or opinion often associated with differences

⁴⁷⁷ Of one of the villages in Kabimbiri parish.

⁴⁷⁸ This is what some informants usually referred to as increasing 'individualism' in the communities.

⁴⁷⁹ In Kalagala parish.

politics, religion and tribes and/or ethnicity or due to individual characteristics regarding personal endowment and ego.

Bureaucratic requirements for farmer groups

The condition that a farmer group meets certain official (institutional) requirements (Chapter 2) in order for it to qualify to participate in NAADS activities presented a real bottleneck for some interested individuals or groups in the early days of NAADS in the two sub counties. Particularly pertinent in this regard was the need to present a standard group constitution, and meeting financial obligations including a registration fee⁴⁸⁰ and a statutory annual financial contribution towards the sub-county NAADS operational budget. The latter is a matching or co-funding contribution, popularly referred to as ‘two percent’ (i.e.2%) (Chapter 2). It should be noted, however, that although the registration fee and co-funding contributions of farmer groups were a distinct requirement it was common for the farmers to pay the two amounts in combination especially for the farmer groups that joined at later stages. Thus to an ordinary group member the distinction between the two financial requirements was not that obvious.⁴⁸¹ Nonetheless at there was greater awareness among farmers about the 2% contribution of the farmer groups.⁴⁸² The requirements of an acceptable group constitution and co-funding contribution featured quite repeatedly among the constraining factors to farmers’ involvement in NAADS activities especially in respect of women and youth.

Various informants often noted the rather widespread lack of the necessary (technical) capacity within the prospective farmer groups to come up with a standard group constitution in line with the laid down guidelines. This was reported to have been a real problem for farmer institution development especially during the early days of NAADS. The situation was apparently complicated by the generally low literacy levels among the farmers, the women in particular.⁴⁸³ In addition, some of the key informants as well as the ordinary farmer group members criticized the rushed manner in which the initial farmer institutional development activities were conducted.⁴⁸⁴

Further trouble and hence frustration arose from requiring the farmer groups to present their constitutions in English. In Kasawo sub county, for example, telling about the predicament of

⁴⁸⁰ Of Shs. 5000 (about \$ 2.9) in the early days.

⁴⁸¹ In fact it was common for members of farmer groups to treat the matching contribution as a registration requirement. This was partly because the sub county NAADS implementers didn’t want to over emphasize the registration fee apparently to avoid possible concerns by farmers about too many financial obligations of farmers (in this case groups) even under NAADS. Actually, as noted in Chapter 2 farmers had previously raised similar concerns in respect of membership with the local level branches of the Uganda National Farmers’ Association (UNFA).

⁴⁸² This was mostly because of the specific focus that was put on sensitizing farmers about their statutory responsibility of financing the sub county NAADS budget alongside their respective local Sub county governments.

⁴⁸³ This is not surprising given that recent information on national literacy rates indicates a gender disparity with literacy levels of 80% and 58% for men and women respectively (See GoU, 2006, for instance). Moreover, notwithstanding the seemingly relatively good literacy levels in Mukono district (at 79% compared to the national average of 69% for the population of 10 years and above), enrolment in functional adult literacy programmes suggests quite high illiteracy levels among adult participants in the 20 to 59 years age bracket especially, the majority of whom are women (see e.g. the Mukono District Local Government’ Five- Year Integrated Strategic Plan for Orphans and other vulnerable children 2008-2013).

⁴⁸⁴ Also see CEED (2004) for similar experiences in other initial NAADS districts.

members farmer groups during a key informant interview a (woman) LC1 Chairperson⁴⁸⁵ explained, thus:

Requiring the farmer groups to have constitutions has caused a real problem, it required some working knowledge of English but rural people find this very difficult. In many groups members needed assistance from the concerned NGO staff or the Community Development Assistant at the sub county. This [assistance] was not always forthcoming, making some groups to give up. Only the groups which had the capacity to make the constitution survived.

Indeed the alleged failure by the concerned staff of the participating NGO or the sub county-based Community Development Assistant to provide adequate and timely support to interested farmer groups was raised repeatedly in key informant interviews and community meetings in the sub county. On some occasions the informants disclosed that the leaders of needy groups found it hard to get to the right person partly for lack of clarity on who exactly was concerned or for not knowing the proper time to find those charged with this responsibility in office.

This hardship especially as it applied in predominantly women and youth farmer groups featured recurrently during the parish-wide community meetings held as part of the NAADSEC/DFID commissioned NAADS lessons learning study.⁴⁸⁶ Actually in almost all these meetings the voices of women and youth telling their frustration came out quite strongly. For instance in one such meeting⁴⁸⁷ women participants complained that the constitution was not easy to write, and this discouraged some group members. They were taught how to make a constitution in a training meeting but it was not easy, especially to follow the outline given. Their group tried but the constitution was rejected three times until they requested a person to help.

In a similar meeting in another parish⁴⁸⁸ attended by a number of male youths, one of them disclosed that in some farmer groups in spite of several attempts at re-writing their constitutions, their constitutions were at times not approved. In a disbelieving tone another one asked:

How can a group copy the constitution of another group, which had been registered, and still fails to get a certificate?

He went on to request the sub county authorities to ensure that there is somebody at the sub county specifically charged with looking at the constitutions of the farmer groups. Moreover this challenge for the farmers was also at times acknowledged by the sub county NAADS implementers themselves in the two sub counties, including the members of the (interim)

⁴⁸⁵ In one of the villages in Kabimbiri parish.

⁴⁸⁶ At the end of the third year of NAADS implementation (i.e. FY3 2003/04).

⁴⁸⁷ Namaliri parish.

⁴⁸⁸ Kakukulu parish.

SFF. Indeed this challenge (for both the farmers and NAADS implementers) continued to feature in NAADS implementation documents as well as in sub county stakeholder review meetings over the years. For instance, the NGO report on farmer institutional development activities for the fourth year (i.e. 2004/05) of NAADS implementation for Kasawo sub county notes that up till this time many farmer groups in some of the parishes did not have the necessary group constitutions.

In Wakisi sub county, by contrast, there were all indications that the farmer groups had, right from the early days of NAADS, received comparatively more guidance from the concerned staff of the participating NGO.⁴⁸⁹ Yet the challenge of coming up with the requisite constitution for farmers occasionally featured in community meetings. For example in one parish-wide meeting,⁴⁹⁰ like a key informant in Kasawo noted that the participants highlighted the difficulty they were experiencing, with translating their local vernacular versions of the group constitutions into English. And for those who apparently had engaged the services of knowledgeable people complained of the costs of producing a good constitution. Here, too, the participants made specific reference to women and youth as the most disadvantaged group.

It is important to mention that it was usual in both sub counties to find especially women (-only) farmer groups where members found it necessary to co-opt one or a few male members. In all these groups the women members confided that they had done so because they needed someone to provide, among other support, technical guidance in developing the group constitution and assisting with all the formalities of registering the farmer group⁴⁹¹. This, as could be expected, was a common scenario in majority of the previously traditional and/or informal women's associations, more often than not initiated for *munomukabi* purposes (i.e. for social and/or economic support).

Not surprisingly, women often found it tricky making it to key decision making positions within the NAADS farmer institutions. This became evident during the formation of the committees of the substantive sub county farmer fora (SFF), particularly the procurement committee which required its members to have attained a minimum of ordinary level education (see Chapter 2). This was a bigger problem in Wakisi sub county where it proved quite difficult to get an ideal candidate with the necessary academic qualification to fill the women's slot on the procurement committee. This being so despite the statutory provision which requires at least a one-third of the procurement committee members to be women (as is for all elective positions in the country where women empowerment is considered vital).

⁴⁸⁹ My experience in the two sub counties revealed that the NGO facilitators of farmer institutional development in Wakisi sub county had greater ownership (and hence commitment) of the NAADS process compared to the staff of the NGO in Kasawo sub county. This was evident from their regular attendances at the sub county NAADS events (usually stakeholder reviews) as well as their stake in the target communities. This commitment can be attributed to the early and on-going partnership between NAADS and Sasakawa Global 2000 (the participating NGO in Wakisi sub county) at the national level.

⁴⁹⁰ In Nakalanga parish.

⁴⁹¹ It was also common for such male members to be co-opted for purposes of providing labour (and dealing with other errands) especially in the case of farmer groups composed of mostly elderly women (Also see CEED, 2004 for similar experiences in other districts).

Financial requirements for farmer groups

Over the years of NAADS implementation, the farmers in the two sub counties consistently expressed concern about the financial obligation of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups, co-funding in particular. This being the first time farmers have been required to take part in formally funding the provision of extension services in a public extension system in Uganda, it should perhaps be obvious that farmers generally had difficulty with internalizing the novel idea of co-funding towards NAADS' budget. However greater apprehension seemed to be directed at the amount involved and the annual nature of this contribution. Again as was for the group constitution, on the several occasions both the key informants and the participants in community meeting made specific reference to the hardship women and youth experienced raising this money.

Women

Stories about the hard times for women with meeting the financial obligations of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups were quite recurrent during both key the informant interviews and in meetings with ordinary farmers in both Kasawo and Wakisi sub counties. In Kasawo sub county, for instance, a woman member of the VDC recounted in a key informant interview the difficult experiences of women in her village⁴⁹²:

The response to [joining] farmer groups is quite low, for example, at the moment there are only three active farmer groups in this village with about 8 to 12 members each. The main problem is the money registering the groups and the 2% contribution. For instance, one banana farmer group of mainly women collapsed when the members failed to raise the registration fee. Also there are some people who want to join the livestock farmer group in the village but fail to raise the required Shs.2000 membership fee.⁴⁹³

In Wakisi sub county as well the experiences of women were revealed during a focus group discussion with a cross section of women farmer groups members⁴⁹⁴. The group chairperson recalled that:

When we were told to form farmer groups people thought [membership in] NAADS was free. But later the farmer groups were required to register at a fee of Ug.Shs 5000. Members find it difficult to contribute; people, especially women join the groups to be helped. Even before NAADS some members of UNFA used to find trouble with paying the annual subscription fee of Shs. 1000, this is why only few people joined it. When NAADS came many of these [UNFA members] left for

⁴⁹² Kasana parish.

⁴⁹³ It was common for the individual farmer groups to determine the amount to be contributed by the individual members on the basis of the co-funding amount of the farmer groups (which was usually in the range of Shs15, 000 to Shs.25, 000 but more commonly Shs. 20,000).

⁴⁹⁴ In Naminya parish. The focus group included two women farmer group chairpersons and two ordinary (women) members as well two women representatives of the parish on the interim SFF.

NAADS after hearing that training was going to be free...they expected everything else to be for free.

Equally illuminating are the experiences from the survey of the individual farmer groups which revealed the struggle women in predominantly women or women (–only) farmer groups went through trying to raise the money towards the financial obligations of their respective groups. In many of these groups even the idea of a standing membership fee was not a common practice. Instead of having a standing membership fee, members often contributed to internal resource mobilization typically involving traditional and/or informal savings and credit schemes intended for social-economic well being of the members of participating households. It was thus usual to find farmer groups where the members had to make special (or instant) individual contributions towards their collective obligation towards the sub county NAADS budget or any other cause that required such contribution. In some of these farmer groups members disclosed that the amounts collected from the usual fees were hardly sufficient to finance the operational costs within the groups. Hence faced with the reality of additional financial responsibilities in their groups the women members repeatedly disclosed the various ways through which they tried to raise the money to make their individual contributions. These included, among others, engagement in joint farming income generating activities, sale of crafts or chicken and borrowing or donations from husbands. The financial obligation of the farmer groups as a constraining factor to the participation of women (as a group among the poorest) in NAADS was also documented in a recent the evaluation of the PMA (see e.g. OPM, 2005 and GoU, 2006).

Youth

The youths were, perhaps more than the rest, widely reported to be particularly discouraged from engaging with NAADS in the two sub counties by the financial requirements of the (NAADS affiliated) farmer groups. Commenting on the hardship youth faced informants usually linked their predicament to the generally limited financial base of youth. Some of key informants, however, felt that the extensive resentment exhibited by this age group towards the financial obligations the NAADS affiliated farmer groups had something to do with their general dislike for parting with their usually limited cash. This, for instance, was the opinion of a key informant in Wakisi sub county⁴⁹⁵ based on his experience both as an LC1 Chairperson and a member of the SFF (right from the interim period). Yet the reality regarding the hindrance presented by the extensive inability among youth to meet the financial obligations of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups became manifest in a number of youth farmer groups met in both sub counties.

In Kasawo sub county, the youth farmer group provided a case in point. In a meeting with the group they reported that they had dropped the idea of a standing membership fee in their group in favour of instant contributions by the individual members as and when need

⁴⁹⁵ In Kalagala parish.

arises⁴⁹⁶. This was, apparently, after realizing that having a standing membership fee was a disincentive for to the continued stay of some of their members. They also presented such a condition as a major barrier to those who wished to join the group. Another group with a standing membership fee in place equally indicated the hardship many of the members were finding with this requirement.⁴⁹⁷ As their group chair person noted, they had nothing to do but to allow the members who were finding it hard to pay gradually in small bits.⁴⁹⁸

In Wakisi sub county, too, one of the non-NAADS youth group was particularly concerned about being required to register their group with the Sub-county NAADS Office. Some of the members asked questions about the NAADS which suggested discontent with the sub-county leadership but also scepticism about government institutions generally, including:

Why are we required to register? What do we gain if we register our group? What do we lose if we don't [register]?

Actually the comments by some of them suggested that they were apparently opposed to the ruling party. It is noteworthy that this kind of attitude towards government programmes is common among those who don't subscribe to the ruling party. Nonetheless, such questions could also indicate the probable trouble these young men could have had with raising the money for registration and co-funding, as well as dealing with other bureaucratic requirements of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups.

Here as well there were some examples of mostly youth farmer groups affiliated to NAADS whose members obviously experienced problems with meeting the related financial obligations. This, for instance, was the situation in a formerly traditional (i.e. *munomukabi*) predominantly youth group who on affiliation with NAADS had to fully monetise their once partly in-kind membership fee.⁴⁹⁹ They also found it inevitable to raise the membership fee with the increased financial obligation of co-funding towards the sub county NAADS budget. Yet even then the leaders in a meeting with the group disclosed that they had not yet been able to make their co-funding contribution because the required amount was a bit high in a situation where money was difficult to come by. They especially attributed the desperate situation to the prolonged drought in recent months which had adversely affected the earning capacity of farmers in the area. They noted that members would have preferred a co-funding

⁴⁹⁶ In Kabimbiri parish. The membership fee was reported to have been at Ug.Shs. 5000 (about \$2.8). However, according to group leaders part of the problem was the difficulty some of the members found with internalizing the idea of membership fee.

⁴⁹⁷ In Kigogola parish.

⁴⁹⁸ The membership fee was reportedly Shs. 3000 per individual (about \$ 1.7) or Shs. 6000 per household (i.e. a couple).

⁴⁹⁹ In Nakalanga parish. This was a mixed farmer group, consisting of 60 members, mainly youth (67%) and women. There were apparently more female youths in the group. It was, however, not easy to get the exact numbers of members in each category of youth in the group. Members tended to join the group as couples (i.e. husband and wife). Reportedly the idea of starting a youth specific *munomukabi* group came about when some youths in the village felt that the existing *munomukabi* were largely adult-based and did not cater for the social-economic support needs of youth. A primary consideration for joining the group was one's interest (as a youth) in joining the group. At the time members made cash contribution of Shs.1000 (about \$ 0.56) together with 3kgs of beans. The beans from the members were later sold to generate some income for the group. Reportedly, however, later on the youth members saw a need to include some adult women to benefit from their 'wisdom' and support. The group became formal with the coming of NAADS when it was registered with the Sub-county NAADS Office in 2002. They were organized around local chicken as their main enterprise of interest.

amount of at most Shs.10, 000 (about \$5.5) per farmer group (as opposed to Shs.20, 000 or about \$ 11). Nevertheless, it was clear that some members had not yet internalized the idea of co-funding well.

It is significant that the issue of the financial obligations of the NAADS affiliated farmer groups in was a general concern among the farmers in the two sub counties. This challenge (for both farmers and NAADS implementers) appeared consistently in the participating NGO reports on farmer institutional development activities over the years NAADS implementation. For example, the reports for the fourth year of NAADS implementation (i.e. the time of the mid-term review of NAADS) in the two sub counties note that up till this time the (members of) farmer groups continued to complain about the amounts involved while some had even abandoned their co-funding obligation⁵⁰⁰. These reports emphasize that farmers were yet to internalize the idea of co-funding.



Members of predominantly youth farmer group (formerly 'munomukabi') who monetized their once partly in-kind membership fee on affiliation with NAADS.

The foregoing has shown that, the bureaucratic and financial requirements in respect of NAADS affiliated farmer groups were a general concern among farmers. Nonetheless, women and youth had a particular hard time coming up with the standard group constitution along the prescribed guidelines amidst limited capacity (in terms of both literacy levels and experience) for this kind of task. Likewise, more than men, women and youth found trouble meeting the financial obligation of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. The most obvious factor was that of limited financial capacity among these groups in a situation of rampant poverty, although it was also apparent that being a new development (also in a situation of a clear dependent culture within communities), the idea of co-funding was yet to be fully internalized especially among the youth.

⁵⁰⁰ I.e. 2004/05, (See the respective reports on farmer institution development activities by the World Vision Area Programme in the case of Kasawo sub county and Sasakawa Global 2000 for Wakisi sub county).

5.4 Summary and conclusion

5.4.1 Summary

This chapter assessed the level of response to and involvement of women, youth and men in NAADS supported activities in the two case study sub counties. It established reasons for observed responses. The aim has been to establish whether there was any mismatch between supply side (i.e. NAADS) expectations and needs or aspirations on the demand side (specifically women and youth). This assessment relates to the overall purpose of the thesis about whether the NAADS prototype for extension is accurately targeted upon the prevailing conditions of the main target group of subsistence farmers in the two case study sub counties. The findings show a number of gender and age-based differences in response and/involvement. The reasons for these differences, to a large extent, reflect the incentives, constraints and needs of the three different groups.

Women have a particular affinity for NAADS activities in the two sub counties. This is evident both in their relatively higher presence in NAADS-affiliated farmer groups and their higher attendance in NAADS- related training activities, when compared to men. Women also perceive themselves to have been in greater contact with NAADS activities than men. In Wakisi sub county women had a noticeably higher level of satisfaction with NAADS services than men. This may, in part, have been due to the absence, at the time, of any other development programme in the sub-county of the kind of the world vision area development programme in Kasawo sub county. This programme not only had an agricultural component but also put specific attention on women.

Women's attraction to NAADS was, more than was the case for youth and men, most strongly associated with NAADS's focus on farming, an activity dominated by women in the two sub counties. For this reason women sought to take advantage of the opportunity to increase their access to knowledge of improved agricultural production methods. This was not only to fulfil their primary responsibility for household food production but also so that they could play a greater part in improving finances and the general wellbeing of their households. Their attraction to NAADS activities was evidently enhanced by the NAADS emphasis on targeting women as a key interest group. Despite some limitations for women associated with the group approach (especially the bureaucratic and financial requirements) the advantages of this approach seem to have outweighed these constraints. Women frequently noted the appeal of the group approach, especially in so far as it provided an opportunity for women to draw upon and strengthen the gender-based solidarity that is an aspect of their culture. Likewise, at least for some women, involvement in NAADS groups enabled them further to develop upon previous experience with externally initiated development activities emphasizing service provision via the group approach.

It is evident that there still remains a challenge for NAADS to fully address the specific needs of women, especially given their limited access to key production resources, including land.

This is important, considering both the limited number and type of enterprises that the NAADS' enterprise approach can allow. Viewed from perspectives of poverty and lack of resources women, in general, have been disadvantaged under the enterprise approach, which has thus far tended to favour more new or non-traditional enterprises (c.f. GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005) rather than long-established crop and livestock types. Although women, too, were eager to realize income from their farming activities, by and large, their priority focus was on meeting the food security needs of their households. Hence, first and foremost, they preferred that the main attention should be put on supporting crops and livestock types that improve household food security. To generate income from their farming activities women preferred this to be achieved through improvement of traditional crop and livestock types, or through introduction of new types better suited to their resource-limited farming prospects. Regarding the more general level of poverty, all farmers expected help with financial and/or material inputs in addition to being given knowledge on improved production practices. But the level of this expectation for material assistance was even higher among women, since the enterprise options made available by NAADS made greater than average demands on their strictly limited resources.

The tendency for women to be more regularly present in their homesteads or immediate communities afforded them better opportunity for attending NAADS activities. Even so, they never used these opportunities fully due to time constraints imposed by traditional domestic responsibilities (see also CEED, 2004). Women's participation was also, in part, restricted by their limited access to information, a problem exacerbated by low educational status.

The men's response to and/or involvement with NAADS were less clear or consistent. Men appeared to have been enthused in the early days by the NAADS campaign for 'farming as a business'. They were attracted by promotion of new income generating enterprises. For those men who have over the years steadily lost interest in farming due to fall in price of coffee – their traditional cash crop - the NAADS drive renewed their interest at least momentarily. This interest was enhanced by the short lived promise of a new cash crop, vanilla, between 2002 and 2003. This was the period marked by a temporary rise in price on the world market, when its production in Madagascar, a major producing country, declined drastically due to adverse weather conditions.

But men were soon disappointed by the limited scope of the services from NAADS. In the view of informants, it would have been better if NAADS had offered a broader package of services, including financial and material inputs. Despite the relatively better access to land and other production resources among men, some activities under the NAADS enterprise approach were still inaccessible to those with lower resource endowments. Additionally, to a large degree, men were discouraged by the idea of having to join or form farmer groups for purposes of accessing NAADS services. This was connected by some to earlier disappointing experiences with farmers' cooperative societies, dating as far back as the 60s. Disdain for the group-based approach was also affected by its (perceived) time-consuming nature, especially for men involved in livelihood activities outside homesteads or immediate communities. Due

to this aversion men's contact with the NAADS was established more through attending training activities (on agricultural topics) than through membership in NAADS farmer groups.

Of all three groups, youth were the least attracted to NAADS. This was, first and foremost, attributed to the primary focus of the NAADS on farming, and more specifically to a focus on production-related activities for which youth lacked resources. More generally, youth were constrained to engage meaningfully in farming enterprises because they lacked capital and land. This was a major factor in determining their preference for ventures offering quick returns compared to farming. Moreover, with NAADS services limited largely to knowledge on improved agricultural practices and related technologies, the programme packages failed to address what youth would have needed to take part, notably finance and land. Evidently, the problem was made worse by the capital-intensive nature of certain NAADS enterprises. This problem has been reported elsewhere within East Africa as a key constraint to meaningful involvement of rural young people in farming activities and their lack of responsiveness to agricultural extension (Waldie, 2004; Tenge et al. 2004).

Besides the problems with the services supplied by NAADS, youth were, to a noticeable extent, also deterred by the idea of having farmer groups as a primary channel for accessing services. As was the adult men, youth informants alluded to bad previous experiences with such group-related activities. This resentment, however, appears to have been aggravated by the seeming difficulty many youth encountered when dealing with the bureaucratic and financial requirements of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups (cf. OPM, 2005). Thorp et al. (2005) also report exclusion of the poor from group formation and organization aimed to empower and raising incomes of poor people due to lack of assets such as education, capital and social status. Again, these factors help explain why youth had greater contact with NAADS through attendance in training activities than through group membership. Nevertheless NAADS still has to put more effort and resources in sensitizing its target group to enable them internalize its idea of co-funding fully. This should be seen as part of its effort to undo the obviously widespread and well established culture of dependency on outside assistance, government sponsored activities in particular, among its target group.

5.4.2 Conclusion

This chapter shows that age and gender make a difference to the interaction between NAADS and local social conditions. Uptake of services offered, adoption of the enterprise approach and the impact of a group approach all vary according to the social and material endowments of the various groups of actors. Women (especially) are keen on NAADS, but women and youth are often not in the best position to make good use of NAADS services.

A particularly key situational factor, in this regard, is access to resources, and notably land and cash. On the basis of their generally poor resource status, the youth and women were on the whole at a greater disadvantage than men within the NAADS enterprise approach to service provision. Of concern to youth and women was the limited nature and scope of the

enterprises this approach makes available, relative to the diversity of farming activities and interests in the area (cf. Kayanja, 2003; Obaa et al., 2005; Parkinson, 2008). This diversity of interest was largely conditioned by disparity in access to and control over resources and gender-and age-based division of labour in both households and communities. A general feeling was that the NAADS approach had so far tended to favour only certain farming enterprises requiring substantial investment of both money and land.

Besides access to resources an important factor regarding engagement with NAADS by members of the different gender and age groups was their perception and ability to connect with NAADS through its group approach. In spite of some constraints women experienced with especially the bureaucratic and financial requirements of the (NAADS) group approach the advantages of this approach seem to have outweighed these limitations. Through this approach women are able to draw upon and strengthen the gender-based solidarity that is an aspect of their culture while also enabling some to further develop upon their experience with group-based activities acquired through previous engagement with externally initiated development activities. On the other hand, to a noticeable extent, to approach to use farmer groups as a primary channel for accessing services did not appeal much to men and youth mainly due to the bad experiences members of both groups had reportedly had with previous such group-related activities. Disregard for groups among the men was further reinforced by the (perceived) time-consuming nature of group activities. And for the youth a further constraint was that of dealing with the bureaucratic and financial requirements of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. It was for this aversion that both adult men and young men connected with the NAADS more through attending training activities (on agricultural topics) than through membership in NAADS farmer groups.

The analysis shows that women, men and youth evaluated their NAADS experience differently due both to group-specific subjectivities over the intrinsic values associated with participation and to objective differences in ability to participate. Even with the considerable constraints they faced, women actually valued their participation in the activities of the NAADS programme more than men, despite men being apparently better placed to benefit from NAADS services, due to their generally stronger resource positions (cf. Parkinson, 2008). With their especially weak resource position (including lack of land) young men were demotivated to participate, and had a strong perception that they had little to gain from NAADS. More generally, the growing trend among (especially) male youth towards off-farm income generating activities appears to have been more a consequence of the increasingly changing (socio-) economic realities for the youth rather than simply a bucking of farming for lack of interest.

These perceptual variations notwithstanding, it seems fair to conclude that NAADS cannot be seen as fully participatory, since some groups are deterred from joining. This is especially the case for youth, where many young men seemed to prefer (or had been forced by circumstances) to seek their livelihoods off farm. The limited focus of NAADS on production-related activities requiring land, and not on knowledge or services required in

other parts of the farming products supply chain (transport, processing, marketing, etc), has, in effect, excluded many young men. Yet experience with coffee, and more recently vanilla, shows that male youth (as well as men) can engage productively anywhere along the commodity supply chain beyond the production level. Hence, one way to try and address the challenge of bringing youth into NAADS represents would be to focus on a wider range of skills and enterprises, and to pay attention in particular to engaging youth in the transportation, marketing, and processing of crops.

Overall, the analysis in this chapter suggests a relative mismatch between NAADS and the conditions of the primary target group, including women and youth. It may be wrong, however, to attribute this gap solely to possible shortcomings in the NAADS design and implementation process, given the clear interplay between NAADS's internal elements (e.g. policies, practices, process etc.) and factors in the implementation environment (e.g. situational and historical factors). Indeed, as Parkinson (2008) rightly urges, from an organisational learning perspective, the deeply and widely held prior understandings about how development programmes work are as influential as the formal design elements in shaping the evolution of programmes. In the following concluding chapter attention will be paid to a more inclusive approach (both in terms of internal practices and benefit delivery) through which NAADS might become better adjusted to the particular circumstances of all sections of its clientele, the women and youth especially.

Chapter 6

General Discussion and Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This book is an empirically-oriented account of the practices associated with the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) initiative in Uganda. It has considered the NAADS initiative as some kind of ‘prototype’ for a new approach to extension (herein also referred to as ‘extension technology’) targeted at developing countries by donor agencies at the end of the 1990s. The focus of the thesis has been not on the theory underpinning this new extension model, but on how NAADS ‘extension technology’ was used in actual practice. More generally, the thesis has asked questions about whether and how extension services can be made available and useful for resource-poor farmers in Africa.

The NAADS initiative in Uganda started at a time of changed global perspectives on the extension task, both in terms of scope of services offered and ways of working. In recent decades, extension has increasingly been viewed in the larger context of agricultural and rural development. Addressing poverty through market-oriented agriculture has been a key aspect of this new way of thinking. NAADS, therefore, represents a contemporary extension strategy aimed at enhancing market-oriented agriculture and addressing rural poverty in Uganda (Chapter 2). This study, however, views the strategy of market-oriented agriculture critically, and has pointed out some problematic aspects for a country like Uganda, where agriculture and the entire agricultural value chain serve a broad range of functions. Accordingly this thesis has sought to pay close attention to how the NAADS’ ‘prototype’ for extension worked out in practice in rural communities in Uganda characterized by subsistence farming, extreme poverty, market failure and other forms of social-economic distress.

The aim of the thesis is not to judge the performance of the NAADS as success or failure, but rather to demonstrate which elements of the NAADS’ ‘prototype’ seem to (or not) work in the conditions experienced by its primary clients (subsistence farmers) so as to suggest ways to make the approach better adapted to clients' circumstances. It is also worth noting that this thesis has concerned itself more with what NAADS provides to its clients – the material aspect of NAADS extension package – than with processual aspects, such as institutional arrangements for delivery. This is a deliberate methodological choice. The position is based on a conviction that even though policy-related studies are increasingly called upon to focus on ‘how’ questions in policy implementation, ‘what’ issues (i.e. the ‘type’ of service to be provided to users) remains of utmost importance. This is especially the case in the resource-constrained situation of rural Uganda, where clients exhibit a ‘dependency syndrome’, derived from a history of top-down external interventions (including previous agricultural extension), and thus a willingness to accept sub-standard or irrelevant offerings in the faint hope they can be used for something.

This account of NAADS in practice reflects the findings of an empirical study of farmers (and other stakeholders) experiences with NAADS during its first five years of implementation, in two trailblazing sub-counties in Mukono district (Central Uganda). These two sub-counties constitute a single case study with internal variation. The sampling procedure was not intended to provide direct comparison between the two study sub-counties. Rather the main aim of the design was to capture a sufficient range of both NAADS approach and farmer realities to enable some understanding of likely causal processes (or mechanisms) as triggered by a typical Ugandan rural context (Chapter 1).

The findings and conclusions relate to a study design that involved both qualitative and quantitative data collection and methods of analysis, with qualitative methods, specifically interviews, forming the core. Of interest was the potential ‘productive synergy’ such an approach can bring to research that seeks to understand perceptions, feelings and experiences, as farmers interact with a development activity such as NAADS.

Starting with an overview of the findings the present chapter attempts a synthesis directed towards the central question of the study: *What elements of the NAADS’ prototype work (or not) for the different groups of NAADS’ primary clients –the subsistence farmers- and under what conditions?* The synthesis works by offering a digest of key points from each of the three main empirical chapters. This then leads to a section in which implications for policy and extension practice in Uganda are discussed.

6.2 Overview of main findings

Each of the empirical chapters (3, 4 & 5) focuses on a key aspect of the NAADS ‘extension technology’. These elements taken together then constitute the mechanism through which the NAADS attempted to deliver its services and sought to generate intended target group outcomes. Chapter 3 looked at how NAADS tried to balance between ‘knowledge’ and ‘artefacts’ within its packages. Chapter 4 considered how farmers were linked to input and output markets, as part of a drive to promote ‘farming as a business’. Chapter 5 chapter covered inclusion/ exclusions issues related to targeting of specific groups of NAADS clients, notably women and youth (young men).

6.2.1 Balancing knowledge and material technology inputs within the NAADS package

Chapter 3 looked at the *scope* of services within NAADS’ ‘package’ in relation to what an average farmer expects from the extension service. Hence it asked whether there was a mismatch between supply and demand. The chapter offered a general assessment of farmers’ perceptions of NAADS as a ‘new’ programme for extension. Specifically, attention was paid to the balance between knowledge and material technology inputs within the NAADS’ service package. This was based on in-depth analysis of farmers’ reactions and/or responses to the programme components through which NAADS tried to address farmers’ information and advisory requirements and technology needs.

Three main points emerged. First, the initial understanding of NAADS among the farmers was that it was a government programme to deliver material inputs and financial support to farmers. This initial perception, by and large, influenced farmers' later responses to NAADS activities. This was especially manifest in the way farmers joined and/or formed NAADS-affiliated groups based on assessments of prospects for more tangible benefits. It is clear that for both historical and NAADS process-related reasons farmers' expectations about extension changed little from their pre-NAADS expectations. In general farmers continued to view extension as being largely to do with dissemination of technical messages (especially new skills) and production technology through training and/or demonstration activity.

Secondly, on the whole, judged on its mandate and by the testimonies of farmers themselves, NAADS can be said to have gone some way in improving access by farmers to knowledge on improved agricultural production and related practices. Nonetheless, by and large, the farmers' crave for increased access to tangible technology inputs, as well as credit and markets for selling their products. A major insight from this study is that farmers showed greater inclination towards material technology inputs than to production knowledge/skills. Ironically, the technology development component of NAADS meant to deliver such technology tools was apparently given less priority (at least from the funding point of view) than advisory and information services. As a result, the technology development component was less visible within the communities. Farmers perceived this privileging of skills/knowledge training activity over material technology inputs as indicating that the programme was more concerned to reward service providers than to address farmer needs. Dissatisfaction then led some farmers (and local politicians) to ask the question as whom between farmers and service providers are the ultimate beneficiaries of the sub-county NAADS funds. This disappointment, in part, explained the increasing expression of 'training fatigue' among the farmers.

The greater inclination of farmers towards technology inputs, however, did not necessarily mean their total disregard for knowledge/skills. Rather it underlined a feeling on their part that they could benefit from the knowledge/skills on offer in a more meaningful way if these were backed by appropriate technology instruments. It is significant that farmers saw technology activities offering more immediate benefits than training-focused activities. This is understandable, considering the range of constraints farmers experienced, particularly their limited (financial) capacity to access requisite production inputs. Under such circumstances it seems necessary to question the apparent assumption within NAADS that improved access by farmers to knowledge/skills would necessarily stimulate meaningful and sustained demand for technology inputs. Equally dubious was the assumption that the necessary technologies (from research) were already on the 'shelf' for the 'new' NAADS to disseminate. Apart from the evidently inadequate interface between the activities of NAADS with those of research/technology development efforts by the (contracted) service providers) to find quality and easily usable technology inputs were not always successful. The experience with finding quality improved cocks for the local chicken improvement scheme is a case in point.

Thirdly, the NAADS prototype is in the main premised on a fixed framework for extension, as is characteristic of technology transfer within the traditional extension services approach (including the T&V variant), while also featuring some key aspects of the advisory approach to extension (Röling, 1996). For this reason there seemed not to have been much room for flexibility by sub-county implementers, in cases where they might have found it desirable to adjust to the priorities of the farmers. This raises the question of how to get the right and/or appropriate balance between the activities that deliver knowledge/skills and those that offer technology artefacts. Failure to do this is likely to make the already diminishing enthusiasm among the farmers, many of whom had no meaningful contact with extension efforts in the past drift further. In turn, this will undermine any potential for NAADS to build the capacity of the farmers for technology adaptation. It is noteworthy that efforts are already hampered not only by the limited capacity of the present pool of service providers but also by the poor contact between NAADS and the research and technology development activities of the NARS.

Moreover, such a largely fixed framework reinforces the conventional view of extension not only among farmers but also among other important players and stakeholders, including the present service providers. This is likely to constrain how farmers (and others) think about the demands they could make on the system, thereby limiting the demand articulation process. Perhaps even more important, a fixed framework of operation limits the way NAADS responds to the possible emerging needs of its target group (and any unforeseen events in the course of implementation), and generally hinders NAADS from taking on broader approaches to extension. These limitations have important implications for the intended empowerment of farmers by NAADS, and the overall aim to engender a demand-driven advisory service.

Thus, even if we leave the discussion on providing material inputs aside, there is still a need to discuss and revisit what the role of extension organizations is in catalyzing technological innovation. Such a discussion might have to consider a range of support activities and farmers' empowerment at local level and above, such as network building, knowledge brokerage, visioning, process facilitation, advocacy, conflict management and capacity development. Such activities are typically directed at forging institutional change as an integral component of (agricultural) innovation. This offers the possibility of organizing and facilitating a process in which farmers and others interact, learn and negotiate with each other in order to tackle the conditions that prevent such services (as input supply, credit and/or markets) from being available, and/or to collectively organize their provision.

6.2.2 Linking farmers to markets within NAADS – the ‘farming as a business’ campaign

Chapter 4 addressed the topical issue of ‘linking farmers to input and output markets’ in relation to NAADS’ drive to encourage ‘farming as a business’, aimed at bringing a majority of subsistence farmers within the scope of the market. The chapter analyzed how NAADS had tried to contribute to the national goal of ‘commercializing’ (hence ‘modernizing’) the agricultural sector, while taking account of the realities of farming in the two study sub-

counties. The chapter analyzed experiences of farmers in accessing markets for their produce as well as other enabling services, notably inputs and production credit. It was demonstrated how limited access to markets and inputs impacted on farmers' ability to use and benefit from NAADS knowledge/skills and technology inputs.

The analysis revealed that farmers were in general enthused by the NAADS campaign of 'farming as a business' in as far as this initiative was seen as intending to revive the agricultural sector in Uganda by making farming a 'gainful enterprise'. This initial zeal (and appreciation) was, however, soon followed by frustration, when farmers and other stakeholders came to feel that NAADS had not backed this campaign with any real practical steps to help farmers to access a better market for their produce. In their view NAADS had done little, even in improving access to relevant market information, and certainly not in securing better linkages with potential buyers. NAADS seems therefore to have failed in its publicly declared intentions in this regard. Yet, significantly, farmers expected the NAADS to go way beyond this level of intervention, and play a more active and direct role, as a broker (or even a buyer!), in accessing better markets (seen mostly as a matter of getting better farm-gate prices). This is where farmers thought they would benefit most fully from the idea of 'farming as a business' and thus the knowledge/skills offered by the NAADS.

The challenge for the farmers (but also a litmus test for NAADS) with accessing a market for agricultural produce was well illustrated by their experiences with some of the enterprises so far promoted within NAADS. One instructive case was the short experience of a (predominantly) youth farmer group with the initially remunerative market for hot pepper, which then soon turned out to be elusive (and obviously unsustainable). It is notable that this case (in Kasawo sub-county) illustrated the level of vulnerability of inexperienced and ill-equipped small scale producers, and other 'powerless' players, in a liberalised market environment. This problem was even more strongly demonstrated by the experiences of farmers with vanilla during the recent short-lived boom for the crop in Uganda. The vanilla scenario also exposed the difficulty farmers have in dealing with the input market – linked to input-intensive nature of this enterprise. The prohibitive nature of some enterprises promoted under NAADS is further shown by farmers' experiences with dairy cattle and goat enterprises. The dairy enterprise in particular challenged the assumption by NAADS that farmers were generally engaged in rearing local cows, and that all they needed was access to an improved dairy bull to improve the productivity of subsequent generations.

The apparent inability by NAADS to meet the expectations of farmers (and other stakeholders) regarding access to markets ran counter to the seemingly strong beliefs within NAADS management about turning farming into a profitable enterprise. In spite of a stated intent to improve farmer access to produce markets, in practice NAADS efforts faced a number of bottlenecks including limitations imposed by a seemingly narrow mandate in this area. Apart from some public interventions - marketing and agro-processing (MAPS) under the PMA - the existing policy on trade liberalization mostly places the responsibility for

processing and marketing of farm produce within the sphere of the private sector. A weak private sector meant that NAADS expectations were quickly frustrated.

Farmers were even more disappointed with NAADS assistance in accessing other support services, notably inputs such as fertilizer and production credit. The need for a broader package of services from NAADS offering affordable (technical) inputs and production credit was expressed by many farmers; without such a package, farmers saw little prospect of benefiting from the knowledge offered by NAADS. Most inputs were out of reach of the majority of the farmers. This was not only for reasons of limited purchasing power but also because of institutional inadequacies. It is notable that, even more than in the case of markets for farmers produce, the ability by NAADS to facilitate access by farmers to such services (i.e. production inputs and credit) was hindered by a mandate that up till this time limited its role to improving access by the farmers to agricultural knowledge, information and technology. The programme was paradoxical in 'advising' farmers to use productivity-enhancing technologies as well as to integrate their subsistence farming activities with the market while having only limited capacity to assist farmers in accessing necessary inputs and markets for produce.

The analysis in chapter 4 showed that issue of access by farmers to inputs, credit and markets was a persistent and systemic problem, rendering farmers 'powerless' in an elusive liberalized market environment. It was also evident that even with the intention of NAADS to deal with this market problem efforts were stymied by externalities associated with wider policy and institutional arrangements. NAADS thus seems to be operating in a problematic middle ground, between public provision and market-driven supply of inputs, which hinders implementers to embed the extension services in the materiality of agricultural production. Moreover, NAADS appeared to have succumbed to the restrictions on bureaucratic mandates in the organizational set of the PMA. This suggested a lack of fit between NAADS' aspiration to realize market-oriented farming sector development, and the prevailing conditions, not only at the farmer level but also at the policy/institutional level. On this basis it may be said NAADS (and policy generally) seems to have promoted a farm/agrarian development model out of line with existing conditions, at least as sampled in the two sub-counties studied.

6.2.3 Inclusion/exclusions issues; analysis of participation by women and youth

Chapter 5 analyzes issues of inclusion/exclusion within the NAADS in response to the question 'who is included and excluded from NAADS' in the two study sub-counties. The aim was to establish whether there had been any gender- or age-based marginalization of NAADS beneficiaries. The chapter established the reasons ('incentives' and 'disincentives') for observed responses within the different gender and age groups of the NAADS target group. The aim was to establish whether the NAADS 'prototype' was accurately targeted upon the needs of different gender and age groups.

The findings revealed gender and age-based differentiation, both in response to and involvement in NAADS activities. Differences were manifest in uptake of services offered, adoption of the enterprise approach, and the impact of the group approach. These differences reflect variations in incentives, needs and constraints of the different gender and age groups.

Women in particular were eager to engage with NAADS, but women and youth both expressed concern about the limited nature and scope of the enterprises NAADS made available. Interest was largely conditioned by difference in access to and control over resources and in gender and age-based division of labour in both households and communities. A common feeling was that the (enterprise) approach embraced by NAADS had tended to favour farming enterprises requiring substantial amounts of land or capital, thus putting women and youth at a disadvantage compared to men.

Participation also showed gender and age-based differentiations in relation to the group approach to service provision within NAADS. Regardless of problems women experienced with 'bureaucratic' and financial requirements, the advantages they associated with the NAADS group approach seem to have outweighed limitations. Notably, women were able, through the group approach, to draw upon and strengthen gender-based solidarity. Additionally, it seems the approach enabled some women to develop their experience of group-based activities acquired in previous externally-initiated developments.

On the other hand, it was noticeable that the idea of joining farmer groups as a pre-requisite for accessing services from NAADS did not appeal much to men and youth. Resentment among members of both groups towards the group approach mostly related to bad experiences members had experienced in such group-related activities in the past. Attitudes towards groups were further reinforced, among the men, by the (perceived) time-consuming nature of group activities. A further constraint for youth was that of dealing with the 'bureaucratic' and financial requirements of the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups. Both adult men and youth (young men) connected with NAADS more through attending training activities (on agricultural topics) than through membership in NAADS farmer groups.

From a participation point of view the analysis showed that women, men and youth differed when evaluating their experience with NAADS owing both to group-specific subjectivities over intrinsic values associated with participation and to objective differences in ability to participate. Thus even with the considerable constraints they experienced, because of their generally low resource status, women actually valued their participation in NAADS activities more than men. But with their especially fragile resource position (including lack of land) young men were little motivated to participate, and had a strong perception that they had little to gain from NAADS. Their situation represented a special set of challenges for the programme, with important implications for tapping this group's potential and much anticipated contribution to agricultural development in Uganda.

Even allowing for perceptual variations it seems fair to conclude that NAADS cannot be seen as fully participatory, since some groups were deterred from joining by factors beyond their control, and which seem to have been somewhat ignored by NAADS or policy makers more generally, even if inadvertently. Especially, the case of youth, where many young men appeared to prefer (or had been forced by circumstances) to seek their livelihoods off farm, was a clear illustration of this reality. Moreover NAADS had thus far concentrated on providing knowledge and/or skills related services primarily for production-related activities requiring land, while ignoring other parts of the farming products supply chain such as transportation, processing, and marketing of the agricultural produce that might have appealed especially to landless young men. But the potential for young men to become active in post-production aspects of the farming products supply chain is well demonstrated by their active involvement in coffee and, more recently, vanilla.

On the whole the analysis in chapter 5 suggested a relative mismatch between NAADS and the conditions of some client groups, women and youth especially. This gap, however, was a result of interplay between certain design features of NAADS (pertaining to policies, practices, process etc) and several situational and/or historical factors in the environment in which NAADS was implemented. This conclusion is backed up by Parkinson (2008), in a study on NAADS, who rightly urges, from an organisational learning perspective, that deeply and widely held prior understandings about how development programmes work (or should work) were as influential as the formal design elements in shaping the evolution of the NAADS experience.

6.3 Synthesis of key findings and overall conclusion

This section offers some reflections on the key findings of the thesis. The aim is to explore the seeming mismatch between the NAADS ‘extension prototype’ and farmer realities in the two study sub-counties. -By so doing the intention is to pin down some key issues that seem to have been overlooked when conceiving NAADS and the agricultural development framework within which NAADS was formulated. Attention is given to the question why farmers’ expectations for complementary services (such as inputs, credit, markets etc.) were not met. This is followed by an overall conclusion.

NAADS promised to improve *access* by farmers to agricultural knowledge, information and technologies for enhanced productivity and production. It also pledged to provide a service *responsive* to the needs of its primary target group – subsistence farmers. The ultimate aim was to improve the *livelihoods* of rural poor farming households. NAADS hoped to achieve this goal by changing the hitherto predominantly subsistence mode of agricultural production of the majority rural farming households into a market-oriented mode of production through promotion of productivity-enhancing technologies.

In regard to NAADS' commitment to improving access to services and ensuring that the services provided were responsive to the needs of its clients, the findings of this study suggest

that, for the study two sub-counties, NAADS achievements paint a rather mixed picture. On a positive note NAADS is generally perceived by farmers to have improved their knowledge and/skills in relation to improved agricultural production and related practices. Specifically, NAADS is seen to have attracted women – the main agents of household food farming in Uganda. This is to the credit of NAADS since women, despite their key role in agriculture in Uganda, have long been marginalized by previous extension efforts, as elsewhere in Africa (Christoplos, 1996; Swanson, 2008). This has given women an opportunity to access knowledge/skills to improve their agricultural production practices. It is therefore not surprising that women actually valued their participation in NAADS activities more than men, despite the considerable constraints they face, owing mostly to their low resource position compared to the latter. More generally it may be said that NAADS has gone some way to fulfill an important aspect of its mission of giving improved access to agricultural production-related knowledge/skills.

Apart from this impact on women, NAADS is widely seen as not yet having attained other key aspects of its mission. Farmers were particularly dissatisfied by the apparent inability of the NAADS to meet their demands for improved technology inputs. They perceive NAADS giving little attention to technology development relative to the training activities of the advisory and information services component. Apparently the NAADS design logic has thus far generally been followed in a rather fixed manner, at the expense of the need to reflect and respond to farmers needs as identified during implementation. NAADS largely continues to treat extension in the narrow sense of dissemination and adoption of ‘technical’ messages and skills associated largely with production-related activities. This suggests that NAADS is still influenced by the legacy of the T&V extension model, which has been criticized for, among other things, the ‘tight management control with closely controlled messages which does not constitute relevance for clients’ (Davis, 2008:19). This shortcoming constrains NAADS ability easily and meaningfully to respond to the diverse (and often conflicting) needs and interests of different sections of the target group. A case in point is when NAADS failed to meet the needs of landless young men through limiting its services to production-related activities requiring land and often cash, two assets often out of reach for many in this age group. Because of this, the majority of the young men have so far shown little interest, which means that NAADS is missing a significant segment of the rural poor within the agricultural sector.

In effect, NAADS remained rooted in the transfer of technology (TOT) and advisory extension models. Although the NAADS prototype included elements of the facilitation (or participatory) model (Röling, 1996) the lingering mentality associated with TOT accounts for the visibly ‘promotional’ character of NAADS, in its desire to “push” an ‘enterprise-based’ farm/agrarian development approach. This ‘promotional’ orientation was manifest in the criteria that guided farmer enterprise selection exercises during the participatory planning process (Chapter 2). The outcome of this process was very much influenced by these criteria, and led to concerns being voiced about exclusion of very poor farmers when trying to target the ‘economically active poor’ (GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005), making it equivalent to the Green

Revolution model that targeted a classic middle peasant (with some access to land, labour and credit) (Richards, 2006). This ‘guided’ participatory process generated what may be referred to as a ‘disciplined demand’ for services by the farmers for NAADS to act upon.

It is by now evident that the NAADS’ prototype for extension applies a *persuasive* extension strategy that is usually associated with achieving policy objectives (Leeuwis, 2004b). It appears that this limited view of, and hence role for, extension within NAADS threatens the emergence of a more broad-based extension practice. This is not to suggest, however, that NAADS has completely ignored the human resource development aspect of extension (Swanson, 2008; Swanson et al., 1997). A key area of focus of NAADS is ‘farmer institutional development’ (See Chapter 2). In practice, however, experience in the two study sub-counties suggest that activities under this heading have been treated largely as an appendage to activities of the ‘advisory and information services to farmers’ and the ‘technology development and market linkages’ components.⁵⁰¹ This by and large has relegated the farmer institutional development activities to serving mostly as a means to achieve the ‘farming as a business’ and/or ‘enterprise development’ agenda, rather than being an important aspect of delivering a broad livelihoods outcome for all groups of participating farmers. This has important implications for the extent to which NAADS can hope to build capacity for technology adaptation among the farmers and fulfil ambitions to engender a demand-driven advisory service system.

In a similar vein, farmers were discontented with the nearly invisible role of the NAADS in helping to find markets for agricultural produce. Although it may have been a misplaced expectation, farmers (and others) apparently expected NAADS to go beyond its current basic function of focusing on market information to establish market linkages, and play a more active role in the marketing process, rather like a broker (or perhaps even acting as a buyer!). This may be a reflection of earlier experience with government marketing boards. The (elder) men and (male) youth were, in particular, disappointed when NAADS appeared not to have supported its seemingly aggressive ‘farming as a business’ campaign by a focus on better market access. These two groups, prior to the NAADS, were losing confidence in farming as a reliable source of income on which to support a family.

⁵⁰¹ The peripheral status of farmer institutional activities can, for instance, be seen in NAADS having placed these activities under the advisory and information services component and also in the limited time allocated to these activities by local implementers. Things were not helped by the generally inadequate capacity of many participating NGOs to guide farmer institutional development effectively, as evidenced in increasing concern about this deficiency over the years of the NAADS implementation (See CEED, 2004, for example). However, following the mid-term review of NAADS in the financial year 2005/06 after nearly four years of implementation there was some attempt to give the farmer institutional development component a central role by making it a distinct component. This change appears to have been intensified by a sudden ‘political’ review of NAADS’ focus (after a presidential assessment in 2007). This review resulted in a change of NAADS’ previous main focus on advisory services, so that it included, among others, increased responsibility for procurement and distribution of technology inputs. NAADS affiliated farmer groups were also advised to associate with the Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOS) in their respective sub-counties, under an initiative for economic organization of farmers associated with the Prosperity-for-All (PFA) programme. These changes are not in themselves problematic. But, as noted already, if not implemented properly they are likely to reinforce a culture of dependency on political handouts among the farmers.

But of greatest concern and disappointment to farmers was the quite limited scope of services provided by NAADS. They often described the NAADS service package as ‘narrow’ in relation to the range of farming-related constraints experienced by the farmers. Farmers thought NAADS ought to address these other constraints, as well as the notably poor access to production inputs and credit, if farmers were to benefit fully from the agricultural production knowledge/kills availed by NAADS through its ‘farming as a business’ drive. For most part this concern reflected a widespread feeling that farmers lack the necessary financial capacity to acquire production inputs. The situation was even more complicated by the absence of easily accessible (micro-) credit services geared to local farming needs and conditions. Youth and women were additionally constrained by inadequate access to and/or lack of control over land. Young men were switched off by resource constraints, and often saw little benefit in NAADS, in the absence of specific efforts to address their specific vulnerabilities.

Definitely, addressing farmers’ needs for inputs and credit, and ensuring more equitable access to land, falls outside the present NAADS mandate. Yet it is for this very reason that the analysis in this thesis questions whether what NAADS desires (i.e. ‘marketization’) can be achieved under prevailing circumstances, which (in regard to such inputs) represents a situation of ‘market failure’. What this thesis has shown, in so far as the case study is concerned, is that the agrarian development model pursued by NAADS might be more appropriate when targeting farmers equipped with the requisite assets such as land, cash, and skills,⁵⁰² and whose production objective is already oriented towards market participation. But there is little or no evidence that NAADS helps low-resource farmers towards market participation. It appears key assets are largely absent among the majority of the NAADS’ target group, the women and youth especially.⁵⁰³ It may be worth noting that this marginalization is not simply an issue of societal marginalization of women. It has been shown to reflect biases within extension as well, such as focusing on certain types of crops and livestock or farmers and farms, or through promoting expensive inputs and modes of production (Christoplos, 1996).⁵⁰⁴

Analysis in this thesis also puts into question whether what farmers crave (inputs, credit, etc.) can be provided by NAADS. The programme's ability to address farmers’ needs for a wide range of services (in addition to knowledge /skills and related technology inputs) is constrained by the present organizational-set within the PMA. It has been noted that this

⁵⁰² In fact Swanson (2008) underscores the need for especially the small scale, subsistence farmers (who generally lack basic education) to acquire new or additional skills and knowledge if they are to engage in market oriented farming which among others requires that they able to assess the different market potential of new high-value crops and/or products.

⁵⁰³ This, however, is not to say that there has been any positive (income) benefits among these groups. For instance, while it acknowledges the difficulty with direct attribution, the evaluation of the PMA (see GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005) reports results from focus group discussions with women’s farmer groups in which participants seemed to be clear that their wealth status had increased as result of belonging to these groups which had reportedly received services from NAADS.

⁵⁰⁴ Christoplos (1996) notes that marginalization of women in this regard has happened when, for example, extension favours and/or targets cash crops (instead of food crops) or large livestock (instead of small livestock) or large scale farmers (and not small scale farmers). As for the marginalization of rural youth, Swanson (2008) notes that this group has been ignored by most national agricultural and extension systems because they are not viewed as central to the goal of achieving national food security. This is because many are not yet householders. But this can become a vicious circle, if young man cannot access land for farming.

arrangement has in part hindered NAADS from taking on a broader view of extension. In intention, the components of PMA are meant to be complementary in overcoming the key constraints undermining agricultural productivity in Uganda (MFPED & MAAIF, 2000). In practice, however, as the recent evaluation of the PMA reveals the anticipated interface among the various components was never really realized, leading to poor integration of services (GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005). It is worth noting that this challenge for NAADS was not unanticipated (see Kidd, 2001; Farrington et al., 2002, for example). In fact, in spite of other possible constraining factors,⁵⁰⁵ it now appears that the greatest weakness during the implementation of the PMA has been the failure of the anticipated coordination between its different pillars.⁵⁰⁶ This seems to be an issue of (possible) systemic failure or coordination failures leading to market failures (Kydd and Dorward, 2004:951); or what Rip (1995, cited in Leeuwis 2004b: 296) refer to as a ‘failure of alignment’.⁵⁰⁷ This refers to the well known dependency of extension on externalities within the wider policy environment over which management has limited influence (Feder et. al., 1999; Anderson and Feder, 2004). It is also important to recall that this was a major factor in the well-documented poor performance of the traditional public extension services in developing countries that together with other factors triggered the current reforms in extension. Hence NAADS experience thus far demonstrates that it is ‘easy to promise but hard to deliver’, a distinction that Davidson (2007) refers to as the ‘rhetoric and reality of agricultural extension’.

6.4 Overall conclusion

Analysis in this thesis has shown that NAADS has managed to improve access by farmers in the two study sub-counties to knowledge and skills for improved agricultural production but that it is as yet generally unable fully to meet farmers’ needs for technology-related inputs. Nor has NAADS yet succeeded in linking farmers to input and output markets, although this responsibility is not strictly part of its mandate. This suggests that NAADS has failed to focus enough attention on the material dimension of its extension package. Concerns continue to be expressed about using extension as an input delivery vehicle. Many experts advocate focusing only on “quality” messages. But this confuses input delivery with the need for material or technological transformation. It is the lack of truly viable and profitable farm-level technology for Ugandan conditions on which farmers focus their complaints. This thesis has shown that in a situation where the majority of farmers lack the capacity to access inputs and production credit, access to knowledge/skills can only, at best, serve as a precondition

⁵⁰⁵ The evaluation of the PMA in 2005 (GoU, 2006; OPM, 2005) notes that there has been confusion among stakeholders over its function. Growing concerns about its lack of impact resulted in the PMA Secretariat launching an aggressive campaign to clarify to stakeholders what PMA is really about. This notwithstanding, the PMA continued to be seen and treated (at least in official circles) only as a strategy and operational framework for modernizing the country’s agricultural and rural sector (UNDP, 2007) and not an investment plan (OPM, 2005; GoU, 2006).

⁵⁰⁶ Actually this challenge and/or failure stands out prominently as a key reason for dropping the sector-wide approach (SWAP) to transforming agriculture (as was conceived under the PMA) in the draft Development Strategy and Investment Plan of the Agriculture Ministry (apparently to be incorporated in the National Development Plan to replace the PEAP framework that has guided national development since 1997).

⁵⁰⁷ Rip defines ‘alignment’ as “bringing different aspects of and dimensions of innovation ‘in line’ with each other”. Leeuwis (2004b) underscores the relevance of alignment activities and observes that many agricultural and other technologies fail to be accepted on a significant scale apparently due to insufficient, partial or unbalanced alignment.

rather than a guarantor of material transformation. Thus NAADS is yet fully to meet and *respond* to the obviously diverse expectations, needs and interests of its primary clients – the majority of low-resource farmers. This has important implications for the inclusiveness of women and youth in NAADS. Women have kept faith with NAADS, despite little evidence that it really helps them, but young men have been alienated from the programme. This means that they lack a voice to influence decisions (Agarwal, 2001) and the exclusion becomes reinforcing. Women and youth were marginalised, more than any other factor, by NAADS's restrictive enterprise approach. This approach had thus far tended to favour certain enterprises that remain out of reach of socially vulnerable groups on account of their low asset portfolio, including most notably access to land. NAADS needs to redesign its programmes to have real relevance and appeal to the majority of its clients, who are low resource, subsistence-oriented farmers grappling with the typical conditions encountered in rural Uganda.

On the whole the analysis indicates a mismatch between what NAADS (and the policy generally) aspires to, and the conditions of primary clients, subsistence farmers, and women and youth in particular. It has been clarified that this gap seems to be the result of a combination of possible limitations concerning the internal organization of NAADS (and therefore of the PMA itself) and various situational/historical factors in the environment within which NAADS has been implemented.

This serves to underline the relevance of situational/historical factors in (rural) development intervention (Walters et al., 1999). Additionally, the thesis has drawn attention to the fact that an initiative of the NAADS kind, even if conceived in largely technical terms, cannot be divorced from the social dynamics associated with its implementation (Allen, 2002). Analysis suggests that the NAADS experience in the two study sub-counties can be summed up as yet another typical case of a prototypical approach to development intervention, which in trying to reconstruct the local constraints, instead of taking these as its starting point, fails to arrive at 'appropriate' solutions⁵⁰⁸. More often than not such a prototypical approach misses the full reality of the social and material worlds inhabited by those targeted for intervention. For that reason the analytical part of the thesis has reflected upon what appear to have been key oversights when conceiving Uganda's current agricultural/rural development framework – the PMA. This reflection brings out the problematic aspects of the NAADS' extension prototype. But reform is possible, as will now be discussed.

6.5 Implications for policy and extension practice in Uganda

The findings of this thesis have important implications for narrowing a gap between national policy aspirations in Uganda (as communicated in the PMA/NAADS) and the realities of the NAADS's primary target group - subsistence farmers – on the ground. *An important question*

⁵⁰⁸ For a detailed discussion on this, see Leeuwis (1998, 'Changing Roles in Technology Development for Knowledge Intensive Agriculture: A social Science Perspective on Interactive Prototyping').

is what needs to change? On the one hand some change at the farmer level might be possible, so that farmers ‘fit’ NAADS design and aspirations. Farmers will, for instance, have to adjust their largely dependent attitude towards government and its agencies owing to the previous top-down governance and development approaches. They need to take opportunity of and embrace present-day approaches that emphasize bottom-up, demand-driven, farmer-centred planning and top-down accountability. On the other hand, and most significantly, change may be needed at the NAADS organizational or policy levels. This study was intended to make some contribution towards understanding how the NAADS might work better, taking account of the conditions of its clients. In fact the conclusions of this thesis arrive at a time when there has been a ‘heated’ and at times politically charged debate about the (non-) performance of the NAADS, in respect of delivering tangible benefits to rural households, as it begins a second phase, after seven years of implementation.

The findings of this thesis are in agreement with Agarwal (2001:1641) who noted that intervention initiatives either further entrench historical trends, or serve as an opportunity for weakening the hold of such factors. In other words, the gap between clients and policy is both a problem and an opportunity, for reform. Specifically, regarding on-going reform of extension in sub-Saharan Africa Davis (2008:25) has rightly noted that there is no “best practice” model for modifying extension programs, to be standardized and implemented anywhere. These two observations have relevance for the seemingly persistent ‘prototypical’ approach to development interventions, and extension interventions in particular. In order to capitalise on its current opportunity NAADS and the agricultural/rural development strategy in Uganda more generally, will need to pay attention to the following six sets of issues.

6.5.1 Understanding and supporting the different ways by which the target groups deal with their conditions

A key lesson from this study is that NAADS needs to understand farmer conditions and constraints, and to tailor support to actual conditions, including the low asset base of a majority of farmers. The need to deal with rural diversity by means of customized approaches aimed at improving the performance of agricultural knowledge and information systems vis-à-vis poverty has already been stressed (Berdegué and Escobar, 2002:11). Therefore, rather than try to reconstruct a ‘new farmer’ NAADS should reflect on what assistance would suit the needs of its main clients, including women and youth. It is especially important to go beyond the generic category of ‘subsistence farmer’ and recognise that the poor are active in the wider economy, though often greatly constrained by conditions. It should here be noted that the so called peasants have been the mainstay of Uganda’s economy in both good and difficult times (Opio-odongo, 1996). By adopting a ‘farmer-first’ approach based on a true understanding of the kinds of farmers it is dealing with NAADS will align itself with a foundational principle of extension that emphasises starting where people find themselves, and working with what they have, in order to help them to help themselves (Düvel, 1995, after Kelsey and Hearne, 1963). From a participation viewpoint this approach is seen as the cornerstone of ‘true’ empowerment of rural people. This also augurs well for NAADS’ aspiration to provide a livelihoods oriented service.

6.5.2 Targeting services: NAADS-for-women, NAADS-for-youth

This thesis has demonstrated gender and age-based differences with respect to response and/involvement in NAADS. It has further been shown that these differences, to a large extent, reflect incentives, constraints and needs of women, (male) youth and older men. This implies NAADS has to re-motivate the various sections of its target group around their own issues. Certainly, the enterprise approach to service provision within NAADS has proved a challenge to and/or constraint on involvement for many farmers. This is especially so for women and youth. Despite NAADS policy emphasis on women and youth, these two groups are yet to realize full benefits from this policy accent. Women remain key agents of food-crop farming in rural Uganda, and so cannot be ignored by extension. Young men, on the other hand, are alienated from agriculture, often due to land access constraints, and NAADS needs to find ways to encourage their re-integration within the agrarian opportunity structure.

The issue is not whether NAADS is willing to include women and youth but whether it has the right technological content and institutional orientation to appeal to these two important constituencies. For women, the focus of attention will need to be upon women's crops – especially food and garden crops. For (male) youth NAADS will have to broaden its focus from farm-based production processes to the wider farming products supply chain, including transportation, processing, and marketing, where young men with poor land access often see job opportunities for themselves. This might include NAADS engaging in entrepreneurial skills training for rural non-farm income generating activities, such as brick making and “informal” rural transportation activity (hand carts and adapting bicycles for ferrying farmers and produce to market are among the topics to be examined). This new activity should recognize the socio-economic realities of rural youth – their lack of capital, skills, or collateral for loans, as well as land - which explains their often negative attitudes towards rural life in general. It is important that NAADS recognizes the inter-dependency between farm and non-farm sectors in creating rural employment (see Berdegué and Escobar, 2002), a fact already recognized in the PMA document.

6.5.3 Improving access to land for agricultural production by youth and women

It is acknowledged in several documents on agricultural/rural development strategy in Uganda that access to land continues to constrain many smallholder farmers. Ellis and Bahigwa (2003) strongly associate rural poverty in Uganda with lack of land (and livestock). This was certainly the situation for youth but also for women to large extent in the two sub-counties studied here. Land access becomes an even greater challenge when farmers are ‘advised’ to engage in certain enterprises and production technologies for market-oriented farming. It is widely hoped that the over-arching issue regarding security of tenure and the somewhat problematic landlord-tenant relationship in Uganda will be improved through application of provisions in the Land Amendment Bill of 2007, amending the 1998 Land Act.

The 2007 amendment addresses security of occupancy on land for the lawful and bona fide occupants but it should be realised that access is a rather different issue. Women and youth are often in greater need of – say - tenancy arrangements. For this, the key question can be

how well local courts administer short-hold tenancy agreements, for example. This is why land reform focused on title, ownership and land as collateral may not necessary resolve the land access problems of marginalised groups. Attention, in this regard, needs to be paid to existing social-cultural norms and gender biases that seem to constraint access by members within households and communities to otherwise under-utilized land. Sometimes, it is not even a matter of a tenancy agreement. What women need, for example, is greater societal recognition of the key contribution they make to household livelihoods, and a fairer share of household resources to support these activities. In addition to the commendable efforts by the NAADS to mobilise women in its activities, further efforts thus are needed to educate husbands and communities about how lack of household resources, including access to the land of the husband or family, might negatively affect women's role in agricultural production. In some ways young men are also in an awkward position, since they may have to wait to inherit land from parents before they can begin investing in a farm of their own. But the amount of land to be inherited is reduced by current rates of population increase. For young men the alternatives are to rent land, or to seek employment outside farming. NAADS should pay some attention to farm technologies suited to renting (e.g. where the equipment is portable from site to site, as is often the case in vegetable gardening) and it should encourage young men to take up agrarian non-farm livelihood opportunities, to reduce the exodus of youth towards the cities.

6.5.4 Revisiting the mandate and mode of operation of NAADS

The NAADS experience so far gives a clear message that agricultural extension should go beyond production-focused technology transfer activities and facilitate farmer access to a wider range of services, covering the entire farm supply value chain, including input and commodity markets and micro-credit. At the more general level, extension needs to recast itself in both content-and process-oriented terms and to move beyond its current bureaucratic mandates, if it is to empower resource poor farmers to deal with changing agricultural and rural livelihood environments. It is significant that this study confirms that farmers have a wide range of expectations about extension, and this offers a space for the development of new ideas about what extension ought to be and do.⁵⁰⁹ A broadened mandate seeks to strengthen the traditional intermediary function of extension whereby the NAADS should be at the forefront in forging the necessary coordination and partnership relationships among the various actors in agricultural support services notably research, marketing and agro processing and rural financial services (Rajalahti et al., 2008:16). Consequently, NAADS needs to embrace a broader mandate and approach to extension in terms of both content and mode of operation and adopt a more flexible and responsive framework for implementation.

Definitely, one would not expect NAADS on its own to address the entire range of services needed by the farmers. Nonetheless, NAADS (as a public extension agency) should provide the necessary leadership, instead of allowing it to be restricted by bureaucratically-defined

⁵⁰⁹ The basic idea is covered by terms such as 'extension plus' (Sulaiman and Hall, 2004), 'complete innovation' (Smith 2005), 'communication for rural innovation' (Leeuwis 2004a), 'innovation development' (Dormon, 2006) and 'enabling extension' (Worth, 2006).

mandates. After all, extension has always played an intermediary role, even though this role has traditionally been limited to providing a link primarily between researchers and farmers. In the medium term, however, policy in Uganda may need to pay even greater attention to the issue of what NAADS provides to its clients – i.e. the material content of its extension package. It should by now be obvious that whereas advisory-cum-training services are relatively easy to deliver (in practical and financial terms), training does not seem to benefit farmers. This is especially so in a situation where majority of the farmers find difficulty in accessing relevant technologies and production inputs due to limited purchasing power. Recent developments indicate a change may be under way, since political leadership in Uganda has begun to place increasing emphasis on the need for NAADS to pay more attention to technology inputs.⁵¹⁰ Yet there is still a dilemma to be addressed. The question of what new technologies would actually release the constraints under which poor farmers operate in Uganda is far from settled. The right technologies will be those that farmers fight to obtain. It will be important for NAADS to avoid feeding an existing culture of dependency with ‘hand-outs’ based on what external agencies hope will be appropriate. Additionally, although farmers show clear preference for technology inputs, experience also shows that ‘subsidized’ technology inputs tend to benefit a small number of farmers – often those with political connections - leading to further concerns about who gets excluded.⁵¹¹

The risks just stated underline the importance of building capacity for technology adaptation among farmers. Equipping farmers with relevant skills for adapting technologies would not only serve to enhance a ‘multiplier’ effect in up-scaling available technologies but would also help reduce vices such as dependency on external sources, created by earlier but ineffective technology transfer approaches to agricultural innovation. In fact, building capacity for technology adaptation among farmers was the original intention of the technology development component in NAADS. This aspect was never actually operationalized, for a number of reasons including the weak early interface between NAADS and the research and technology development community. Moreover the plan in its original form appeared to place the entire responsibility for adapting technologies to local conditions entirely on adaptive researchers working with the farmers. A more productive approach, however, might be to involve all relevant players in the larger national and international agricultural innovation system, not excluding the present (private) service providers. This needs a comprehensive vision and leadership. NAADS could aspire to fulfil this role. But to do so the programme will have to shift in a fully committed way to technology adaptation among the farmers organized as discovery-based learning, with a focus on ‘learning by doing’ rather than on the traditional instructor-led, talk-based training methods that have so far characterized most NAADS training and demonstration activities. It is significant that by failing to take on a broader mandate and approach as well as a more flexible and responsive implementation framework NAADS risks a repeat of the VLPA experience—*generating demand that was*

⁵¹⁰ This followed a technical evaluation of the PMA (in 2005) and the mid-term review of the NAADS (in 2005) and more recently a ‘political’ review of the NAADS in 2007.

⁵¹¹ In fact these concerns are already being expressed by farmers with regard to selecting the different kinds of farmers (i.e. demonstration, model, nucleus, lead etc) meant to spearhead technology up-scaling and adoption under the ‘revised’ NAADS.

never accompanied by development of appropriate supply systems to address farmers' needs.

6.5.5 Addressing the problem of access to input and output markets

Access by farmers to input (including credit) and commodity markets remains a major problem, and is clearly a persistent difficulty in Uganda, rendering many small-scale producers powerless in a 'liberalized' market environment. There is therefore no doubt that addressing this problem will require a systemic approach. Economic management policy in Uganda continues to embrace a private sector-led approach, particularly concerning input and output markets, with public investment mostly limited to providing a conducive environment for private sector operation. Nevertheless, recent trends suggest increasing emphasis on public-private partnership for improved efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery. This, in fact, is also the case with agricultural services provided under NAADS. This will prove a positive development only if it fully incorporates the requirements of the bulk of smaller farmers, including women and youth.⁵¹²

But NAADS will obviously have an even greater role to play in regard to facilitating farmer access to commodity markets. This may require a (local) re-formulation of the concept of market somewhat at variance with the neo-liberal view of a market as pure competition, irrespective of social differences among market actors. Due consideration should be given to the question of what kind of markets might work in what situations (in marginal areas vs. areas with good market access, for example) and for what particular groups of farmers (depending, for example, on scale of operation, type of farming enterprise, age and experience in farming, gender and socio-economic status of farmer, etc.). This implies that efforts towards market development should not only aim at a 'good price' but should also be linked to specific modes of production, putting into consideration the social-technical relationships involved. It should thereby be realized that markets take local shape from certain attractive production activities. Moreover from an innovation view point a 'market' for a particular product is not simply a question of making a product –available in a particular physical place. Rather robust and enduring markets are built through repeated cycles of negotiation involving many different players at different levels.

⁵¹² After years of neglect of agriculture in developing countries, the mood within the World Bank is changing. There is now greater recognition of the need for more public involvement in African agricultural technology development (WDR, 2008). Within in Uganda, the GoU is also adjusting, albeit slowly, from pursuing ardently a market-based economic management strategy to one that allows for some state intervention in agricultural/rural sector development. This is evident in the recently launched Rural Development Strategy□, in which one component – the Integrated Support to Farmer Groups (ISFG), under the direct responsibility of NAADS - is intended specifically to support technology up-scaling and adoption by farmers. On the other hand, concerns have been expressed about this policy initiative which seems to violate the design logic of the NAADS programme. For instance, the recent evaluation of the PMA (OPM, 2005; GoU, 2006) notes that this move is inconsistent with the PMA principles on the role of government, and worries that elements of the Rural Development Strategy allowing distribution of inputs to farmers through NAADS have a potential to undermine the development of a private market (See GoU, 2006, for example). A similar concern is raised in the Uganda Human Development Report 2007 (Rediscovering Agriculture for Human Development) as is implied in one of its recommendations which states that 'the role of NAADS in input distribution should be directed to cases where public distribution of inputs can be justified on the basis of short-term needs, for instance, in post conflict northern Uganda, or in areas of high population displacements' (UNDP, 2007).

It should be born in mind, in this regard, that most farmers being targeted by NAADS are only in the early throes of attempting a transition from subsistence to market-oriented farming. The case of the farmer group in Kasawo sub-county who were, for a short period, involved in production of hot pepper, demonstrates clearly that such groups of inexperienced and less well-equipped producers cannot (on their own) easily deal directly with experienced middlemen well-connected to and dominated by distant markets. It may thus be useful to consider an arrangement like the one in which the members of a youth farming group engaged in individual production of vegetables, only later pooling their produce at the point of sale to an already identified buyer. It is perhaps this kind of seemingly informal ‘contract farming’ which needs to be more thoroughly explored and supported by NAADS as a basis for developing sustainable market access arrangements by easy stages. This seems particularly relevant to the needs of vulnerable groups such as youths and women, some of whom were already found to be engaging in income generating farming activities, around which they had already tried to secure joint access to markets for their produce. Once such groups have built up some capacity they might then progress to the stage of forming appropriate more highly-organised marketing associations. NAADS needs to conceptualize a step-wise process for building market skills, and mentor its infant groups accordingly.

6.5.6 Improving the culture of learning among development experts and within extension

Finally, my experience in this thesis has shown that in spite of many opportunities to learn lessons from previous agricultural/rural development initiatives, Uganda’s influential development professionals seem to discard rather too easily potential lessons to be learnt. The vice of poor learning from experience is indeed evident throughout the history of agricultural extension in Uganda. Quite often, seemingly negative experiences from previous extension are seen not as stepping stones to something more effective, but total failures to be forgotten as quickly as possible. For instance, purportedly, one of the reasons for dismissing the Village Level Participatory Approach (VLPA) at the end of the World Bank funded Agricultural Extension Project (AEP) was its being too much about rural development and less about] extension! Yet experience with implementing NAADS (or the PMA in general) thus far shows clearly that rural livelihood improvement involves issues that go beyond agricultural development to embrace broader rural development concerns. A clear problem in this regard is to make a fetish of the new – to regard “innovation” as the objective of development, rather than sustainability and poverty alleviation. Innovation may be the right mechanism for change, but it has to be related to its context. The ultimate advice to NAADS from this study is to reconceptualise innovation as situated action, taking full account of the environmental, social and historical context of those who constitute the groups to be targeted by any kind of proposed intervention. This thesis has pointed to an old truth - nothing happens easily unless the conditions are right. In the words of Ray Pawson and Nick Tilley, policy and project interventions depend on the correct configuration of context, mechanism and outcome.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1A. Profile of key informants in Kasawo Sub county

	Sex	Type/level of informant (Village/Parish/Sub county)	Institutional affiliation /Position/ role in community
1	M	Sub county	-Member, Procurement Committee of the Area Development Committee/ADC (World Vision) -Retired civil servant -Opinion leader
2	F	Parish	-Member (community counselor), Village Development Committee/VDC (World Vision) -(Formerly) member, LC 1 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated Women's farmer group</i>) -Participant NAADS PM&E pilot activities
3	F	Sub county	-District Women Councilor -Teacher, local secondary school (<i>Also a farmer</i>)
4	M	Parish (sub county-wide exposure)	-Community Health Worker (World Vision) -Member, VDC -Participant in NAADS PM&E Pilot activities (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer</i>)
5	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Chairperson, PDC (World Vision) -Secretary, L C2 -NAADS affiliated farmer group representative, SFF -CHAI facilitator Participant NAADS PM&E activities
6	F	Sub county	-Community Development Facilitator for the (World Vision) Kasawo Area Development Programme
7	M	Sub county	-Member SFF (youth representative on the interim, member Executive Committee substantive) -Chairperson youths, LC2 -Secretary, PDC -Member, LC2
8	M	Parish/ Village level	-Chairperson, LC 1 -Member traditional livestock keepers association (<i>'Sabalijja'</i>)
9	F	Sub county	-Member (<i>Treasurer</i>) ADC -Previously, member of interim SFF (Executive Committee)
10	M	Village	-Vice Chairperson, LC1 -Vice chairperson of a NAADS-affiliated farmer Group -Host of the NAADS Parish bull -Opinion leader in village
11	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Chairperson, LC 1 (Ex-officio, VDC) -Instructor, Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) (<i>Member of NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
12	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	Sub county Councilor
13	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Chairperson, LC 1 (<i>Ex-officio VD C</i>)

APPENDIX 1A. (Continued...)

14	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	- Chairperson, LC 1 (<i>Ex-officio VDC</i>) -(Previously) Chairperson, P DC -Chairperson, Kasawo Sub county Farmers' Association Branch -Chairperson, Parish Vanilla Farmers' Association -Prominent farmer
15	M	Parish (with sub county exposure)	-Previously member, Sub county NAADS Core Committee -Teacher, local primary school
16	M	Village	-Member (Secretary for Information), PDC -Formerly, Information Secretary LC1 -Member, CHAI group (<i>Member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
17	M	Sub county	-Director, Kasimwe Consult and Advisory Services
18	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Model farmer (World Vision) -Member (Secretary for Production), L C2 <i>member NAADS- affiliated farmer group</i>)
19		Parish (with sub county- wide exposure)	-Chairperson, LC2 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmers</i>)
20	M	Parish (with Sub county-wide exposure)	-(Previously) member MUDFA -Member, KANADA -Advisor, village security committee (retired service man) (<i>Chairperson, NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
21		Sub county	-Member, SFF (Vice Chairperson Interim; Procurement Committee Substantive) -Member (Treasurer) KANADA -Vice Chairperson, LC2 Member (Secretary), PDC
22	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Youth Secretary, LC 1 - Local produce buyer (<i>Also a farmer</i>)
23	F	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Parish mobiliser (Sub county NAADS) -Chairperson, Women LC3 -Instructor FAL (World Vision) - Former Parish rep. interim SFF -Previously, member Sub county NAADS Core Team -Participant of NAADS PM&E Pilot activities (<i>Member NAADS- affiliated farmer group</i>)
24	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Member (<i>Secretary for Education</i>), PDC -Acting Secretary (as a volunteer), of a parish level Disabled's Development Group (<i>member NAADS-affiliated Women's farmer group</i>) -Participant NAAD PM&E pilot activities
25	M	Sub county	-Chairperson SFF; Chair person SFF Procurement Committee (also held several separate informal conversations with the two, usually for validation purposes)

APPENDIX 1A. (Continued...)

26	F	Village/parish	-Secretary, LC1 -Member (Secretary), VDC -Participant NAAD PM&E pilot activities (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
27	M	Sub county	Chairperson, LC 3
28		Parish	-Parish representative, Interim SFF (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
29	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Chairperson , LC1 (<i>Ex-officio VD C</i>) - member CHAI group
30	M	Parish (with sub county- wide exposure)	-Vice Chairperson, LC1 -Chairperson, PDC -Sub county NAADS Core Team - Prominent farmer & opinion leader
31	M	Parish (with sub county- wide exposure)	-Member, LC1 -Member, Interim SFF (Procurement committee)
32		Parish	-Chairperson, LC2 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
33	M	Parish (with sub county- wide exposure)	-Member, interim farmer forum -Chair person, PDC
34	M	Village (some parish-wide exposure)	Chairperson, LC1 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
35	M	Village	-Chair person , VDC -Member, 'Bataka' committee (kind of village land tribunal) (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
36	M	Village (with parish-wide exposure)	-Member, LC1 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
37	M	Village	-Chairperson, LC1 -opinion leader (village)
38	F	Village	-Treasurer, Village Women Council -Chairperson, NAADS-affiliated Women farmer group
Others			
	M	Sub county	-Sub county NAADS Coordinator (held several <i>informal conversations with him, usually for validation purposes</i>)

APPENDIX 1B. Profile of key informants in Wakisi Sub county

	Sex	Type of informant (Sub county/ Parish/ Village)	Position/ role in community
1	M	Sub county	-Sub county mobiliser, NAADS service provider training activities
2	F	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Parish mobiliser, NAADS activities - Community Health/ Aids Worker -Chairperson, Wakisi Health Management Committee -(Previous) Parish representative, Interim SFF (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
3	M	Sub county	-Secretary for Production, LC3 - Patron, three NAADS affiliated farmer groups (<i>also a member of such a group</i>)
4	M	Sub county	-Resident and service provider (for AGRI-ADIV Consultants Ltd) - Member (Secretary) Wakisi Area Cooperative Enterprise - Farmer and long time resident in the sub county
5	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Sub county Vice Chairperson, MUDFA -Former member, Sub county NAADS Core Team -Prominent (livestock) farmer -Chairperson, NAADS-affiliated farmer group
6	M	Sub county	-Member, SFF (Executive Committee) -Chairperson, LC 1
7	M	Sub county	-Member, SFF (Procurement Committee) -Member (Secretary for Production and Environment), LC1 (<i>member NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
8	M	Sub county	-Prominent (commercial) farmer -(Previous) District Councilor (LC5) -(Previous) Secretary for Production (LC5)
9	M	Parish	-Chairperson, LC1 -Former member, Sub county NAADS Core Team -Link farmer (for NAADS activities in the parish)
10	M	Parish	-Sub county Councilor (for elderly) -Previously, women council (LC1, LC11)
11	M	Village	-Chairperson, LC1 (<i>member of NAADS-affiliated farmer group</i>)
12	M	Sub county	-Elder and opinion leader
13	M	Sub county	-Sub county Chairperson for the Disabled -Previously, Parish representative for the Disabled, Interim SFF
14	M	Sub county	Chairperson, SFF (Executive Committee) (<i>also held several informal conversations with him, usually for validation purposes</i>)

APPENDIX 1B (continued...)

15	F	Sub county	Members (Parish representatives), Interim SFF
16	M	Sub county	Sub county Administrative Officer (Chief)
17	M	Village	-Retired teacher -Coffee farmer (formerly employee of Coffee Marketing Board)
18	F	Sub county	-District Women Councilor –(Head) teacher, local primary school -Farmer member, MUDFA
19	M	Village	-Prominent coffee farmer (<i>previously member of NAADS- affiliated farmer group</i>)
20	M	Parish (with sub county-wide exposure)	-Youth Secretary, LC3 -Chairperson, LC2 -Farmer group representative, SFF
21	F	Village	Vice Chairperson, NAADS-affiliated farmer group
Others:			
	M	Sub county	-Sub county NAADS Coordinator (held several <i>informal conversations with him, usually for validation purposes</i>)

APPENDIX 2. Check list for community meetings

Background information about the respective village/parish, including:

- Identification and special features of the village/parish (*e.g. name, location, status on involvement in NAADS etc. as necessary*)
- Activities and events in which the community members tend to get involved in and the usual source of motivation (or de-motivation) for involvement in such activities and events (*i.e. purposes/interests/incentives that tend to motivate members for individual and collective actions*)
- An account of the level and nature of response to and contact of members with past and on-going (external) development and extension efforts in their communities
- ‘Things’ that have influenced (*i.e. enabled/constrained*) the level and nature of members’ response to and/or contact with such similar past and present development and extension efforts (probe, level of benefit from services provided and previous experience/effects of such efforts on individuals, households, group and communities)
- Any feature (s) about this village/parish that make it unique from other villages/parishes (*e.g. ethnic composition, community cohesion, social organization, social or physical isolation etc.*)
- Whether/how such a feature (s) might have influenced the level and nature of response and contact of members with (external) development interventions

Awareness, response to and/or involvement in NAADS-related activities:

- NAADS-related activities within the village/parish
- (Perception about) the level of awareness, response to and/or involvement of community members in NAADS-related activities
- (Perception about) the level of involvement of the different social/and gender (*i.e. women, men, youth*) and socio-economic (*i.e. poor, better-off*) groups in NAADS activities
- ‘Things’ that have influenced (*i.e. enabled/constrained*) the level and nature of response to and/or involvement of the various groups (**above**) in NAADS activities
- What needs to be done to improve the response and/or involvement of members of the different groups (**above**) in NAADS activities

Perceptions about NAADS approach and process:

(Probe, issues related to identification and prioritisation of farmers’ needs, procurement of services, type and quality of services provided etc.)

Perceptions about the (NAADS) farmer institutions (*i.e. farmer groups and farmer flora*)

In relation to:

- facilitating farmers’ involvement in NAADS activities
- enabling farmers to access NAADS services and related benefits,
- enabling farmers to influence the activities and actions of program implementers
- issues that enable and /constraints farmers involvement in these institutions

(In general) what needs to be done (differently) within NAADS to enable farmers participates and benefit from NAADS activities/services more fully

APPENDIX 3. Interview guide for NAADS-affiliated farmer groups

1. Group characteristics and functional aspects (e.g. objectives, activities, perceived benefits, etc....)

- a. Group name:
- b. Group type:
- c. Year of formation:
- d. Group size/membership:
- e. Education status of group members: (to be recorded on the attendance list):
- f. Age of group members: (to be recorded on the attendance list)
- g. Rules of entry, and other norms of the group:
- h. Group objectives:
- i. Main enterprise and activities of the group:
- j. Benefits/opportunities to members from their belonging to the group
- k. Constraints experienced in the group?

2. Status/level of contact of group with NAADS (e.g. registration; co-funding; representation status on SFF; presence/ evidence of on-going NAADS related activities, including *TDSs/demos, attendances in community level NAADS activities, trainings in particular)

Registration status and related issues:

Co-funding status and related issues:

Representation on the SFF and related issues:

Presence of NAADS related activities within the group:

Attendance in NAADS training and other NAADS community level activities in their parish/village:

3. Members perception of the relevance of the farmer groups, farmer forum?

Farmer groups:

Farmer forum:

4. What do you think could be done differently within NAADS to enable your group (or farmers in general) participate and benefit from NAADS activities/services more fully?

5. Others:

a. Anything unique about your farmer group that you may wish to share with me? (*Self-perception of the group by the members e.g. group strengths/weaknesses*)

Positive (strong points about the group):

Negative (Weak points about the group):

b. Any other linkages of the group (apart from that with NAADS) (probe on any possible links of important members in the group):

APPENDIX 4. Questionnaire for members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups

Assessment of the factors related to target group response to, and/or involvement in NAADS activities and satisfaction with NAADS services in the two case study sub counties

Identification information:

- Date: _____
- Interviewer name: _____
- Location: Sub county _____
Parish _____
Village _____
- Household name _____

Section A: Demographic characteristics of household head

*Please this section requires information about the head of the household (*please pay attention to this in case the respondent is not the household head)*

1. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

2. Age: _____ Years

3. Marital status:
 1. Married
 2. Single
 3. Widowed
 4. Other (**Specify** : _____)
4. Religion:
 1. Anglican (Protestant)
 2. Roman Catholic
 3. Moslem
 4. Adventist
 5. Pentecostal (includes all Balokole groups)
 6. Other (**Specify**: _____)

5. Tribe/ethnic group: _____

6. Level of education: _____

Section B. Household level information

(Questions 7 to 18 ask for information concerning the household characteristics and asset profile)

Household characteristics:

7. Nature of household headship:
 1. Male-headed
 2. Female-headed
 3. Male child-headed
 4. Female child-headed
 5. Other (**Specify**: _____)

8. Number of people in household: (Please indicate the number of **adults of 18 years and above**; number of children **above** and **below** 12 years, and **number of school going age children in school**)

Total number of people	Number of adults (18years and above)	Number of children above 12 years	Number of children 12 to 17 years	Number of school age- going children currently in School
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9. a) Main source of income/ livelihood for the household:
 1. Agriculture/farming (**Specify:** 1. Crops 2. Livestock)
 2. Non-agricultural/farming activities
 (**Specify:** 1. _____ 2. _____)
- b) Other sources of income/ livelihood for the household:
 1. _____ 2. _____
10. Main objective for involvement in agriculture/ farming (both crops and livestock) in the household:
- a) Crops farming:
 1. *For* domestic consumption
 2. *For* the market (sale)
 3. *For* both domestic consumption and the market
 4. Other (specify) _____
- b) Livestock rearing:
 1. *For* domestic consumption
 2. *For* the market (sale)
 3. *For* both domestic consumption and the market
 4. Other (specify) _____
11. Number of years household has been involved in farming (crops or livestock production):
 b) Crops farming: _____ years
 c) Livestock rearing: _____ years

Asset profile:

12. a) What kind of land do you have access to for farming or any other purpose (s) in the household?

1. Owned 2. Borrowed 3. Hired 4. Other (**Specify**)

- b) Please indicate the amount of land currently **owned, borrowed, hired** (if any, from **part a above**)

(*Please indicate the amount of land in acres or any other measures the respondent may be familiar with e.g. meters, feet e.g.50 ft x 39 ft)

Amount of land owned	Amount borrowed	Amount hired
_____ (acres/feet)	_____ (acres/feet)	_____ (acres/feet)

13. Amount of land currently under cultivation with crops: _____ acres

(Specify any other unit of measure that the respondent may be familiar with e.g. feet, metres)

14. Main farming/agricultural enterprise (s) engaged by the household for income generation in the last 5 years

(*Please rank them in order of importance with regard to generating income for the household as follow: 1. Most important 2. Second important 3. Third important)

Agricultural enterprise	Rank
<u>Crops:</u> 1. _____ 2. _____	_____ _____
<u>Livestock: (*includes various kinds of poultry)</u> 1. _____ 2. _____	_____ _____

(*Please provide information on the amount of land currently under any of the main cash crops and the current number of any of main livestock, from above)

Agricultural enterprise	Quantity
<u>Crops:</u> 1. _____ 2. _____	<u>Acres</u> _____ _____
<u>Livestock:</u> 1. _____ 2. _____	<u>Number</u> _____ _____

15. Main source/ form of labour used for agricultural/farming (crops and livestock) activities in the household (*please indicate any other form of labour that may also be used in each case):

Agricultural enterprise	Main source/ form of labour (Tick)	Other form of labour (Tick)
1. Crops	1. Family 2. Hired	1. Family 2. Hired
2. Livestock	1. Family 2. Hired	1. Family 2. Hired

16. Nature of house resided in by the household:

(*Please collect this information by observing the main house of the household)

Nature (tick)	Description (materials used)
1. Permanent	Roof: Iron sheets, tiles; Wall: bricks, sand, stones; floor: cement, concrete, stones
2. Semi-permanent	Roof: Grass, papyrus ; Wall: bricks, sand; floor: earth /mud/dung
3. Temporary	Roof: Grass, papyrus; Wall: poles, mud & wattle; floor: earth /mud/dung

17. Kind of means of transport possessed by the household, **(if any)**

1. Bicycle 2. Motor cycle 3. Motor vehicle

18. Suppose all the households in this community (village) are classified into two categories in terms of their socio-economic /wealth status (i.e. *1. Poorer than most others and, 2. Richer than most others*), in which socio-economic category would you place your household?

1. Poorer than most others 2. Richer than most others

Section C. Status of household on contact with NAADS activities and services/benefits
(Questions 19 to 35 ask for information concerning the extent of contact of the household with the activities of the NAADS in their respective communities (village, parish, sub county), expectations from and level of satisfaction with NAADS and extension service generally)

19. What are some of the NAADS-related activities that have been going on in your parish/sub county in the last 3 to 4 years that you have heard about?

*(*this includes the farmer institutions –farmer groups, farmer forum)*

20. What are your **three** main sources of information about the NAADS-related activities in your parish (or sub county as a whole)? *(*Please rank them in order of importance as: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important)*

<i>Main source (s) of information</i>	<i>Rank</i>
1. Fellow community member (non-member of farmer group)	
2. Fellow community member (member of farmer group)	
3. Leader of a farmer group	
4. Parish farmer group mobiliser/facilitator	
5. Farmer forum/member	
6. Local Council leader/member/meeting	
8. Service provider	
9. NGO staff	
10. Sub county NAADS Coordinator	
11. (other:	

21. What is the distance from your household to the **nearest** and **farthest** training centre/venue where you usually go to attend NAADS activities in your village or parish or sub county?

*(*please provide information on the main means of transport you usually use to get the training venue and the time you take to get to the venue)*

Distance to the training venue (Miles/Kms/meters)	Means of transport	Time taken to get to the venue (minutes/hrs)
Distance to the nearest training venue: _____ Miles/Kms/meters	1. _____ 2. _____ _____	_____minutes/hrs _____minutes/hrs
Distance to the farthest training venue: _____ Miles/Kms/meters	1. _____ 2. _____ _____	_____minutes/hrs _____minutes/hrs

22. What are some of NAADS activities (or services) in the parish/sub county that you (or any other member of the household) have been able to attend or use in the last 3 to 4 years?

23. If ever attended any of the NAADS activities (**from question 22, above**) shown in the table **below**, please indicate the number of times/sessions you have been able to attend so far? (**Please note that for the training on the agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock) the respondent will provide information on the number of times attended for the specific enterprises*)

Activity	Number of times /sessions attended	Number of times offered (*from official sources)
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	_____	4 times with a maximum of 12 sessions in four years
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	_____	4 times (in the four years)
3. Trainings of the agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
<u>Crops</u>		
1. <i>Banana</i>	_____	
2. <i>Coffee</i>	_____	
3. <i>Vanilla</i>	_____	
4. <i>Vegetable</i>	_____	
<u>Livestock</u>		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	_____	
2. <i>Goat</i>	_____	
3. <i>Pig</i>	_____	
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	_____	

24. For any of the activities you were able to attend the **most number of times** (if any), what were the **three** main ‘things’ (reasons) that enabled you to attend as many times as you did? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important; select activities respondent feels was able to attend the most number of times from Question 23 above*)

Activity	Reason(s) for attending the most number of times	Rank
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
<u>Crops</u>		
1. <i>Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Coffee</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Vegetable</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<u>Livestock</u>		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____

25. For some of the activities you feel you attended the **least number of times** (if any), what are some of the reasons for not being able to attend the desired number of times? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3=third important; select activities respondent feels was able to attend the least number of times from question 23)*)

Activity	Reason(s) for attending the least number of times	Rank
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
<u>Crops</u>		
1. <i>Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Coffee</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Vegetable</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<u>Livestock</u>		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
	<i>Others more generally:</i> 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	

26. If you have **not attended (or used) any** the NAADS-related activities /services in your parish or sub county, what are the main reasons for not being able to attend (or use) such activities /services? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important; select activities respondent did not attend from Question 23 above*)

Activity	Reason for not attending the activity	Rank
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
<u>Crops</u>		
1. <i>Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Coffee</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Vegetable</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<u>Livestock</u>		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
	<i>Others more generally:</i> 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	

30. What do you consider to be the three major benefits to your household from NAADS services, so far (if any)? (**please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Major benefits from the NAADS services	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

31. Overall, what is your level of satisfaction with the benefits to your household from NAADS services/activities, so far?

1. Satisfied 2. Fairly satisfied 3. Not satisfied

32. What are some of the main services you expect from the (government) extension service that **have NOT yet been provided** by the NAADS?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

33. What are some of the main services you expect from the (government) extension service **that have been provided** by the NAADS, so far? (**Please indicate the level of adequacy of the service provided in each case: 1. Adequate 2. Fairly adequate 3. Not adequate*)

Service provided by the NAADS, so far	Level of adequacy (*fill in the code)
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

34. If you look back at the (government) extension service at the time before the coming of the NAADS;

a) What are some 'things' that you think the coming of NAADS has helped to improve? (**please probe on how exactly has the NAADS helped to improve such 'things'*)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

b) What are some of the things that you liked more about the past extension services before the coming of the NAADS ? (**please probe on why the respondent liked about the under the past extension service*)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

35. Overall, what would you like to be done in a different way within the NAADS?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Section D: Issues related to the respondents contact/involvement with, satisfaction with and perception of the NAADS farmer institutions

**Questions about 36 to 45 ask for information related to the respondent's relationship (membership) with the NAADS farmer institutions)*

36. What is the status of your membership in your farmer groups (including any other possible special role related to the SFF the respondent may be holding)
*(*Please note that a farmer group member may hold one or more of these responsibilities)*

1. Ordinary member of the group
2. Member of Executive Committee of the group (**Specify:** Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, _____, _____)
3. Representative of own farmer group on the Sub county farmer forum
4. Parish/ farmer group mobiliser/facilitator
5. Member of the a committee of the Sub county farmer forum
6. Member of the Parish Coordination Committee

37. What do you consider to have been the main source (s) of motivation (incentive) for joining the farmer group (s)? (*Please rank them in order of importance as your source of motivation: **1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important**)

Source of motivation for joining the farmer group	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

38. What do you consider to be some of the major benefits to you from your membership in the farmer group (s), so far?

Major benefits from membership to farmer group	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

39. Overall, what is your level of satisfaction with the benefits you have realised from your membership in the farmer group (s), so far?

1. Satisfied 2. Fairly satisfied 3. Not satisfied

40. What do you consider to be the major challenges to your (full) involvement in the activities and services/benefits from your group (s)? (**Please rank them in order of importance 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Major constraints and/or challenges	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

41. How might such 'situations' (**question 40, above**) be changed to enable you be more actively involved and fully benefit from your membership in the farmer group (s)?

Constraints and /or challenges	Suggested change /solution (s)
1.	1. _____ _____ _____ 2. _____ _____ _____
2.	1. _____ _____ _____ 2. _____ _____ _____
3.	1. _____ _____ _____ 2. _____ _____ _____

42. What do you like about the idea of having the farmer groups and farmer forum in the NAADS in your sub county? (*Please rank the things you like in order of importance as: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Farmer groups	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____
Farmer forum	
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

43. What would you like to be done in a different way within the NAADS farmer groups and farmer forum in your sub county? (**please probe about any possible issues related to the requirements, process of formation and the functioning of the farmer group and farmer forum*)

(**Please take note that some of the issues related to the farmers' institutions may have been raised in question 35, above; if so please ask the respondents if s/he has any additional issues they would like to raise about any of these institutions*)

Farmer groups	Farmer forum
1. _____ _____	1. _____ _____
2. _____ _____	2. _____ _____
3. _____ _____	3. _____ _____

49. Have you (or any other member of the household) ever been involved in any **locally initiated** group or any other collective/community activities (**excluding** NAADS affiliated farmer groups) in your community (i.e. village, parish or Sub county)

1. Yes 2. No

(If **No**, go to question 53)

50. If yes, what kind of **locally initiated** group or collective/community activities have you (or any other member of the household) been involved in within the last five years?

Type of activity	Household member (e.g. 1.Man of household 2. woman of household 3. son, 4. daughter 5.other adult member) (*indicate if respondent)
1.	
2.	
3.	

51. How would rate the level of involvement /contact of your household with the locally initiated group or other collective/community activities in the **last five** years?

1. High 2.Moderate 3.Low

52. Overall, what is your level of satisfaction with the services/benefits to your household from your involvement in the locally initiated group or other collective/community activities?

1. Satisfied 2.Fairly satisfied 3.Not satisfied

53. If **No**, what do you think could have been some of the reasons for your (or any other member of your household) not having had an opportunity for getting involved in such activities (please rank them in terms of importance as:

(1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important)

Reasons	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

APPENDIX 5. Questionnaire for non-members of NAADS-affiliated farmer groups

Assessment of the factors related to target group response to, and/or involvement in NAADS activities and satisfaction with NAADS services in the two case study sub counties

Identification information:

- Date: _____
- Interviewer name: _____
- Location: Sub county _____
Parish _____
Village _____
- Household name _____

Section A: Demographic characteristics of household head

*Please this section requires information about the head of the household (*please pay attention to this in case the respondent is not the household head)*

1. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female
3. Age: _____ Years
4. Marital status:
 1. Married
 2. Single
 3. Widowed
 4. Other (**Specify:** _____)
5. Religion:
 - i. Anglican (Protestant)
 - ii. Roman Catholic
 - iii. Moslem
 - iv. Adventist
 - v. Pentecostal (includes all Balokole groups)
 - vi. Other (**Specify:** _____)
6. Tribe/ethnic group: _____
7. Level of education: _____

B. Household level information

(Questions 7 to 18 ask for information concerning the household characteristics and asset profile)

Household characteristics:

8. Nature of household headship:
 1. Male-headed
 2. Female-headed
 3. Male child-headed
 4. Female child-headed
 5. Other (**Specify:** _____)

9. Number of people in household: (*Plases indicate the number of adults of 18 years and above; number of children above and below 12 years, and number of school going age children in school*)

Total number of people	Number of adults (18years and above)	Number of children above 12 years	Number of children 12 to 17 years	Number of school age-going children currently in School
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. a) Main source of income/ livelihood for the household:

1. Agriculture/farming (**Specify:** 1. Crops 2. Livestock)
2. Non-agricultural/farming activities
(**Specify:** 1. _____ 2. _____)

- b) Other sources of income/ livelihood for the household:

1. _____
2. _____

3. Main objective for involvement in agriculture/ farming (both crops and livestock) in the household:

- a) Crops farming:

1. *For* domestic consumption
2. *For* the market (sale)
3. *For* both domestic consumption and the market
4. Other (specify) _____

- b) Livestock rearing:

- i. *For* domestic consumption
- ii. *For* the market (sale)
- iii. *For* both domestic consumption and the market
- iv. Other (specify) _____

11. Number of years household has been involved in farming (crops or livestock production):

- a) Crops farming: _____ years
- b) Livestock rearing: _____ years

Asset profile:

12. a) What kind of land do you have access to for farming or any other purpose (s) in the household?

1. Owned 2. Borrowed 3. Hired
4. Other (**Specify :** _____)

- b) Please indicate the amount of land currently **owned, borrowed, hired** (if any, from **part a above**)

*(*Please indicate the amount of land in acres or any other measures the respondent may be familiar with e.g. meters, feet e.g.50 ft x 39 ft))*

Amount of land owned	Amount borrowed	Amount hired
_____ (acres/feet)	_____ (acres/feet)	_____ (acres/feet)

13. Amount of land currently under cultivation with crops: _____ acres

(Specify any other unit of measure that the respondent may be familiar with e.g. feet, metres)

14. Main farming/agricultural enterprise (s) engaged by the household for income generation in the last 5 years

(*Please rank them in order of importance with regard to generating income for the household as follow: 1. Most important 2. Second important 3. Third important)

Agricultural enterprise	Rank
<u>Crops:</u>	
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
<u>Livestock: (*includes various kinds of poultry)</u>	
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

(*Please provide information on the amount of land currently under any of the main cash crops and the current number of any of main livestock, from above)

Agricultural enterprise	Quantity
<u>Crops:</u>	<u>Acres</u>
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
<u>Livestock:</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____

15. Main source/ form of labour used for agricultural/farming (crops and livestock) activities in the household (*please indicate any other form of labour that may also be used in each case):

Agricultural enterprise	Main source/ form of labour (Tick)	Other form of labour (Tick)
1. Crops	1. Family 2. Hired	1. Family 2. Hired
2. Livestock	1. Family 2. Hired	1. Family 2. Hired

6. Local Council leader/member	
8. Service provider	
9. NGO staff	
10. Sub county NAADS Coordinator	
11. (other:	

21. What are some of NAADS activities (or services) in the parish/sub county that you (or any other member of the household) have been able to attend or use in the last 3 to 4 years?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

22. What do you consider to have been the main source (s) motivation (incentive) for your attending the NAADS-related activities, above? (**Please rank them in order of importance as: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Source of motivation for attending the NAADS related activities	Rank
1. _____	
2. _____	
3. _____	
4. _____	

23. What is the distance from your household to the **nearest** and **farthest** training centre/venue where you usually go to attend NAADS activities in your village or parish or Sub county? (**please provide information on the main means of transport you usually use to get the training venue and the time you take to get to the venue*)

Distance to the training venue (Miles/Kms/meters)	Means of transport	Time taken to get to the venue (minutes/hrs)
Distance to the nearest training venue: _____	1. _____ 2. _____	_____ minutes/hrs _____ minutes/hrs
Miles/Kms/meters		
Distance to the farthest training venue: _____	1. _____ 2. _____	_____ minutes/hrs _____ minutes/hrs
Miles/Kms/meters		

24. If ever attended any of the NAADS activities (from question 23, **above**) shown in the table **below**, please indicate the number of times/sessions you have been able to attend so far?

(**Please note that for the training on the agricultural enterprises i.e. crops or livestock the respondent will provide information on the number of times attended for the specific enterprises*)

Activity	Number of times /sessions attended	Number of times offered (*from official sources)
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	_____	4 times with a maximum of 12 sessions in four years
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	_____	3 times (in the three years)
3. Trainings of the agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
<u>Crops</u>		
1. <i>Banana</i>	_____	
2. <i>Maize</i>	_____	
3. <i>Beans</i>	_____	
4. <i>Vanilla</i>	_____	
5. <i>Passion fruits</i>	_____	
<u>Livestock</u>		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	_____	
2. <i>Goat</i>	_____	
3. <i>Pig</i>	_____	
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	_____	

25. For any of the activities you were able to attend the **most number of times** (if any), what were the **three** main ‘things’ (reasons) that enabled you to attend as many times as you did? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3=third important; select activities respondent feels was able to attend the most number of times from question 24 above*)

Activity	Reason(s) for attending the most number of times	Rank
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		

<i>Crops</i>		
<i>1. Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>2. Maize</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>3. Beans</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>4. Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>5. Passion fruits</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>Livestock</i>		
<i>1. Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>2. Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>3. Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>4. Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____

26. For some of the activities you feel you attended the **least number of times** (if any), what are some of the reasons for not being able to attend the desired number of times?
*(*Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3=third important; select activities respondent feels was able to attend the least number of times question 24 above)*

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Reason(s) for attending the least number of times</i>	<i>Rank</i>
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		

<i>Crops</i>		
<i>1. Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>2. Maize</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>3. Beans</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>4. Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>5. Passion fruits</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>Livestock</i>		
<i>1. Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>2. Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>3. Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
<i>4. Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
	<i>Others more generally:</i> 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	

28. If you have **not attended (or used) any** NAADS-related activities /services in you parish or sub county, what are the main reasons for not being able to attend (or use) such activities /services? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important; select activities respondent did not attend from question 24 above*)

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Reason for not attending the activity</i>	<i>Rank</i>
1. Sensitisation and training activities on group formation by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____

2. Participatory planning/ enterprise selection by the NGO	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. Trainings on agricultural enterprises (crops or livestock)		
Crops		
1. <i>Banana</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Maize</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Beans</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Vanilla</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
5. <i>Passion fruits</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
Livestock		
1. <i>Dairy cattle</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. <i>Goat</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. <i>Pig</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. <i>Local chicken</i>	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	_____ _____ _____
	Others more generally: 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	

28. How would you rate the level of contact/ involvement of your household with NAADS activities (including access to information/awareness about what goes on in NAADS) in your parish?

1. High 2. Fairly high 3. Low 4. No contact at all

29. What do you consider to be the three main constraints and/or challenges to the (full) involvement of your household in the activities /services of NAADS? (*Please rank them in order of importance 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important)

Major constraints and/or challenges	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

30. How might such 'situations' (**Question 29, above**) be changed to enable you and your household be more actively involved so as to fully benefit from NAADS activities?

Constraints and /or challenges	Suggested change /solution (s)
1.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____
2.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____
3.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____

31. What do you consider to be the three major benefits to your household from NAADS services, so far (if any)? (**Please rank them in order of importance: 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Major benefits from the NAADS services	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

32. Overall, what is your level of satisfaction with the benefits to your household from NAADS services/activities, so far?

1. Satisfied 2. Fairly satisfied 3. Not satisfied

33. What are some of the main services you expect from the (government) extension service that **have NOT yet been provided** by NAADS?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

34. What are some of the main services you expect from the (government) extension service **that have been provided** by NAADS, so far? (**Please indicate the level of adequacy of the service provided in each case: 1. Adequate 2. Fairly adequate 3. Not adequate*)

Service provided by the NAADS, so far	Level of adequacy (*fill in the code)
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

35. If you look back at the (government) extension service at the time before the coming of NAADS;

a) What are some 'things' that you think the coming of NAADS has helped to improve?

(**please probe on how exactly has NAADS helped to improve such 'things'*)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

b) What are some of the things that you liked more about the past extension services before the coming of NAADS? (**please probe on why the respondent liked about the under the past extension service*)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

36. Overall, what would you like to be done in a different way by NAADS?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Section C: Issues related to the respondents perception of and possible difficulties with the NAADS farmer institutions

(**Questions about 37 to 40 ask for information related to the respondents perceptions of and possible difficulties with joining the NAADS farmer institutions*)

37. What do you like about the idea of having the farmer groups and farmer forum in the NAADS your sub county?

Farmer groups	Farmer forum
1. _____ _____ _____	1. _____ _____ _____
2. _____ _____ _____	2. _____ _____ _____
3. _____ _____ _____	3. _____ _____ _____

37. In case you or any other member of your household may have wanted to become a member of the farmer groups, what do you consider to be the main reason (s) for your not having been able to join any of the NAADS-affiliated groups in the area? (**Please rank them in order of importance 1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important*)

Main reason (s)	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

39. How might such 'situations' (**Question 38, above**) be changed to enable you and other members of your household to join the farmer groups?

Constraints and /or challenges	Suggested change /solution (s)
1.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____
2.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____
3.	1. _____ _____ 2. _____ _____

40. What would you like to be done in a different way within the NAADS farmer groups and farmer forum in your sub county? (**please probe about any possible issues related to the **requirements, process of formation** and the **functioning** of the farmer group and farmer forum; also take note that some of the issues related to the farmers' institutions may have been raised in **question 36**, above; if so please ask the respondents if s/he has any additional issues they would like to raise about any of these institutions*)

Farmer groups	Farmer forum
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____

46. Have you (or any other member of the household) ever been involved in any **locally initiated** group or any other collective/community activities (**excluding** NAADS affiliated farmer groups) in your community (i.e. village, parish or Sub county)

1. Yes 2. No

(If **No**, go to **question 50**)

47. If yes, what kind of **locally initiated** group or collective/community activities have you (or any other member of the household) been involved in within the last five years?

Type of activity	Household member (e.g. 1.Man of household 2. woman of household 3. son, 4. daughter 5.other adult member) (*indicate if respondent)
1. _____	
2. _____	
3. _____	

48. How would rate the level of involvement /contact of your household with the locally initiated group or other collective/community activities in the **last five** years?

1. High 2.Moderate 3.Low

49. Overall, what is your level of satisfaction with the services/benefits to your household from your involvement in the locally initiated group or other collective/community activities?

1. Satisfied 2.Fairly satisfied 3.Not satisfied

50. If **No**, what do you think could have been some of the reasons for your (or any other member of your household) not having had an opportunity for getting involved in such activities (**please rank them in terms of importance as: (1=most important; 2=second important; 3= third important)*)

Reasons	Rank
1. _____ _____	_____
2. _____ _____	_____
3. _____ _____	_____

APPENDIX 6. Roles and functions of the farmer groups and the (Sub county) farmer fora; and the general responsibilities of the Sub county Administration and Sub county Council in NAADS implementation

<p><i>Roles and functions of the farmer groups</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identify and prioritise members needs for advisory services -Develop operational plans for meeting members needs for advisory services -Raise financial contributions for the operation of advisory services at the group level -Monitor and evaluate the performance of the agricultural service providers -Elect representatives to the Farmer Forum -Participate (through elected representatives) in the Farmer Forum and activities of higher level NAADS organs -Develop linkages and partnerships with other stakeholders for purposes of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of advisory services
<p><i>Roles and functions of the SFF Executive Committee</i> ⁵¹³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Planning, costing and contracting advisory services and monitoring and evaluation (including assessing the quality of service provision) -Determining priorities and allocation of resources, and performance evaluation of the service providers -Providing feedback and feed forward between farmers and Fora at different levels -Considering and approving proposed work plans and budgets at the Sub county level for implementation of the NAADS in their area, for incorporation into the Sub county development plan -Advising the NAADS organization on suitable strategies for implementation of the NAADS -Supporting and facilitating the operation s of the farmer groups in the Sub county -Monitoring and reporting the establishment, registration, physical and financial performance of the farmer groups, Forum and service providers in the Sub county -Ensuring active participation of all categories of farmers –men , women, adults, youth, economically active people with disabilities (PWDS) –decision making processes
<p><i>Functions of the SFF Procurement Committee</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Issuing bidding documents to the bidders -Receiving and considering a shortlist of bids prepared by the (technical) evaluation team -Awarding contracts for the provision of NAADS services and goods -Ensuring that contract documents are in line with the award decision
<p><i>General responsibilities of the Sub county Administration</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Undertake all the necessary measures to meet the requirements for compliance by the Sub county to participate in NAADS -Empower farmers to own, demand and guide the advisory services -Commit matching funds for Sub county NAADS activities -Establish Sub county Contract Committees and facilitate the tendering process for advisory -Contract service providers for all NAADS (in collaboration with the Sub county Farmer Fora) -Undertake monitoring and evaluation of NAADS Sub county activities -Facilitate information feedback and feed forward mechanism between the farmer forum, the Sub county administration, NAADS and farmers
<p><i>Responsibilities of the Sub county Council</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ensure available of the NAADS funding as well as counterpart fund contribution by the Sub county governments from unconditional grants and local revenue -Ensure proper management of all the funds entrusted to the programme -Involve the farmer forum in planning, supervision and management of funds -Ensure that a clear vision of the NAADS mission is maintained -Ensure that there is a strategy and plan based on the NAADS principles and mission

(Source: Adapted from NAADS, 2001) Additional information from the NAADS implementation guidelines, Vol. 4 (January 2004).

⁵¹³ The SFF Executive Committee carries out the function of the SFF on a day to day basis.

Summary

The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) initiative in Uganda marked a new era of donor funding for agricultural extension in developing countries at the end of the 1990's. Addressing poverty through market-oriented agriculture and embracing a demand-driven extension approach are key aspects of the contemporary global extension thinking. Fundamentally, NAADS aims to develop a demand-driven, client-oriented and farmer-led agricultural service delivery system, particularly targeting the poor and women. However, based on the farming conditions in rural Uganda, characterised by subsistence farming, market failure, poverty and other forms of social distress, this thesis has considered the NAADS initiative as a "prototype" for a new approach to extension.

The aim of the thesis is not to judge the performance of the NAADS as success or failure, but rather to demonstrate which elements of the NAADS prototype seem to work (or not) in the conditions experienced by its primary clients – the subsistence farmers. At variance with the present-day policy-related studies, which focus more on "how" questions in policy implementation, this thesis concerns itself more with *what* NAADS provides to its clients – the material aspect – rather than how services are delivered.

The first chapter provides the background against which to understand the origin of the extension approach adopted by the NAADS, above all its strategy of market-oriented agriculture targeted at the rural farming conditions of its primary target group. Therefore, the overall research question addressed is: *What elements of the NAADS extension prototype work (or not) for the different groups of NAADS' primary clients – subsistence farmers – and under what conditions?*

This thesis reflects the findings of an empirical study of farmers' (and other stakeholders') experiences with NAADS during its first five years of implementation, in two trailblazing sub-counties in Mukono district in Central Uganda. The two study sub-counties constitute a single case study with internal variation. The sampling procedure, however, was not intended to provide direct comparison between the two study sub-counties, but rather to capture a sufficient range of both NAADS approaches and farmer realities to enable some understanding of likely causal processes or mechanisms which may have been triggered within a typical Ugandan rural context. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods were used, but qualitative methods – interviews – form the core. Such an approach offers opportunity for potential productive synergy in research that seeks to understand perceptions, feelings and experiences, as farmers interact with a development institution such as NAADS.

Chapter 2 describes the context for which the NAADS (extension) prototype was developed, within which it is being implemented, and upon which it is expected to make the intended change. It focuses on developments in the national extension service in Uganda and the broad national agricultural and/or rural development strategy within which the NAADS is

embedded. And it examines the NAADS programme in normative terms. Specific key features of the NAADS extension prototype and the conditions in the two-study sub counties are highlighted.

Chapter 3 forms the entry point to understanding the deeper issues related to the *scope* of services within the NAADS service package, and to some extent the *mode* of service provision within the NAADS approach. This is demonstrated by looking at how NAADS tries to balance between knowledge and artefacts within its service package. Three main points emerge from this analysis. Firstly, the initial understanding of NAADS among the farmers was that it was a government programme to deliver material inputs and financial support to farmers. This perception largely influenced farmers' later responses to NAADS activities. For reasons both historical and related to the NAADS process, farmers' expectations about extension changed little from their pre-NAADS expectations, in that farmers continue to view extension as concerning dissemination of technical messages (especially new skills) and production technologies.

Secondly, overall, judged on its mandate and the farmers' testimonies, NAADS has gone some way in improving farmers' access to knowledge on improved agricultural production and related practices. Ironically, although farmers show greater inclination towards material technological inputs than to production knowledge/skills, the technology development and delivery component of NAADS is apparently given lower priority, from the funding point of view, than advisory and information services. Consequently, farmers perceive that the programme is more concerned with rewarding service providers than addressing their needs. Dissatisfaction then led some farmers and local politicians to ask whom, between farmers and service providers, are the ultimate beneficiaries of the sub-county NAADS funds. This, in part, explains the increasing expression of "training fatigue" among the farmers.

Thirdly, NAADS is evidently limited in the way it can respond to emerging needs of its target group and unforeseen events in the course of implementation because it is largely premised on a fixed framework for extension characteristic of technology transfer: the Training and Visit extension approach. Such a preset framework generally hinders NAADS from adopting broader approaches to extension. This has important implications for the intended empowerment of farmers by NAADS, and the overall aim to engender a demand-driven advisory service.

Chapter 4 considers how NAADS has tried to link farmers to input and output markets and demonstrates how access to markets and inputs affects farmers' ability to use and benefit from extension services. The analysis reveals that although farmers were generally enthused by the NAADS campaign of "Farming as a Business", this initial zeal was soon followed by frustration, when NAADS fell short of backing this campaign with any real practical steps to facilitate access to better markets. The challenge for the farmers in accessing markets for agricultural produce, and also a litmus test for NAADS, is illustrated by their experiences with some of the enterprises promoted within NAADS. The vanilla scenario also exposes the

difficulty farmers have in dealing with the input market, which is linked to input-intensive nature of this enterprise. Likewise, the prohibitive nature of some enterprises is further shown by farmers' experiences with dairy cattle and goats. In spite of a stated intent to improve farmers' access to produce markets, NAADS' efforts faced a number of bottlenecks, including limitations imposed by a narrow mandate in this area. A weak private sector means that NAADS' expectations are quickly frustrated. Farmers are even more disappointed with NAADS' assistance in accessing other support services, notably inputs such as fertilizer and production credit. The general feeling is that without such a package, farmers see little prospect of benefitting from the knowledge offered by NAADS and its efforts to promote "Farming as a Business".

Overall, the analysis shows that the issue of farmers' access to inputs, credit and markets is a persistent and systemic problem, rendering farmers powerless in an elusive liberalized market environment. This suggests a lack of fit between NAADS' aspirations to realize market-oriented farming sector development and the prevailing conditions at the farmer level as well as the policy/institutional level. For NAADS to attend more effectively to the range of services needed by its primary clients, it will have to prevail over the present bureaucratic mandates and advocate for a broader mandate which seeks to strengthen the traditional intermediary function of extension. In order to accomplish this, NAADS should be at the forefront in forging the necessary coordination and partnership relationships among the various actors in agricultural support services, notably research, marketing, agro-processing and rural financial services.

Chapter 5 establishes issues of inclusion/exclusion and whether the NAADS' prototype is accurately targeted towards the needs of the women and youth in the two sub-counties. The findings reveal gender and age-based differentiation, both in response to and involvement in NAADS activities, especially in uptake of services offered, adoption of the enterprise approach, and the impact of the group approach. These differences reflect variations in incentives, needs and constraints of the different gender and age groups. Although women in particular are eager to engage with NAADS, both women and youth express concern about the limited nature and scope of the enterprises made available to them. There is also gender and age-based differentiation in relation to the group approach to service provision. Regardless of problems women experienced with bureaucratic and financial requirements, the advantages they associated with the NAADS group approach outweigh limitations. On the other hand, the idea of joining farmer groups did not appeal much to men and the youth, whose disinclination relates to bad experiences in such group-related activities in the past. Men's attitudes were further reinforced by the perceived time-consuming nature of group activities, and dealing with the bureaucratic and financial requirements related to the NAADS-affiliated farmer groups is an additional constraint for youth. Both adult men and youth connected with NAADS more through attending training activities than through membership in NAADS' farmer groups.

From a participation point of view, the analysis shows that women, men and youth evaluate their experiences with NAADS differently, owing both to group-specific subjectivities regarding values associated with participation and to objective differences in ability to participate. Thus, despite the considerable resource constraints they experienced, women actually value their participation in NAADS activities more than men do. Moreover, NAADS has thus far concentrated on providing knowledge and/or skills related services primarily for production-related activities that require land, while ignoring other parts of the agricultural supply chain which might have appealed especially to landless young men, such as transportation, processing, and marketing of produce. Overall, the analysis of issues of inclusion/exclusion within the NAADS suggests a relative mismatch between NAADS and the conditions of women and youths. This gap, however, is a result of the interplay between certain design features of NAADS (pertaining to policies, practices, processes, etc.) and several situational and/or historical factors in the environment in which NAADS has been implemented.

The synthesis in chapter 6 is directed towards the central question of the study, with a view to derive the implications for policy and extension practices in Uganda. Analysis in this thesis has shown that NAADS has improved farmers' access to knowledge and skills for improved agricultural production. However, it has not yet been able to fully meet farmers' needs for technology-related inputs, nor has NAADS yet succeeded in linking farmers to input and output markets, although this is not strictly part of its mandate. These findings suggest that NAADS has failed to focus enough attention on the material dimension of its extension package.

Generally, the analysis indicates a mismatch between NAADS' aspirations and the conditions of its primary clients: subsistence farmers, particularly women and youth. This serves to underline the relevance of situational/historical factors in rural development intervention. The NAADS experiences in the two study sub-counties can hence be summed up as yet another case of a prototypical approach to development intervention. The findings of this thesis have important implications for narrowing a gap between national policy aspirations in Uganda (as communicated in the PMA/NAADS) and the realities of subsistence farmers on the ground. While recognising the need for some changes at the farmer level, the reflection has paid greater attention to possible areas of reform at the NAADS organizational or policy levels aimed at improving NAADS' services to its clients. These include:

- Understanding and supporting the different ways by which the target groups deal with their conditions
- Targeting services: NAADS-for-women, NAADS-for-youth
- Improving access to land for agricultural production by youth and women
- Revisiting the mandate and mode of operation of NAADS
- Addressing the problem of access to input and output markets
- Improving the culture of learning among development practitioners and within extension

Samenvatting

Het Oegandese landbouwvoorlichtingprogramma *National Agricultural Advisory Services* (NAADS) luidde eind jaren negentig een nieuw tijdperk in voor landbouwvoorlichting in ontwikkelingslanden. Het NAADS programma combineerde armoedebestrijding en marktgerichte landbouwontwikkeling, kenmerkend voor de meer recente visie op voorlichting. NAADS streeft naar een vraaggestuurde, klantgerichte en door boeren geleide landbouwvoorlichtingsstelsel, met bijzondere aandacht voor arme groepen en vrouwen. Deze thesis beschouwt NAADS als een prototype voor een nieuwe voorlichtingsbenadering, en plaatst deze in de context van landelijk Oeganda gekenmerkt door zelfvoorzieningslandbouw, markt falen, armoede en andere sociale problemen.

Het doel van de thesis is niet om NAADS te beoordelen in termen van succes of mislukken. De thesis wil aantonen welke elementen van het NAADS prototype werken (of niet werken) in de omstandigheden van het programma's voornaamste klanten: voor zelfvoorziening producerende boeren. In aanvulling op veel van de huidige beleidsgerichte studies, die de hoe-vraag benadrukken, legt deze thesis zich toe op de vraag wat het NAADS programma levert aan haar klanten – het materiële aspect van voorlichting – en geeft minder aandacht aan hoe de diensten geleverd worden. De hoofdonderzoeksvraag is dan ook: *welke elementen van het NAADS prototype voor landbouwvoorlichting werken, en welke werken niet, en onder welke omstandigheden, voor de verschillende groepen van NAADS' voornaamste klanten – voor zelfvoorziening producerende boeren-?*

De thesis is een empirische studie van de ervaringen en percepties van boeren en andere belanghebbenden over de uitvoering van het NAADS in twee *sub-counties* in het Mukono district in het centrale deel van Oeganda. De twee studiegebieden zijn één gevalstudie met interne variatie; het onderzoek was niet ontworpen om een vergelijkende studie tussen gebieden te doen. De studie van twee gebieden maakte het mogelijk het scala van voorlichtingsbenaderingen en werkelijkheden van boeren te bestuderen voor het verkrijgen van begrip van de causale processen en mechanismen werkzaam in het platteland van Oeganda. Zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve methodes zijn gebruikt, met een nadruk op kwalitatieve interviews. De combinatie maakte het mogelijk de belevingen en ervaringen van boeren onderdeel te maken van een studie naar de interactie van boeren met een ontwikkelingsorganisatie zoals NAADS.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de maatschappelijke en beleidscontext waarin het NAADS prototype is ontwikkeld en uitgevoerd, en waar het ook een verondersteld effect op heeft. Het gaat in op de ontwikkelingen in de nationale voorlichtingsdienst in Oeganda en de bredere landbouwontwikkelingsstrategieën waar NAADS in ingebed is. Het onderzoekt NAADS in normatieve termen en brengt specifieke karakteristieken van het NAADS prototype voor voorlichting en de omstandigheden in de twee *sub-counties* voor het voetlicht.

Hoofdstuk 3 is het beginpunt voor een dieper begrip van de aard van de diensten die het NAADS programma levert, evenals van de wijze van dienstverlening. Het hoofdstuk laat eerst zien hoe het NAADS dienstenpakket balanceert tussen het aanreiken van kennis en het beschikbaar maken van technische artefacten. In eerste instantie beschouwden boeren NAADS als een overheidsprogramma dat materiële landbouwbenodigdheden levert. Deze opvatting beïnvloedde in belangrijke mate de latere evaluatie van NAADS door boeren. Om historische en NAADS-specifieke redenen veranderden de verwachtingen van boeren over voorlichting weinig tijdens de uitvoering van het programma. Boeren bleven voorlichting beschouwen als het overdragen van zowel technische kennis en kunde als van productietechnologie.

Ten tweede, afgaande op NAADS' eigen mandaten en de verklaringen van boeren, heeft het programma een bijdrage geleverd aan een verbeterde toegang van boeren tot kennis over verbeterde productiepraktijken. Opmerkelijk genoeg hechtten boeren meer belang aan materiële input en technieken dan aan kennis en kunde, hoewel dit eerste aspect lage prioriteit kreeg in de dienstverlening van het programma. Dit had tot gevolg dat boeren meenden dat de baten van het programma vooral terecht kwamen bij de ingehuurde dienstverleners en dat hun belangen ondergeschikt bleven. Deze onvrede leidde ertoe dat boeren en lokale politici zich openlijk afvroegen wie nu eigenlijk de werkelijke begunstigden zijn van de beschikbare NAADS fondsen. Het is ook een mogelijke verklaring van de trainingsvermoeidheid onder boeren.

Ten derde, NAADS is overduidelijk beperkt in haar vermogen een antwoord te geven op de behoeftes van haar doelgroep en op onvoorziene omstandigheden die in de loop van de uitvoering naar voren kwamen omdat het werkt met een vastgelegd raamwerk voor landbouwvoorlichting: de *Training and Visit* benadering. Dit vooropgestelde raamwerk verhinderde NAADS het werken met een bredere benadering van voorlichting. Het raamwerk bemoeilijkte ook het realiseren van de beoogde mondigheid van boeren en het idee van een vraaggestuurde dienstverlening.

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat in op de wijze waarop NAADS probeerde boeren te verbinden aan markten de verkoop van landbouwproducten en die voor de koop van landbouwinput. Het laat zien hoe toegang tot markten en input het vermogen van boeren om de dienstverlening te benutten bepaalde. Hoewel de boeren in eerste instantie enthousiast leken over de NAADS campagne "*Farming as a business*" bleek dit al snel te leiden tot onvrede toen NAADS in gebreke bleef om toegang tot de markt daadwerkelijk te verbeteren. De problemen voor boeren om toegang te krijgen tot markten voor hun producten komen naar voren in de beschrijving van een selectie van de ondernemingen die het NAADS programma in gang heeft gezet. De beschrijving van de vanilleonderneming maakt daarnaast duidelijk welke problemen boeren hebben bij het verkrijgen van productiebenodigdheden, wat des te helderder werd door het inputintensieve karakter van vanilleproductie. De beperkende aard van andere ondernemingen komt naar voren in beschrijving van ervaringen van boeren met het houden van melkvee en geiten. Hoewel markttoegang een benoemde opgave is van het NAADS

programma was het mandaat ontoereikend om dit concreet te realiseren. Een zwakke private sector frustreerde de hooggespannen verwachtingen van het NAADS-programma. Boeren waren zwaar teleurgesteld vanwege het onvermogen van NAADS om hen te ondersteunen in het verkrijgen van andere diensten, vooral zaken zoals kunstmest en krediet. Het algemene gevoel beschreven in deze thesis is dat zonder een dergelijk pakket boeren weinig heil zien in het benutten van de kennis of de campagnes over ondernemerschap die NAADS aanbiedt.

In algemene zin laat de analyse zien dat toegang van boeren tot landbouwbenodigdheden, krediet en markten een hardnekkig systeemprobleem is, dat boeren vrij machteloos maakt in een geliberaliseerde marktomgeving. Dit suggereert het ontbreken van een fit tussen de aspiraties van NAADS om een marktgerichte landbouwsector te bewerkstelligen en de heersende omstandigheden op zowel het niveau van boeren als op het niveau van beleid en instituties. Om NAADS effectief te laten zijn in de dienstverlening aan haar primaire doelgroep zal het programma moeten uitstijgen boven het huidige bureaucratische mandaat en pleiten voor een breder mandaat dat de traditionele makelaarsfunctie van voorlichting versterkt. Hiervoor lijkt het nodig dat NAADS de leiding neemt in het bevorderen van coördinatie tussen en het aangaan van partnerschappen met de verschillende actoren in het veld van landbouwvoorlichting, in het bijzonder onderzoek, marketing, verwerking en financiële diensten.

Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoekt uitsluitingmechanismen in het NAADS-prototype door in te gaan op de vraag of het programma daadwerkelijk in staat is om tegemoet te komen aan de belangen van vrouwen en jongeren in de twee *sub-counties*. De bevindingen laten op geslacht en leeftijd gebaseerde differentiatie zien, zowel in de reactie op en betrokkenheid bij NAADS activiteiten, vooral in het benutten van de aangeboden diensten, de adoptie van de ondernemerschapbenadering en de uitwerking van de groepsbenadering. De verschillen komen tot uiting in prikkels, behoeftes en belemmeringen van de verschillende sociale groepen. Hoewel vrouwen bijzonder geïnteresseerd zijn in NAADS, zijn zowel vrouwen als jongeren bezorgd over de beperkte aard van de ondernemingen die het programma aanbiedt. Er zijn ook geslacht- en leeftijdsverschillen te observeren in de groepsprocessen. Ondanks de bureaucratische en financiële eisen leken vrouwen voordeel te zien in de groepsbenadering in het NAADS programma. Echter, het idee om lid te worden van een groep van boeren sprak mannen en jongeren weer minder aan. Dit was gerelateerd aan de mindere ervaringen die zij in het verleden hebben gehad met vergelijkbare groepsactiviteiten. De houding van de mannen werd versterkt door de gevraagde tijdsinspanning voor de groepsprocessen. Het afhandelen van de bureaucratische en financiële verplichtingen vormde een extra belemmering voor jongeren. Volwassen mannen en jongeren namen eerder deel aan de NAADS trainingen en waren minder geneigd lid te worden van de NAADS groepen.

Vanuit het oogpunt van participatie laat de analyse zien dat vrouwen, mannen en jongeren hun ervaringen met NAADS verschillend evalueren. Dit heeft te maken met groep specifieke opvattingen en met meer objectieve belemmeringen om deel te nemen aan deze processen. Ondanks hun beperkte middelen stonden vrouwen positiever tegenover deelname aan

NAADS activiteiten. NAADS concentreerde haar dienstverlening op productie activiteiten verbonden met landbezit. Dit betekende dat programma-activiteiten in andere delen van de landbouwketen, die wellicht beter aan zouden sluiten bij de positie van jongeren zonder land, buiten beschouwing liet. Zoals transport, verwerking en handel. De analyse van uitsluiting en inclusie in het NAADS suggereert dat het programma een slechte combinatie vormt met de condities waaronder vrouwen en jongeren werken. Deze kloof is het resultaat van het spel tussen de ontwerpkenmerken van NAADS, voortkomende uit beleid, praktijk en processen, en de situationele en historische factoren in de omstandigheid waarin NAADS uitgevoerd wordt.

De synthese in hoofdstuk 6 gaat in op de centrale vraag van deze studie, en zoekt naar de implicaties voor beleid en de praktijk van voorlichting in Oeganda. De analyses in deze thesis tonen aan dat NAADS in staat is geweest de toegang van boeren tot kennis en kunde over nieuwe landbouwpraktijken te verbeteren. Echter, het landbouwvoorlichtingprogramma is er niet in geslaagd de behoefte van boeren aan technologie gerelateerde input te bevredigen. Evenmin is NAADS succesvol geweest in het bouwen van linken van boeren met markten voor input en output, waarbij opgemerkt dat dit ook buiten het mandaat viel. De bevindingen suggereren dat NAADS onvoldoende de materiële dimensie van het voorlichtingspakket heeft uitgewerkt.

De thesis laat een kloof zien tussen de aspiraties van het NAADS programma en de omstandigheden van haar primaire klanten, de voor zelfvoorziening producerende boeren, en in het bijzonder vrouwen en jongeren. Dit onderstreept de relevantie van situationele en historische factoren in op rurale ontwikkeling gericht interventies. Het NAADS programma heeft echter de kenmerken van een prototypische benadering van ontwikkelingsinterventies die deze factoren niet ogenschouw neemt. De bevindingen in deze thesis kunnen belangrijke inzichten bieden voor het dichten van de kloof tussen nationaal beleid in Oeganda en de concrete realiteiten van boeren. De reflectie in deze thesis erkent het belang van veranderingen op boerenniveau, en legt de nadruk op mogelijke hervormingen van de organisatie en het beleid dat ten grondslag ligt aan NAADS met als oogmerk een verbeterd vermogen van NAADS om effectieve diensten te verlenen. Deze zijn:

- Begrip en ondersteuning van de verschillende wijzen waarop doelgroepen omgaan met hun omstandigheden;
- Doelgerichte diensten voor vrouwen en jongeren;
- Verbeterde toegang tot land voor landbouwproductie door jongeren en vrouwen;
- Heroverweging van het mandaat en de werkwijze van NAADS;
- Het probleem van toegang tot input en output markten oppakken;
- Een verbeterde leercultuur voor ontwikkelingswerkers en voorlichters.



Completed Training and Supervision Plan C. Bukenya

Description	Department/Institute	Month/year	Credits
<i>I. Orientation</i>			
Literature review and Proposal writing	Wageningen University	February-December 2002	4
English Scientific writing	The Language Centre, Wageningen University	February 4-March 25, 2002	2
CERES orientation courses	Utrecht University	March-May 2002	5
CERES presentation tutorials	De Hooimeboeg, Hilversum	May 2002	5
<i>II. Research methods and Techniques</i>			
CERES a practical course on the methodology of fieldwork	Utrecht University/ Nijmegen University	June 2002	1
Methods and Techniques of qualitative field research	Wageningen University	June-July 2002	6
PAU Learning Workshop on 'Facilitating Change and Building Personal Mastery: Competence Development in Participatory Approaches and Up-scaling	Elzendaal, Boxmeer, The Netherlands	October 9-18, 2002	3
PAU Learning Workshop on 'Sharing Experiences on/of the PhD work: Continued Competence Development'.	Malindi, Kenya	June 13-18 2004	2
Quantitative Research Methods	Mansholt Graduate School	November 22-December 22, 2005	2.5
PAU Learning Workshop on 'Learning in PAU: Support to Analysis and Write-up of PhD Research'.	Jinja, Uganda	January 24-28 2006	2
<i>III. Seminar/Workshop presentations</i>			
Oral presentation on: 'Innovative ways of financing agricultural and rural extension services; The case of the new National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) in Uganda'.	Swiss Center for Agricultural Extension, CH-8315, Lendu	November, 2002 date	2
<i>IV. Academic skills</i>			
Design, implementation & evaluation of communication programmes	Wageningen University	May –June, 2002	3
Project & Time Management	Wageningen Graduate Schools	September – October 2006	1
Techniques of writing and presenting a scientific paper	Wageningen Graduate Schools	14-17 November 2006	1.2
Total			39.7

About the author

Christopher Bukenya, born in Uganda in 1968, holds a BSc. degree in Agriculture (Extension) and an MSc. degree in Agricultural Extension and Education, both obtained at Makerere University, Uganda. He has since 1996 worked with the Department of Agricultural Extension/Education at Makerere University, where he is presently at the rank of Lecturer. Alongside teaching and related academic activities he has, in the last 13 years, participated in consultancy work. This has focused mainly on review/evaluation of development projects in the area of agricultural development and natural resources management, and community level capacity building activities. Of late he has developed strong interest (also enhanced by the just concluded PhD and related training) in the area of Development Management and Evaluation to which he looks forward to find a place in his future professional practice.

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