

**The Role of Literacy in Enhancing Capabilities for
Participation in Uganda's Plan for Modernisation of
Agriculture**

**Exploring the Experiences of Rural Subsistence Farmers in
Manibe Sub-County**

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DECLARATION

I, Willy Ngaka , do hereby declare that this is my own original work, except for the acknowledged assistance and referenced citations. It has not been previously submitted to any university for the award of a degree.

Signed: 

Date: 6 November 2009

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father Gabriel Vurra (deceased), my mom Suzana Banitia, my wife Rose and our children Savior, Hiwett and Astrid Viola.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADAPCA	= Association for Development and Peace through Community Action
ABET	= Adult Basic Education and Training
ADRA	= Adventist Development Relief Agency
AIDS	= Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARTs	= Anti Retroviral Therapies
BTVET	= Business Technical Vocational Education and Training
CAP	= Community Action Programme
CBFs	= Community Based Facilitators
CBOs	= Community Based Organisations
CDOs	= Community Development Officers
CEFORD	= Community Empowerment for Rural Development
CFA	= Catholic Family Association
COPE	= Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education
CPTC	= Core Primary Teachers' College
CREAM	= Consultancy for Rural Enterprise Activity Management
CSOs	= Civil Society Organisations
CSRL	= Center for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
DENIVA	= Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations
DFF	= District Farmers' Forum
DFID	= Department for International Development
DPD	= District Production Department
DRC	= Democratic Republic of Congo
DSC	= District Service Commission
DVV	= German Adult Education Association
EDF	= Enterprise Development Fund
EFA	= Education For All
EWLP	= Experimental World Literacy Programme
EYFG	= Eleku Youth Farmers Group
FALP	= Functional Adult Literacy Programme
FAO	= Food and Agricultural Organization
FBOs	= Faith Based Organisations
FFSs	= Farmers' Field Schools
FID	= Farmers' Institutional Development
GDP	= Gross Domestic Product
GETC	= General Education and Training Certificate
HDI	= Human Development Index
HIV	= Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGAs	= Income Generating Activities
IIZ	= Institute for International Cooperation
ILRI	= International Livestock Research Institute
IMF	= International Monetary Fund
IRA	= International Reading Association
ISFGs	= Integrated Support for Farmer Groups
ISU	= Iowa State University
MDGs	= Millennium Development Goals
MoAAIF	= Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MoES	= Ministry of Education and Sports

MoFPED	= Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MoGLSD	= Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MoLG	= Ministry of Local Government
MTEF	= Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MTN	= Mobile Telephone Network
NAADS	= National Agricultural Advisory Services
NGOs	= Non-Governmental Organisations
NLS	= New Literacy Studies
NQF	= National Qualifications Framework
NRM	= National Resistance Movement
NSCGs	= Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants
NURP	= Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme
NURRU	= Network of Ugandan Researchers and Research Users
NUSAF	= Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
P. 1 – 7	= Primary Education Levels one to seven (7 years cycle)
PALCs	= Public Adult Learning Centres
PAP	= Poverty Alleviation Project
PAPSCA	= Programme to Alleviate Poverty and Social Costs of Adjustment
PCC	= Parish Coordinating Committees
PEAP	= Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PFA	= Prosperity For All
PMA	= Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
PPP	= Purchasing Power Parity
PPSP	= Public-Private Sector Partnership
PRSP	= Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSPs	= Private Service Providers
PSOs	= Private Sector Organisations
RDC	= Resident District Commissioner
S. 1 – 4	= Secondary Education Levels one to four (Ordinary level)
S. 5 – 6	= Secondary Education Levels five to six (Advanced level)
SABC	= South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAPs	= Structural Adjustment Policies
SCFF	= Sub-County Farmers’ Forum
SCLG	= Sub-County Local Government
SMMEs	= Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SWOT	= Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TDSs	= Technology Demonstration Sites
UBOS	= Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UHUDA	= Uganda Humanitarian Development Association
UILL	= UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning
UNCST	= Uganda National Council of Science and Technology
UNDP	= United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	= United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHS	= Uganda National Household Survey
UNICEF	= United Nations International Children’s Emergence Fund
UPE	= Universal Primary Education
URLCODA	= Uganda Rural Literacy and Community Development Association
USE	= Universal Secondary Education
UShs	= Uganda Shillings
WEP	= Women’s Empowerment Programme

ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of literacy in enhancing rural people's capabilities for participation in Uganda's Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), an intervention aimed at improving rural livelihoods through commercialising subsistence agriculture. Using Amartya Sen's capability approach, in which poverty is conceptualised to be a capability deprivation as the conceptual frame of reference, the study aimed at exploring how literacy facilitates or inhibits rural subsistence farmers' participation levels in PMA activities in Manibe Sub-County, Arua District. Using data collected from 54 research participants analysed interpretively, the study revealed that the majority of PMA activities demand a high degree of interaction with written materials, mostly in English, which created an uncondusive atmosphere for the unschooled in the target group, thereby forcing them to depend on literacy mediators. It further revealed that there were more women than men participating in parish level activities which greatly decreased in favour of men at sub-county levels and above. It also found that farmers' groups were treated uniformly which negatively affects some of them in terms of access to resources and options. It further revealed that lack of supporting resources, stringent conditions for accessing Enterprise Development Funds, and difficulties in meeting farmers' co-funding requirements, were creating serious obstacles in undertaking group activities, hence making many potential participants avoid PMA activities.

The main thesis in the study is that transforming rural subsistence producers into small-scale commercial farmers as a rural poverty reduction strategy, without providing them with the means to expand their basic capabilities so as to move out of capability deprivation, will not by itself increase rural incomes and reduce poverty. It is argued further that engaging the rural subsistence farmers in commercial agriculture will tend to enrich the educated few who are already better resourced. Since capability deprivation, amongst others, manifests itself through widespread illiteracy, the study recommends that efforts to eradicate rural poverty should focus on expanding the capabilities of the target group through building their literacy skills and improving their access to basic resources.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This study explored the role of literacy in enhancing rural subsistence farmers' capabilities for participation in the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) in Uganda. PMA is a broad development strategy of the government of Uganda designed to transform its subsistence agricultural sector to small-scale commercial agriculture (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000a; Odwongo, 2001). It was derived from Uganda's broad Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which is described in detail in Chapter Three. The construction of Uganda's PEAP was guided by its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) developed from the Global PRSPs initiated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to help different countries address the issue of global poverty (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000a; IMF, 2005).

Initially, Uganda's PEAP had four broad goals:

- To create a framework for rapid economic growth and structural transformation
- To ensure good governance and security
- To increase the ability of the poor to raise their incomes
- To increase the quality of life of the poor (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. 3; Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003, p. 2).

However, with the repeated revisions PEAP went through from 2000 – 2003, an additional goal of enhancing human development was introduced (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2004; 2005; IMF, 2005). The Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture was therefore designed to facilitate the operationalisation of PEAP's goals that relate particularly to increasing the ability of the poor to raise their incomes and improve food security, enhancing the quality of life of the poor and generally promoting human development.

The PMA intervention, which is described in detail in Chapter Three, was constructed along eight pillars and four goals. Its salient features included: a focus on the poor; promotion of the role of the private sector in the delivery of agricultural advisory services to the farmers, based on contracts and the forces of demand and supply; encouragement of farmers to work in groups; promotion of Public - Private Sector Partnerships (PPSPs); introduction of the concept of co-funding; expecting farmers to play an active role in the success of the PMA intervention; and introduction of a sector-wide approach to poverty reduction (see Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, n.d.¹; Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, n.d.; Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000; Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000).

The eight PMA pillars or intervention areas included: (i) agricultural advisory services; (ii) research and technology; (iii) agro-processing and marketing; (iv) rural finance; (v) natural resource use and management; (vi) physical infrastructure; (vii) agricultural education; and (viii) non-sectoral conditional grants (see Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, pp. 48 – 81). Meanwhile its four goals, which mainly focused on the improvement of the livelihoods of marginalised rural people, were:

- To increase incomes and improve the quality of life of poor subsistence farmers through increased productivity and increased share of market production
- To improve household food security through market rather than emphasising self sufficiency
- To provide gainful employment through the secondary benefits of the PMA implementation such as agro-processing, factories and services
- To promote sustainable use and management of natural resources by developing a land use and management policy and promotion of

¹ The online version of the document: Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, (n.d.). *Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Popular Version* is available and can be accessed from <http://www.pma.go.ug/pmauploads/Popular%20Version%20PMA.pdf>.

environmentally friendly technologies (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. 28).

The implementation of the PMA intervention, guided by the principles of privatisation, decentralisation, liberalisation and democratisation, requires interaction between different stakeholders handling different programmes and with varied interests (PMA Secretariat, 2003a). In order to take into consideration the interests of the different stakeholders, a strategy that Kiirya (2001) and Kaliisa (2001) describe as a sector-wide approach to poverty reduction was adopted. According to Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000b), the design and implementation of PMA is participatory. It is important to note, however, that participation by a target group in a given intervention is only meaningful when the group has the required knowledge, information and the necessary skills needed to utilise such information. One of these necessary skills is literacy. The question of whether the expected target group of the PMA intervention, the majority of whom are rural women who lack literacy skills actually actively participated in the PMA design and will continue to participate throughout the agricultural modernisation process remains a critical one.

Literacy plays a vital role in the utilisation of information. Its role is even more crucial in the current world characterised by rapid globalisation and new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Literacy is essential in any poverty reduction intervention, because adult illiteracy rates tend to correlate highly with poverty levels (Okech, Carr-Hill, Katahoire, Kakooza & Ndidde, 1999; Agnihotri, 2007).

The challenge people face as a result of the lack of literacy and numeracy skills is evident in the following quotations:

It is difficult to envisage a life without literacy. It is such a central part in our lives that we scarcely, in fact, notice it. Yet we have only to ask those...who, for one reason or the other, never quite master the complexities of literacy, to realise that so much of what we take for granted is crucial for comfortable survival in our world. The signs are all around us.... (Wray, Bloom and Hall, 1989, p. 1).

Globalisation is both increasing the benefits to be gained by poor people and raising the costs of exclusion of them. Without adequate reading and writing skills, poor people will not be able to realise their right to participate in, and access information relating to, the decision-making processes and opportunities which affect their lives. In an increasingly globalised society, to lack, or even to have less than adequate mastery of reading, writing and numeracy skills, contributes to both exclusion and deprivation (Department for International Development (DFID), 2002a, p. 3).

It is cynical to see people go hungry when people can be made rich, very rich with the mere stroke of a pen (Tutu, 2003 November 23)².

Another reason for the importance of literacy in poverty reduction programmes is because it facilitates the acquisition of other skills that are necessary for survival in the present knowledge-based economies (Stromquist, 1992; DFID, 2002a). This is evident in the description of the role of literacy, which Torres gives below:

Literacy improves the quality of life of people in many and most profound ways, not necessarily economic in nature. ...literacy is related to human dignity, self esteem, liberty, identity, autonomy, critical thinking, creativity, participation, social awareness, and transformation...all human factors beyond material conditions (Torres, 2006, p. 11).

The views of Stromquist (1992) strengthen the above description. She argues that in a world where the written word becomes the mode of communication, those without the ability to read and write are condemned to the lowest roles in the society. Stromquist's (1992) and Torres' (2006) views are congruent with those of Nussbaum, who says that people who lack literacy skills are operating below the critical threshold of human capability (Nussbaum 2000). Sen (1999, p. 75) defines a person's capability as "the alternative combination of functionings that are feasible for her (him) to achieve". He further defines "functionings" as "the various things a person may value doing or

² Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu of South Africa made the above comments while speaking on South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC 3) on November 23, 2003 during the Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture series.

being” (Sen, 1999, p. 75). Although they are similarly defined, it is important to note that there is a difference between the two. Sen (1987, p. 36) differentiates functioning from capability by referring to it as “an achievement” and capability as “the ability to achieve”. According to Sen (1987), functionings are directly related to different aspects of living conditions. Since literacy has a lot to do with what a person may value doing and being, Maddox (2008, p. 191) argues that, “viewing literacy in terms of functionings and capabilities draws our attention to the role of literacy in “doing” and “being”, involving particular forms of social practice and embodiment of “literate social identities”.

On the one hand, “literacy capabilities” indicate the set of functionings that are at the disposal of a person, and on the other, “literacy functionings” are the various states of living conditions one has attained as a result of utilising the available literacy skills. It means that capabilities seen in terms of literacy are future oriented, as they relate to people’s potential to take advantage of the various uses of literacy and how that enhances their wider freedoms and agency. Meanwhile, functionings relate directly to existing or present circumstance and have nothing to do with the future. Some of the functionings Maddox (2008) refers to include: being well nourished, freedom from avoidable diseases, being able to take part in the activities of a community, and self-respect.

In further developing Sen’s ideas on the capability approach, Nussbaum (2000) argues that human beings are endowed with certain lower level capabilities which, when adequately developed through literacy and education, are transformed into the higher level capabilities they need to do anything of their choice. She further argues that when human beings are provided with the right educational and material support, they can become fully capable of performing any function. In his seminal publication, “Development as freedom”, Sen (1999) includes the ability to read, write and communicate as some of the basic human capabilities. This further strengthens the argument for literacy as a means for attaining the freedom necessary for active participation.

It is clear that the application of the concept of capabilities in the context of literacy practices relates to what an individual is able to do with his or her literacy skills. The capability approach links the concept of literacy to issues of empowerment and freedom, which are necessary for participation. In fact, Sen (1999), Nussbaum (2000) and Dreze and Sen (2002) all make reference to illiteracy as a significant and avoidable form of capability deprivation. Sen (1999) further describes literacy as a key factor influencing people's achieved functionings, their future capabilities and their freedom to lead a dignified life of the type they choose to value. The link between literacy, capability and participation is discussed in detail in Chapter Four under Section 4.2.4.5.

If literacy indeed plays a crucial role in the acquisition of other skills, as Stromquist (1992) claims, and people who have the required literacy skills are able to enjoy the range of benefits Torres (2006) describes above, then building a person's literacy skills helps to expand his or her capability – the substantive freedoms a person needs to do what he or she wants and become what he or she wants to be. This is why Sen (1999) views illiteracy as a capability deprivation and a source of insecurity for those who lack it. The challenges that come with lack of literacy are highlighted when considered in terms of participation in development interventions aimed at rural poverty reduction such as PMA in Uganda. Sen's description of the consequences of illiteracy puts the challenge faced by those lacking literacy and numeracy skills into perspective. He says:

Illiteracy and innumeracy are forms of insecurity themselves. Not to be able to read or write or count or communicate is itself a tremendous deprivation. And if a person is reduced by illiteracy and innumeracy, we cannot only say that the person is insecure to whom something terrible could happen, but more immediately, that to him or her, something terrible has actually happened (Sen, 2003, p. 22).

The above quotation emphasises the need for literacy in poverty reduction endeavours. This critical role of literacy in poverty reduction is clearly stressed by the Global Campaign for Education (GCE):

Literacy, in short, is the fertilizer needed for development and democracy to take root and grow. It is the invisible ingredient in any successful strategy for eradicating poverty. Unfortunately, in recent years it has become all too invisible (GCE, 2005, p. 2).

From the forerunning arguments, it is clear that there is an intricate relationship between illiteracy, poverty, human capabilities and participation. GCE (2005), Wray et al. (1989), DFID (2002a), Tutu (2003) and Agnihotri (2007) all emphasise the links between poverty and illiteracy, and what it means in terms of human development. Desmond (2004) asserts that although illiteracy does not cause poverty, poor people often have serious problems with literacy. It can be argued that in most cases, illiteracy and poverty tend to reinforce each other.

The above discussion reinforces the relevance of the human capability approach as a means to guide discussions in this study. The reason for this is that people whom PMA targets, the majority of whom are women, are not only poor, but trapped in rural illiteracy. The link between illiteracy, rurality and poverty is supported by Monyo & Hernes (2003), who observe that the majority of the poor, who also lack literacy, live in the rural areas of developing countries, where they find themselves in what Chambers (1983) calls the deprivation trap. Chambers (1983) describes the deprivation trap as a state in which clusters of disadvantage interact with each other to trap people in a situation of disadvantage (poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability, powerlessness, etc).

Since literacy facilitates the acquisition of skills, which in turn enhances the expansion of the capabilities of an individual to do and be the different things he or she wishes, it lays a solid foundation upon which participation stands. This is why some people describe literacy as a foundational component of human development and illiteracy as being incommensurable with human well-being (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2006; Maddox, 2008). I tend to agree with this position because one's ability to participate not only depends on information, knowledge and awareness concerning a given subject of interest, but also the freedom or capability to do so.

Overall, it was the complex relationship between illiteracy and poverty that acted as a major motivational factor to undertake this study. Literacy is one of the important factors that contribute towards one's freedom, which in turn is critical for fostering participation in an intervention like PMA.

This chapter gives an overview of the general background to the study and statement of the research problem. An attempt is made to explain the rationale behind the study and describe the purpose and focus of the study. The key questions that guided the entire research process are stated and an overview of the structure of the thesis is presented. In the following section, the background to the problem this study was designed to address is presented.

1.2 Background to the problem

The background to the problem in this study has both global and national dimensions. In the discussion of the global context, the challenges that confront the international community and the responses thereto are highlighted. In the discussion of the national context, the local challenges and the national responses to address them are described.

1.2.1 The global scenario

The wind of globalisation sweeping across the world, which scholars like Sachs (2005) suggest will lead to the attainment of global prosperity, has not swept away poverty, which remains one of the most formidable challenges facing mankind today. As the world's economies rapidly become globalised and knowledge based, more than a billion people in the world still continue to survive on less than US \$ 1 per day (DFID, 2002b; Jensen & Nielsen, 2003). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (2007) and UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) (2007) report that about 774 million adults globally, the majority of whom are women, are also living without the minimum literacy skills vital for survival in the current economy. In most developing countries, the number of women who are unable to read and write far exceeds the number of men. Women are therefore in a state of exclusion and deprivation (Stromquist, 1990; 1992). DFID

(2002a) makes a similar observation, and this becomes an issue requiring urgent attention in a rural poverty reduction intervention like PMA.

This state of global illiteracy is just a part of the complex problems facing the global community, some of which include: hunger, unemployment, environmental degradation, global warming, Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), other killer diseases, and rampant armed conflicts and global terrorism. These challenges directly and indirectly contribute towards the different forms of human capability deprivation which manifest themselves in the form of one's inability to: (i) be well nourished, (ii) avoid escapable morbidity or mortality, (iii) read, write and communicate, (iv) take part in the life of the community; and (v) appear in public without shame.

Like Sen, Hag (n.d.) identifies and describes the most basic capabilities for human development to include: leading long and healthy lives, being knowledgeable, having access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living, and being able to participate in the life of the community.

By emphasising the ability to read, write, and communicate, as well as be knowledgeable and able to participate in a community as some of the basic human capabilities, the capability approach reaffirms the critical and liberatory role of literacy for participation (Sen, 1999; Hag, n.d.).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2001) observes that human capability deprivation manifests itself in various forms in which widespread illiteracy, poverty, hunger and poor health appear to occupy a central position. (For details of the statistics, see DFID, 2002b; Jensen & Nielsen, 2003; UNESCO, 2007; UILL, 2007). The global community is therefore faced with the enormous challenge of trying to ensure that poor, marginalised and deprived people, the majority of whom live in developing countries and without literacy skills can benefit from the knowledge based economy that characterises an increasingly globalised world in which the skills of accessing and utilising information are crucial (DFID, 2002a).

The international community has responded to the global challenges in different ways. For instance, in 1990, the six goals of Education For All (EFA), shown in Appendix 24, were adopted, and in 2000 the Dakar Framework of Action laid down strategies to realise the EFA goals. Atchoarena & Gasperini (2003, p. 22) and McCaffery et al. (2007, pp.12 – 13) summarise the EFA goals to include:

- Expansion of early childhood care and education
- Free and compulsory education of good quality by 2015
- Promotion of the acquisition of life skills by adolescents and youth
- Expansion of adult literacy by 50% by 2015
- Elimination of gender disparity by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015
- Enhancing educational quality.

International efforts towards universalising primary education for every child, and literacy for adults have continued, as exemplified by declarations such as the 1997 Hamburg Declaration and the 2007 Bamako Declaration on Adult Literacy (see Appendices 25 and 26 respectively). Such declarations highlight the challenges involved and the progress so far made in the provision of literacy to attain the EFA goals and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) shown below.

In 2000, the Millennium Summit sitting in New York adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which was comprised of eight MDGs. These goals focused on the following crucial issues:

- Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE)
- Promoting gender equality and empowerment of women
- Reducing child mortality
- Improving maternal health
- Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensuring environmental sustainability
- Developing a global partnership for development.

For details of the above MDGs, see Appendix 27, and McCaffery et al. (2007, p. 13).

For EFA and the MDGs, 2015 was set as the deadline to realise the set goals. However, as the clock ticks towards the deadline, poverty, illiteracy and HIV/AIDS, the problems that currently occupy the centre stage of the host of global problems, are not showing any signs of being eradicated, at least in the foreseeable future. In addition, environmental catastrophes and the rampant wars across the globe that exacerbate the problem of poverty and illiteracy have persisted at unprecedented levels.

Some scholars suggest that the problem with efforts being directed towards poverty reduction lies in the narrow conceptualisation of poverty in terms of low incomes, as well as policies that tend to promote inequitable distribution of resources. Sen (1999), Chambers (1997a), Nussbaum (2000), Jensen & Nielsen (2003) and Preece (2005a; 2005b) argue that poverty is in fact a multidimensional phenomenon, which encompasses issues of income, capabilities, social exclusion and participation. Strategies to eradicate poverty need to be shaped within this broader conceptualisation, one that is not limited to income poverty alone. As Sen (1999) suggests, poverty reduction should be approached broadly from the capability deprivation perspective. According to Badiane (2009), effective strategies for poverty reduction require policies that focus on enhancing the productivity of poor people's resources such as labour and land. In the following sub-section, the national efforts to address issues of poverty and related challenges in Uganda are described.

1.2.2 The national scenario in Uganda

Despite concerted efforts by the international community to bring to an end the suffering of mankind and promote sustainable livelihoods for all through setting and striving to achieve the six EFA goals and eight MDGs (See World Conference on Education For All, 1990; UNESCO, 1997; McCaffery et al., 2007), a lot still remains to be done. This is especially true at national levels, where the factors perpetuating poor living conditions among the people are numerous and have both internal and external causes.

In order to understand the PMA process, with specific emphasis on participation levels of the target group in relation to their literacy skills, an outline of the issues in Uganda that necessitated its conceptualisation is necessary.

Uganda, a landlocked country located in East Africa, is one of the poorest countries in world, ranked as 154th out of the 177 in the 2007/2008 Human Development Report of UNDP (UNDP, 2008). From the early 1970s – late 1980s, the country went through a series of political upheavals and a period of economic decline (Brett, 1992).

The current regime, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) took power in 1986. By this stage, all sectors of the economy had either collapsed or were on the verge of collapsing. In order to reverse the trend of events, the NRM government decided to take the advice of IMF and the World Bank and adopt neoliberal market oriented reform policies (Belshaw, Lawrence & Hubbard, 1999; Adebua, Odwee, Okurut & Obong, 2002).

The reforms took the form of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), whose key features included: liberalisation, privatisation, retrenchment in the civil service and decentralisation, all purportedly aimed at improving the living conditions of the people (Belshaw et al., 1999; Baffeo, 2000; Bahiigwa, Rigby & Woodhouse, 2005). One of the critical aspects of the reforms was the diminishing role of the government in economic development activities. In the words of the World Bank, “The thrust of donor-sponsored policies was to disengage the state as a key economic actor in favour of market forces” (World Bank, 2004, p. 7).

Although the above reform policies, especially the decentralisation policy, meant that Uganda was seen as a success story in the eyes of the West, most of them had negative effects on the poor. This was in part because of the emphasis on the reduction of the crucial role of the state in economic development activities that had commercial dimensions (Adebua et al., 2002; Bahiigwa et al., 2005). For instance, the civil service reforms in the agricultural sector limited access to extension services, with detrimental consequences for agricultural production in the country (Semana, 2002; Mazur, Sseguya & Masinde, 2006).

After realising that the Structural Adjustment Policies were affecting the poor negatively, an attempt was made in the early 1990s to launch programmes that aimed to minimise the cost of the imposed adjustments (Adebua et al., 2002). Consequently, the Uganda government implemented several poverty reduction related interventions from 1992 – 1995.

Examples of some of these programmes included: Programme to Alleviate Poverty and the Social Costs of Adjustment, the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme, the *Entandikwa* Credit Scheme, Poverty Alleviation Project, the Community Action Programme (CAP), the Women’s Empowerment Programme, Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP), and the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF). It is worth noting at this stage that despite all the above interventions, there has been little success in eradicating poverty in Uganda.

Okech, Carr-Hill, Katahoire, Kakooza & Ndidde (1999), Katahoire (2001) and Busingye (2005) note that one of the problems with the above programmes has been that most of them ended up being “hijacked” by those who are literate. In other words, those who were literate benefited the most from the programmes. The intended target group for the programmes, the majority of whom lack literacy and numeracy skills, missed out on the benefits they expected from the interventions because active participation in them necessitated extensive interactions with written materials for which the application of literacy and numeracy skills were inevitable. This partially explains the persistence of rural poverty in Uganda despite attempts by the government to address the issue of rural poverty.

The failure by the above programmes to satisfactorily address the problem of rural poverty in Uganda meant the government needed to try alternative strategies and programmes. The PMA intervention was one of these programmes. Its implementation takes place in a complex landscape characterised by a number of factors that have a profound influence on its intended outcome. These include: Uganda’s high population growth rate (3.2%); low life expectancy (47.9 years); high adult illiteracy rate (32.8%); the fact that over 30% of the population is still living in absolute poverty; 87% of the population being rural and basically depending on subsistence agriculture; and problems associated with access to land and land tenure

systems (UNDP, 2005; 2008). Other factors include low technological adoption rates, lack of markets and access to market information, lack of finances, increased competition in the international market systems and subsidies offered to farmers in developed countries (DFID, 2002b; Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2004; 2005; Mazur, Sseguya & Masinde, 2006; Okuku, 2006; UNDP, 2007a). It is important to note that while some of the problems or challenges are internal, others are external and therefore beyond the control of those charged with the responsibility of managing the programme.

With 32.8% (over 9 million) of Uganda's adult population still lacking literacy and numeracy skills as shown in UNDP (2007a), rural transformation through modernisation of Uganda's subsistence agriculture to bring about sustainable rural livelihoods remains in the balance. This is a serious issue because almost all the listed challenges relate to the issue of literacy, whose catalytic role in participation has been emphasised by a range of authors (Stromquist, 1990; 1992; DFID, 2002a; Torres, 2006).

The concerns raised by Tutu (2003), Wray et al. (1989) and DFID (2002a) about poor people and their lack of literacy, are clearly aggravated by the factors mentioned above. The problem the study was designed to address is stated in the following section.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The government of Uganda has invested in poverty research with a view to getting rid of poverty, especially in the rural areas (Uganda Bureau of Statistic (UBOS) & International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) (2005). The last three decades have witnessed a number of poverty reduction related projects, with PMA being one of the most recent ones. The vision of PMA was to eradicate poverty through "a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector" (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. 27). This vision ushered in a significant dimension of commercialising Uganda's predominantly subsistence agricultural sector. The government of Uganda's hope was that commercialising

subsistence agricultural practices through increasing the role of private agencies in the agricultural sector would increase the marketed share of farm output and household incomes, thereby resulting in rural poverty reduction in the country.

A superficial examination of PMA suggests a development strategy based on pro-poor policies aimed at eradicating rural poverty. However, a thorough assessment of PMA's guiding principles shows that they are based on market-oriented policies that do not favour the poor (Wade, 2004). Commercialising subsistence agriculture and diminishing the state's role in the intervention presents a number of challenges. It raises serious doubts about the extent to which the intervention can deliver its target group from their deprivation trap since they are too poor to afford services provided to them at market rates. The target group already seems to be trapped in production related constraints such as lack of land, lack of capital, lack of agricultural inputs, bad weather, lack of market, etc.

Most of the PMA activities appear to demand extensive interaction with written materials, and yet the majority of the target group lack literacy and numeracy skills. Interaction with written materials could potentially present a discouraging atmosphere for such people, and yet most PMA documents and strategies seem to lack concrete statements about how the needs of those who lack literacy skills will be met. The level of interaction with written materials required raises further concerns regarding issues of: language used for communicating with the target group, preparation of training materials, medium of instruction during training, type of training materials used, training methods used, tasks assigned to farmers during training, the kinds of trainers/facilitators used and the curriculum followed.

The tone used to describe the roles and responsibilities of the PMA target group appears to be unsuitable for typical rural people who are known to lack assertiveness and the voice to demand for their rights. The definition of who is to benefit from PMA appears to be too amorphous, and it is difficult for an ordinary person to understand how the inter-sectoral implementation framework functions. The relationship between related units in the framework is also not clear, and yet this relationship is critical for the Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP) and PMA. There are therefore several factors related to literacy, pedagogy, PMA structure, and the influence of

global neoliberal policies which this study sought to examine in relation to participation levels of the PMA target group.

1.4 Rationale for the study

There are several factors that motivated me to consider the topic of this study as critical and worth researching for my own benefit and that of the intellectual community. While some of the reasons are personal, others are general.

My personal motivation for this study arose from my experiences during the Master of Education (Adult and Community Education) which I undertook in the School of Community Development and Adult Learning, at the former University of Natal from 2002 – 2004. During this period, I was introduced to the different approaches to literacy, the philosophical underpinnings of the different literacy programmes, and the models of literacy. The ideas of Paulo Freire regarding critical, emancipatory and transformational literacy and the debates within the camps of autonomous and ideological models of literacy as discussed in Chapter Three inspired me to study the dynamics of intergenerational learning of a local Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) in Arua District, Uganda, The curriculum of this NGO emphasises both formal literacy and livelihoods skills (Ngaka, 2004).

My interaction with the learners of the above NGO in their various livelihood-focused activities, while conducting my Masters' research in 2002 – 2003, rekindled my childhood memories as a son of peasant farmers and child labourer working in one of the coffee plantations in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to raise school fees for my education. With my minimal primary education, I was able to read and understand certain instructions and procedures and interpret certain labels better than the majority of the workers in the coffee plantation who lacked literacy and numeracy skills. I concluded that education plays an important role in agricultural production, as does agriculture in promoting education. I became convinced that enhancing the literacy and numeracy skills of those engaged in the sector would make a significant difference in terms of their productivity, educational attainment and standards of living.

I am strongly convinced that equipping people with the appropriate literacy skills enhances their ability to effectively undertake agricultural training and adopt new agricultural technologies. By looking at the agricultural education and agricultural advisory services pillars of PMA, I hoped that the findings might facilitate discussion regarding strategies for enhancing access to agricultural education and agricultural advisory services in the non-formal sector, which has been a significant problem in Uganda. The PMA intervention offers a rare opportunity to explore such issues, with specific reference to how literacy influences rural subsistence farmers' participation in the different PMA activities in Manibe Sub-County.

The conceptualisation of this study was based on the capability approach which emphasises the active agency of individuals (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000) and in which literacy and basic education are critical factors in empowering individuals to actively participate in the development process. In light of the current climatic and socio-economic conditions, success in any development initiative to lift the rural population out of what Burkey (1993) and Chambers (1983) call the vicious cycle of poverty, greatly depends on the extent to which those involved in the development initiatives have the appropriate literacy skills, which in turn help to expand their capabilities. Poverty and illiteracy tend to correlate highly in rural areas (Desmond, 2004; Agnihotri, 2007). This means that a strategy that aims to reduce rural poverty should therefore take into consideration the literacy needs of the target group.

The Uganda government launched PMA as a powerful rural poverty eradication strategy in 2000. Scholars such as Odwongo (2001; 2003); Obaa (2004); Obaa, Mutimba & Semana (2005) observe that PMA is a new idea, and lacks similar interventions to learn from. They observe that the intervention is expected to learn and develop by self-reflection. Since its introduction, I am not aware of any study that has been undertaken to find out how literacy influences participation of rural subsistence farmers involved managing different agricultural enterprises under PMA.

It is hoped that the results of this study may help to establish how activities within PMA can be linked to literacy learning activities, so that learners may directly apply their newly acquired skills to real life situations or problems they may experience in

the PMA intervention. The study offered an opportunity to examine efforts to acquire and directly apply the learnt literacy skills to real life situations, which could address the issue of learner retention in literacy programmes (see Okech et al., 1999; Oxenham et al., 2001; 2002; Rogers, 2006). Some of the ideas generated through this study may be useful when considering a review of the agricultural education curriculum in Uganda to aid agricultural education in the non-formal sector.

The Ugandan government claims that its Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP) is one of the major tools for poverty eradication (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002; Baryayebwa, 1998; 2004). If implemented properly, FALP could help to address a concern raised in a study by the World Bank (1996), which pointed out illiteracy among the productive sector of the Ugandan population as one of the major setbacks for growth in the country. Since most districts in Uganda receive monthly funds for supporting FALP activities in the sub-counties, it was hoped that this study would assist in acquiring information about FALP's activities in the research area and make appropriate recommendations thereto. This is important because Stromquist (1997) argues that although it is easy to claim that literacy is powerful tool for poverty eradication, it is less common to confront such claims against the grounded realities of programme implementation. It was hoped that the findings of this study could generate information to get a true picture of FALP's activities.

It was also hoped that the findings of this study would demonstrate how FALP and PMA programmes relate to each other under the multi-sectoral framework for PMA implementation in jointly contributing towards poverty eradication. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) may therefore find some of the revelations of this study, especially the ones concerning government's support to literacy activities, useful to lobby for more resources for promoting literacy, particularly amongst those who are unable to access it because of resource scarcity.

As mentioned previously, literacy and poverty are both multidimensional and influenced by several factors (Okech et al., 1999; Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002). Oxenham, Diallo, Katahoire, Petkova-Mwangi and Sall (2001; 2002) and Katahoire (2001) highlight the lack of literature on literacy and

livelihoods training related to production, productivity, and agriculture. This inadequacy of literature makes it difficult to implement continuous research. It was therefore hoped that the findings of this study would generate additional ideas that could shed more light on the subject of poverty and literacy, thereby helping to enrich the existing stock of knowledge.

1.5 The purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to explore and document the lived experiences of mostly unschooled rural subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub-County, whom the government hoped would directly or indirectly engage in different PMA activities so as to increase their household incomes and improve food security for the attainment of a sustainable livelihood.

The study therefore sought to examine the issue of literacy skills as a critical factor in impeding or enhancing active participation in PMA intervention. It also sought to examine how their literacy skills related challenges could be addressed.

1.6 The focus of the study

This was an exploratory study. It employed mainly qualitative methods of data collection and analysis to address the key issues for which it was designed. The specific foci of the study are described below.

The study focused on Manibe Sub-County in Arua District as an appropriate area for exploring subsistence farmers' experiences with the different PMA activities they were engaged in. The area was chosen for the study because it was among the first set of sub-counties throughout Uganda that were selected to pilot the implementation of agricultural advisory services which were to be coordinated under the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS). The subsistence farmers in the area had, through their different groups, accumulated a wide range of experiences in the course of managing their selected enterprises in the intervention, which made them an appropriate group for the study. In addition, the area was easily accessible to me in terms of the distance from my village to the Sub-County Headquarters and the

different parishes where the subsistence farmers reside. From the point of view of financial constraints, I found it more cost effective than selecting a sub-county that was further away.

The study also paid special attention to the documentation of the experiences of participating and non-participating farmers, PMA implementers and trainers with regard to the PMA implementation process in Manibe Sub-County. The study specifically focused on three categories of research participants, the people who were either directly or indirectly involved in, or associated with, the implementation of the different activities under PMA.

In terms of the eight pillars of PMA outlined in Section 1.1 above, the study mainly focused on agricultural advisory services and agricultural education highlighted in the National Agricultural Research Strategy and National Agricultural Education Strategy policy documents (see Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2003; Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003). It was crucial to focus on agricultural advisory services, because it is one of the aspects of PMA that has been widely implemented under NAADS throughout the country since 2001. It was therefore expected that the period from 2000 – 2005, when the data collection for this study was undertaken, was long enough for the target population of the study to have gained the kind of experience that was to be documented through this study.

It was also important for the study to focus on agricultural education because it is closely linked to issues of learning the new agricultural technologies in which literacy plays an important role. The agricultural education aspect of the PMA intervention makes the role of FALP critical in this study. The other aspect which necessitated a focus on agricultural education was that although a lot is said about it in policy documents, there is generally a lack of a unified understanding of what constitutes formal and non-formal agricultural education. There is also no clear institutional framework to guide issues in agricultural education in Uganda (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003). The lack of clarity on a number of issues that surround agricultural education made it an important aspect of the study's focus. It was on these bases that an analysis of the links between FALP and PMA activities was also considered to

play a vital role in facilitating an understanding of the processes of agricultural education in the country.

It is important to point out that the activities surrounding agricultural advisory services and agricultural education have a direct bearing on issues related to knowledge acquisition, language, methods of teaching and learning, and teaching/learning materials which are crucial for the PMA intervention. Since information and knowledge are crucial for individuals to influence how their lives should be lived, and to be able to participate in activities around them, as suggested in DFID (2002a), the study specifically focused on the examination of:

- Local people's level of awareness about PMA practice on the one hand, and the implementers' and trainers' understanding of the theory and practice of the intervention on the other.
- The role of farmers' groups in PMA, and how the participation dynamics within and between them impacts on members in terms of decision-making and access to resources.
- The typical commercially oriented agricultural enterprises under PMA, and the literacy demands they place on the unschooled participating farmers.
- The strategies unschooled participating farmers adopt to cope with the literacy demands placed on them by activities in which the application of reading, writing and numeracy skills seem to be necessary.
- The relationship between FALP and PMA, and the opportunity the two programmes potentially offer for acquisition and application of literacy and numeracy skills within the sector-wide approach to poverty eradication.

1.7 Research questions

Two main research questions guided this study. They were: (i) In what ways and areas does literacy enhance or inhibit rural subsistence farmers' active participation in Uganda's PMA; and (ii) how can the illiteracy among the target group be addressed within the PMA framework so that the intervention can deliver its promise of sustainable rural livelihoods for those trapped in deprivation in rural Uganda?

These two main questions were split into the following five key questions and sub-questions:

- What models of development and literacy does PMA assume, and how aware are the target group about the intervention?
 - What literacy model does PMA assume?
 - What development model influences PMA?
 - What do subsistence farmers understand about PMA?
 - What do PMA implementers and trainers understand about the theoretical and practical aspect of PMA?

- What are the typical activities under PMA, and how does literacy affect participation levels of the target group in undertaking them?
 - What are the typical PMA activities, and how are they undertaken?
 - How different are such activities from the ordinary farming practices and activities?
 - To what extent do the activities require literacy, and how does this affect participating farmers in managing their enterprises under PMA?
 - What strategies are employed in PMA to enhance learning and application of the literacy skills needed for managing the agricultural enterprises in the various groups?

- What are the roles of farmers' groups in PMA, and how do the dynamics involved in their operations impact on the members?
 - What is the rationale behind people working in groups, and do members like it?
 - What guides the administration and management of the groups?
 - What conditions must groups fulfil to get recognition, and from which authority?
 - What is the composition of the groups in terms of gender, age, and education, and how are the members selected?
 - Why do some people join the farmers' groups and others opt not to?
 - What do group members see as their major obstacles to participation?

- How do participating farmers who lack literacy cope with the challenges they face in undertaking the different PMA activities?
 - What strategies do unschooled participating farmers employ to cope with the tasks that require application of literacy skills?
 - What are the advantages and disadvantages of the strategies they use?
 - How do they feel about their state of lack of literacy as compared to their colleagues who are literate?
 - What do they feel about depending on other people's literacy skills?

- How do PMA and FALP collaborate within the sector-wide approach to meet the literacy needs of the target group so as to enhance literacy learning for poverty reduction?
 - What is the state of FALP in the research areas?
 - To what extent were the subsistence farmers prepared in terms of building their literacy skills to enable them to actively engage in the PMA intervention?
 - What strategies exist within the PMA framework to meet the literacy skills needs of the target group?
 - How do FALP activities relate to the PMA intervention?
 - How do PMA implementers, trainers and farmers perceive the relationship between the two programmes?

1.8 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One gives an overview of the general background to the study, laying emphasis on the statement of the problem the study sought to address. The rationale, purpose and focus of the study are presented. Also stated in the chapter are the key questions that helped to guide the research process.

In Chapter Two an attempt is made to describe the context in which the study was conducted. In the description, special attention is paid to the micro (sub-county or district) and macro (national or global) levels of the research context.

Chapter Three gives a detailed description of the background to PMA as a crucial strategy for rural poverty reduction in Uganda. The chapter lays emphasis on the genesis of PMA, its pillars, principles, stakeholders and the implementation framework. The chapter also highlights critical issues related to literacy in PMA that require attention.

Chapter Four is devoted to a review of literature that is relevant and related to the topic of the study, as well as an analysis of the conceptual and theoretical framework that informs the study.

Chapter Five focuses on a description of the research methodology used in the study. In the chapter, special emphasis is laid on the research design, paradigm, data collection methods and instruments that were adopted for use in the course of conducting the study. An attempt is also made to briefly describe how the data collected by different methods were harmonised. An explanation is given of the methodological and practical limitations of the study, and how their potentially negative effects on the findings of the study were managed.

In Chapter Six, the findings of the study are presented, analysed and discussed. The key findings of the study are discussed in relation to the issues that were raised in form of research questions that guided the entire research process.

In the last chapter, the general conclusions based on the findings of the study are drawn and recommendations based on the conclusions are made. The likely policy implications of the recommendations made in the study are highlighted and areas for further research are suggested.

1.9 Definitions of the key terms/concepts

In this study, several key terms were used. It is important to note that the meaning assigned to each term does not necessarily reflect dictionary meanings, and neither do they represent exact quotations from the sources indicated. Their use therefore needs to be limited to the context of this particular study.

Enterprise: This term is used in the study to refer to a farming initiative, involving management of crops, livestock, fisheries or poultry, which can generate income for farmers and make agricultural production commercially attractive. The definition is constructed with the aid of ideas from the NAADS Master Document (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000)

Farmer: This term is used in the study to refer to an individual who engages in agricultural production primarily for domestic consumption, commonly known as a subsistence farmer. In the Ugandan context, a subsistence farmer is a person who depends on small pieces of land barely large enough to engage in agricultural production capable of meeting both the needs of the household and the market. My personal experience with subsistence farmers from the part of Uganda where I come from is that, on average, they own .25 to 2 acres of land.

Farmers' Forum: This term is used to refer to a forum composed of the representatives of each farmers' group in the various parishes that are registered at sub-county level (Musemakweri, 2007). The forum addresses problems facing different farmers' groups and handles administrative matters relating to the groups.

Farmers' group: The term farmers' group is used to refer to a group of individual farmers or an association of farmers with shared or common farming interests (Obaa, 2004; Musemakweri, 2007).

Forum: The term forum, according to the NAADS Secretariat, refers to “a congregation of individuals or their representatives who share common goals” (NAADS Secretariat, 2004b, p. 1). A farmers' forum can be seen in the context of this definition.

Globalisation: In this study, globalisation is used to refer to “a process by which there is an increased global interaction as a result of economic and technological advancement” (Chilisa & Preece, 2005, p. 3). It is the result of planning by politicians to break down borders hampering trade and movement of people, goods and services

across borders, with a view to increasing global prosperity and interdependence (see Sachs, 2005).

Implementers: This term is used in the study to refer to those government officials who are involved in the implementation of the PMA intervention. They included the Sub-County Chief, the Local Council (LC) III Chairperson, the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator, and the Community Development Officer (CDO) for the sub-county and the Sub-County Farmers' Forum Chairperson.

Model farmers: The term model farmers is used to refer to participants in farmers' groups who practice at least three enterprises; regularly attend meetings, training sessions and field days; own an average of 3.8 ha. of land; are optimally motivated to participate in NAADS; and have improved their overall farming production since NAADS started (Musemakweri, 2007).

Non-participating farmer: The term is used in the study to refer to subsistence farmers who were not members of any of the farmers' groups registered with the sub-county for the purpose of taking part in PMA activities.

Participating farmer: The term is used in the study to refer to the subsistence farmers who were members of one of the farmers' groups registered with the sub-county for the purpose of taking part in PMA activities.

Performance of farmers' groups: In this study, performance of farmers' groups was measured by the ability of the members to continue doing what is expected of them within their respective groups in terms of the different PMA activities. This was reflected in terms of the increase, decrease or constancy in the number of the registered farmers' groups in the sub-county. Constancy or increase in the number of registered farmers' groups was taken to mean satisfactory performance, while decrease was taken to mean dissatisfaction among the members, and hence poor performance.

Private Service Providers (PSPs): PSPs is used to refer to private firms or individuals, or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) authorised to take the

responsibility of delivering agricultural advisory services to farmers' groups at village levels on a contractual basis, in accordance with the NAADS Act, 2001 (Musemakweri, 2007).

Struggling farmers: In this study, struggling farmers were those groups of farmers who practice one enterprise, sometimes attend meetings, field days or training sessions, own 1 – 2 ha. of land, do not optimally practice technologies being introduced in PMA, and are not motivated to participate in PMA activities (Musemakweri, 2007).

Subsistence agriculture: This term is used to refer to the practice of growing crops and rearing animals to meet the needs of a given household, without any market objective (Kostov & Lingard, 2004).

Trainer: A person hired as an individual or a representative of a private firm or an NGO to offer skills training regarding new technologies that members of farmers' groups need to manage their different enterprises in PMA.

Unschoolled: The term unschooled is used in this study to describe participants, who, regardless of their educational levels attained and language used, experience reading, writing and text interpretation difficulties in their daily lives where written texts play a significant role.

1.10 Chapter conclusion

This chapter provided a broad overview of the general background to the study. By presenting a brief description of the background to the problem, and stating the rationale, purpose and focus as well as the research questions, the chapter aimed at highlighting the key issues and points upon which arguments and discussions in the subsequent chapters are based.

Challenges such as illiteracy, poverty, hunger and inequitable access to resources were highlighted in relation to global and national responses to them. Taking poverty reduction as a central aspect of this study, it is argued in the chapter that poverty

should be viewed as a complex, global and multidimensional phenomenon, whose reduction requires an understanding of the concept from wider perspectives and rejection of the narrow view of poverty as purely a lack of income.

A broad and multidimensional approach to poverty analysis in which other types of poverty than income poverty such as capability poverty, and participatory poverty offered some useful insights in widening the horizon of understanding the concept of poverty. Whereas capability poverty relates to different things people lack, such as knowledge and skills for active participation in economic life, participatory poverty relates to deprivation in a range of things people can be, which may include being excluded from social life and decision-making processes.

It is therefore important to note that acknowledging poverty as a capability deprivation calls for strategies that do not solely focus on raising incomes, but also address the multiple constraints that inhibit human capabilities. Since capability deprivation manifests itself through widespread illiteracy, poverty, hunger and malnutrition, paying attention to expansion of people's capabilities through building their literacy skills and enhancing access to basic education and good health care, as Sen (1999) suggests, becomes a critical aspect of any poverty reduction strategy. Hence, the extent to which an intervention such as PMA delivers its intended target group out of poverty depends on the way the designers and implementers of the programme conceptualised poverty, and the range of mechanisms they put in place for expanding the capabilities of the target group.

In the following chapter, a detailed description of the context in Uganda in which this research was conducted is presented in order to enhance readers' understanding of the problems this study was designed to address.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT IN UGANDA

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the context in which the study was conducted. The description focuses on both the macro and the micro levels of the study context. The strategic location of Arua District where the study was conducted, and its proximity to two neighbouring states, is highlighted as the international dimension of the research context. The aim of the chapter is to present a detailed background of the situation on the ground, so that readers can have a clear idea of the context in which PMA and its target group operate. In the following section, the national dimensions of the research context are presented.

2.2 National dimensions of the research context

This section on the national context of the research in Uganda focuses on the geographical, historical, political, socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the country. The specified dimensions of the research context exert, in one way or another, some form of influence on the PMA intervention, which in turn determines the extent to which the target group is able to meet their expectations of the intervention.

2.2.1 Geographical context

The description of the national geographical context of the study focuses on the location, area, demography, climate and vegetation.

2.2.1.1 Location of the research area

This study was conducted in Manibe Sub-County in Arua District, which is in the northwestern region of Uganda, also known as the West Nile (Ongua, 1999; Leopold, 2005). Uganda is a landlocked country located in the eastern region of Africa. It shares international territories with Kenya in the east, Sudan in the north, Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, and Tanzania and Rwanda in the south (Baryayebwa,

2004; Ngaka, 2007; UNDP, 2007a). The country lies astride the equator. For a map of Uganda, see Figure 7 under Section 4.3.

2.2.1.2 Size and demographic characteristics

Uganda occupies an estimated surface area of 241,039 km², of which 197,097 km² is land and 43,942 km² is water and wetland. By mid 2007, its population was estimated to be 28.2 million, with an annual growth rate of 3.2%, which is higher than the 2.4% average annual growth rate for the Sub-Saharan African region (UNDP, 2007b, p. 19). The high annual population growth rate can be seen in Table 2 below, which illustrates the rate at which Uganda’s population has grown in the last two and a half decades.

Table 1: Uganda’s population growth estimates

Year	Pop Estimates
1991	16,671,705
2002	24,227,297
Mid 2006	27,356,900

Source: UNDP (2007a, p.22)

The 2007 Uganda Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports that, of the estimated 28.2 million people in Uganda, 87% live in rural areas (UNDP, 2007a). The National Environment Management Authority (2005) argues that the increasing population in rural areas is putting pressure on the land resources, and consequently undermining the capacity of rural dwellers to produce enough food for both domestic consumption and the market. The problem of the increase in population places additional burdens on the agricultural production constraints subsistence farmers are already facing. It also places a considerable strain on the existing socio-economic infrastructure, such as educational facilities where people could acquire reading and writing skills.

2.2.1.3 Climate, vegetation and physical features

Uganda is a beautiful country endowed with abundant natural resources. It is crossed by the equator in the south. A significant proportion of Lake Victoria, the source of the River Nile, which crosses the entire country, lies in Uganda. It also has the Western Rift Valley and Mt. Ruwenzori bordering it to the west and Mt. Elgon to the

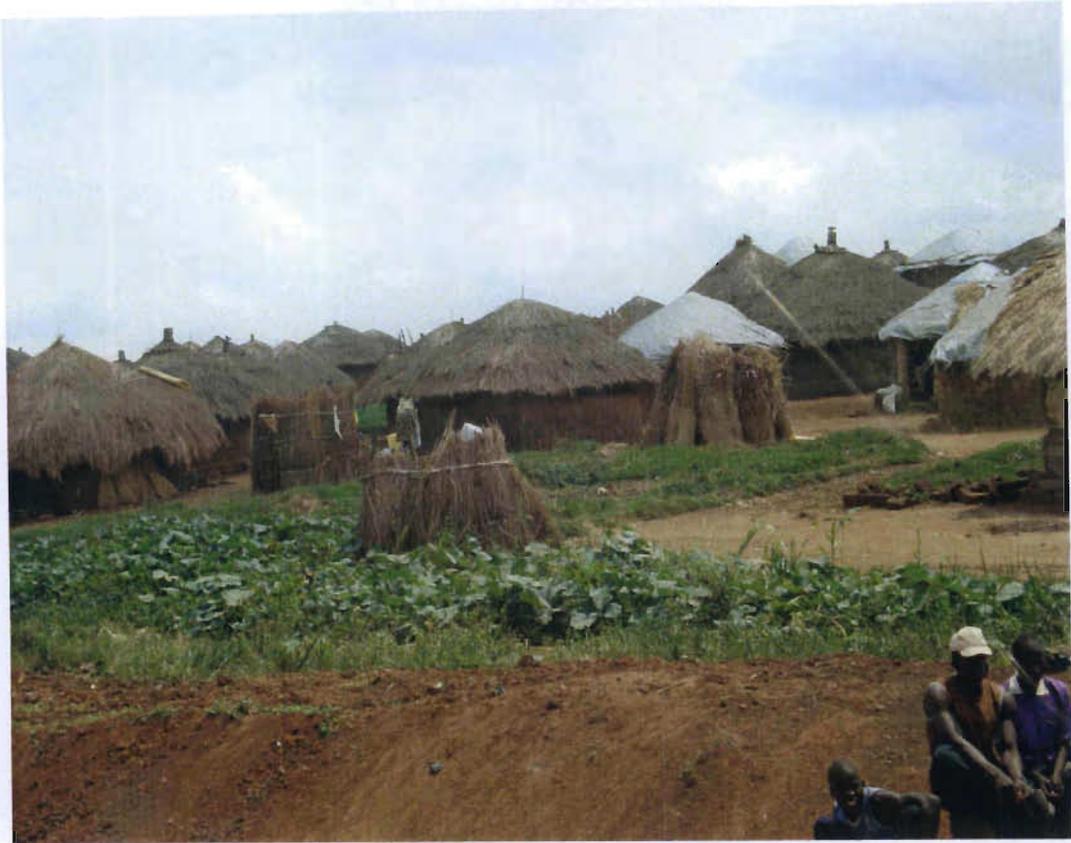
east (Wamala, 1995). Much of the vegetation in Uganda is savannah, where one finds short grasses with scattered bushes. However, there are some pockets of tropical rain forests in central parts of the country. Across much of Uganda, the climate is bimodal, with two rainy seasons. The longest rains start in March and last through until June, and the shortest rains run from around October/November until December/January. Generally, these seasons have been relatively stable and predictable, to the benefit of agriculture. However, government meteorologists report that the droughts that periodically affect the western, northern and northeastern parts of the country are becoming more frequent and severe, and the seasons are becoming more unreliable for agricultural production (Oxfam, 2008, p. 3). This unpredictability in seasons adds to the challenges subsistence farmers already face as far as agricultural production in the context of commercialisation is concerned.

2.2.2 Historical and political context

2.2.2.1 Colonial and post-colonial experiences

Uganda is a former colony of Britain, and attained her political independence on October 9, 1962. Its post-independence era has been characterised by political upheavals and economic decline (Brett, 1992). In 1979, the Uganda – Tanzania war (known in Uganda as the Liberation War) ousted President Idi Amin Dada from power. Since then, the northern part of Uganda has remained under the control of a rebel insurgency for the last three decades. The ex-soldiers of Idi Amin Dada, and another rebel group called the Lord’s Resistance Army continued to destabilise the Northern region in their attempt to resist the current regime in Uganda. Although the ex-soldiers signed a peace agreement and returned home, the Lord’s Resistance Army are still fighting in the bush – a war that has forced close to 1.2 – 1.7 million people in northern Uganda into Internally Displaced People’s (IDP) Camps (UNDP, 2007b). Figure 1 below shows an example of an IDP Camp, commonly known as a “protected village”.

Figure 1: A protected village in northern Uganda



Source: Photograph taken by Researcher on November 12, 2005, on the way to Arua from Kampala

Living conditions in such a camp are so dehumanising that no-one would voluntarily opt to live there. This is a classic example of capability deprivation, which Sen (1999) describes in his publication, “Development as freedom”. From the brief description of the state of affairs in northern Uganda, it is clear that the people in the region have, to a large extent, not enjoyed peace for more than two decades. Political upheaval has caused loss of lives and property, the destruction of infrastructure such as schools, and the deterioration of social links between people and communities. According to the UNDP (2007b), the degradation of people’s social relations since the start of the wars has increased vulnerability through the fraying of social networks. The extent to which government programmes like PMA can deliver the poor out of deprivation should be understood in the context of such circumstances. These circumstances complicate the conditions necessary for effective participation in development interventions. For instance, people living in protected villages, such as the one shown

in Figure 1 above, cannot engage in productive activities because they do not have the freedom to do so.

2.2.2.2 Governance and administrative divisions

Uganda is divided into four regions: Northern, Eastern, Central and Western. The regions are divided into districts. Appendix 20 shows the four regions of Uganda, and their corresponding districts, with their respective population sizes. The recent years in Uganda have seen a rapid increase in the number of districts, the wisdom of which Ocwich (2005) questions, arguing that the economy may not be in a position to support them. In all, Uganda had 80 districts by July 2006, and more are being created.

For administrative purposes, the country is divided into districts, counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages. The country operates under a two-tier decentralised system of governance, with Upper and Lower Local Governments (Ngaka & Ayiko, 2007, p.7; Ngaka, 2007). The districts are divided into counties, which are further sub-divided into sub-counties. The sub-counties are made up of parishes and within the parishes, there are villages. The divisions form the administrative units for governance purposes at various levels. The structure of the decentralised system of governance typically found in Uganda is illustrated by Makara (2000, p. 77) and shown in Appendix 19. Under a decentralised system of governance, there is a Central or National government, and Local governments based at the district and sub-county levels, forming the Upper and Lower Local Governments respectively. The political leaders of the local governments are elected, and they work with civil servants.

2.2.2.3 Economic and civil service reform policies

When the NRM government in Uganda took over power in January 1986, they inherited an economy that was on the verge of collapse. This situation persuaded leaders to cooperate with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to adopt a range of economic and civil service reform policies, under the name of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) (Brett, 1992). The reform process included devaluation of the Ugandan shilling (Ushs) and tighter fiscal discipline, as well as retrenchment of civil servants in order to have a lean and efficient bureaucracy (World Bank, 2004). Although the reforms were intended to produce positive results, Adebua et al. (2002)

report that in the long run they affected ordinary people negatively, especially in the sectors of agriculture, education and health. It is these same principles of reform that are apparently guiding the implementation of the PMA intervention, which is supposed to help the rural subsistence farmers improve their livelihoods through market-focused agricultural production.

2.2.3 Socio-cultural context

2.2.3.1 Ethnic and linguistic groupings in Uganda

Uganda is a multi-ethnic nation. This is illustrated in Table 2 below, which shows the different tribes in the country. This diversity in tribes comes with its own challenges in terms of the languages spoken in the country. The government of Uganda (1995), Okech et al. (1999) and UNDP (2005) report that the country has 56 constitutionally recognised ethnic groupings, each speaking different languages.

The major languages spoken in the country are arranged according to the percentages of the population that speak the language. This is demonstrated in Table 2 below, where the Bantu constitute 67% of the general population, the Eastern Nilotic 12%, the Western Nilotic 15%, Central Sudanic 5%, and other minorities together constitute 1%.

It is important to point out here that within each major language grouping, there can be several tribes or ethnic groups who are able to understand each other's dialects. The word 'dialect' is used here to specifically refer to speech forms that are closely related and do not suggest that they are inferior in any way to languages that have centrally determined standards. Accordingly, the similarities in dialects of the different language speakers form the basis for the grouping. For example, the linguistic group called the Bantu shown in Table 3 and Figure 2 below is composed of several tribes, such as the Baganda, Banyankole, Basoga, Bakiga, Batoro and Banyoro. Similarly, the Acholi, the Langi, the Jopadhola and the Alur understand each other's dialects, and are sometimes collectively referred to as the Luo. The same applies to other linguistic groups.

Table 2: Major tribes in Uganda

S/No.	Ethnic Group	Percentage of Uganda's Population (%)
1.	Baganda	17
2.	Banyankole	8
3.	Basoga	8
4.	Iteso	8
5.	Bakiga	7
6.	Banyarwanda	6
7.	Langi	6
8.	Bagishu	5
9.	Acholi	4
10.	Lugbara	4
11.	Batoro	3
12.	Banyoro	3
13.	Alur	2
14.	Bagwere	2
15.	Bakonjo	2
16.	Jopadhola	2
17.	Karamojong	2
18.	Rundi	2
19.	Non African	1
20.	Other	8
	Total	100

Source: Republic of Uganda: Ethnicity/Race: Online and Retrieved November 5, 2008 from: <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0108066.html>

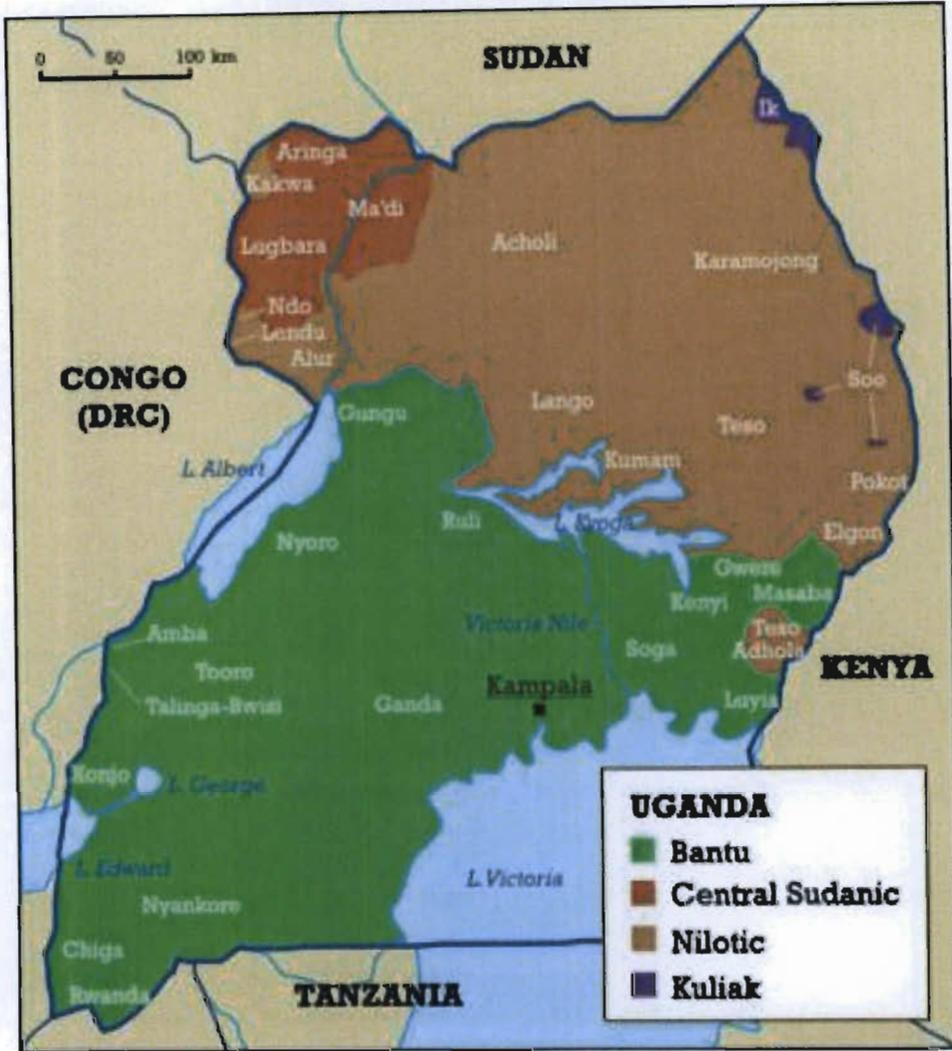
Table 3: Main linguistic groupings in Uganda

Ethnic Group	Percentage of Uganda's Population (%)
Bantu	67
Eastern Nilotic	12
Western Nilotic	15
Central Sudanic	5
Others and Alien Minorities	1
Total	100

Source: Adapted from UNDP (2005, p3)

As shown in Figure 2 below, the Bantu are represented by green, the Western and Eastern Nilotics with light brown, and the Central Sudanic with dark brown respectively.

Figure 2: Distribution of main languages in Uganda



Source: Dingemans (2005). Uganda. Online and Retrieved on November 6, 2008 from <http://www.panafri10n.org/wikidoc/pmwiki.php/PanAfrLoc/Uganda>

English is the official language, also used as the chief medium of instruction in schools at all levels until recently. However, according to the new language policy in the country, instruction in the first four years of schooling must be done in the mother tongue spoken in that particular region or district. Nsibambi (2000) indicates that for urban schools with mixed populations speaking different languages, English is used as the medium of instruction from the first year of schooling

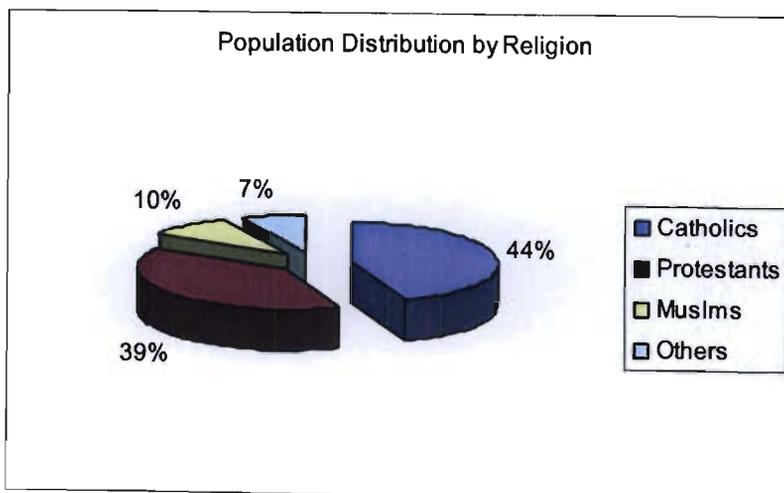
Besides Luganda, the most widely spoken local language, Kiswahili is also spoken, but mostly in urban areas and by the business community, as well as in the armed forces (Openjuru, 2008). The diversity of the languages described in Bernsten (1998),

illustrated by the number of tribes shown in Table 2 above, comes with certain advantages and disadvantages. Nsibambi (1971, p. 62), commenting on the language problem faced by Uganda, argues that “the existence of many ethnic groups (usually referred to as tribes) which speak different languages complicates communication, which in turn increases the difficulties of political and cultural integration”. An explanation of the language challenge is important in this section because it is one of the factors that influence issues in the implementation of certain activities under PMA, especially in training, sensitisation of the stakeholders, and dissemination of information.

2.2.3.2 Religion

Uganda is predominantly a Christian country, with a relatively high number of Muslims, as well as those who believe in traditional religions. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides for freedom of religion, and the Government generally respects this right in practice. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour (2007) reports that 85% of Ugandans are Christians with 44% being Roman Catholic; 39% Anglicans; 10% Muslims and the remaining others constituting 7%, as illustrated in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Uganda’s population distribution by religion



2.2 4 Socio-economic context

2.2.4.1 Health of the population

Although reports show that Uganda’s economy has been growing on average by 6% annually during the past few years, poverty levels are still high, especially among the

rural population (Wendo, 2005). HIV/AIDS has continued to take its toll on the population and the HIV prevalence is currently 6.4% (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2006).

87% of the population lives in rural areas where health care facilities are wanting and yet effective agricultural development efforts depend on good health. Infant mortality and maternal mortality rates are high, and the doctor – patient ratio is very high, standing at 1:26,000 (Arua District Local Government, 2006). Such is the context in which the PMA target group is operating. 34.2% of the population still lives in absolute poverty and about 1.7 million people in northern Uganda are still trapped in miserable conditions in IDP Camps (UNDP, 2007a; 2007b).

2.2.4.2 General education and adult literacy in Uganda

The government of Uganda has made various attempts to achieve those MDGs related to education or schooling. A better understanding of what such educational or schooling-related attempts by the government of Uganda mean to the ordinary people can best be assessed in terms of how the school system in the country works.

The formal school system in Uganda, which is controlled by the Ministry of Education and Sports, works in such a way that pupils take seven years to complete primary education and then enter the secondary level of education. Secondary education, which lasts for six years, is divided into two phases. The first phase is known as Ordinary level or simply O' Level and lasts for four years (S.1 – S.4) leading to the award of Uganda Certificate of Education. The exit point after S.4 is normally to go for a certificate course in teaching, nursing, agriculture etc. The second phase of secondary education is known as Advanced Level or simply A' Level and runs for two years (S.5 – 6) after which one attains a Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education. After A Level, a candidate may enter a tertiary institution or University education for ordinary or higher Diplomas or Degree programmes. Those whose marks do not qualify them to pursue University degrees may proceed to other tertiary institutions where they can pursue ordinary diplomas in different fields of their choice.

As observed in the report of the Education Policy Review Commission (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1989), government, the people and professional educators in Uganda have expressed concern about the relevance of the education system and its failure to meet the felt needs of the society. The report puts it explicitly as:

Education is failing among other things to promote a sense of national unity, self-reliance, social justice and equity and to impart scientific and technological, cultural values, literacy; and a sense of social responsibility to a degree that society would like to see (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1989, p. iii).

The report further stresses the fact that there has been too much concentration on academic learning, passing examinations and paper work to the neglect of knowledge, skills, and values needed to solve real life problems, with the result that the system has fallen far short of producing the right number and types of manpower required for optimum development in the country. Some of problems associated with the Ugandan formal education system, especially at primary levels, are documented in Muwanga, et al., (2007)

People who for different reasons cannot go through the formal school system described above are expected to join the government's FALP which was launched as a nationwide programme in 1992 (Ngaka, 2004; Okech, 2005). The FALP, which is under the control of Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, was aimed at raising adult literacy rates in the country, which according to UNDP (2008) now stand at 66.8%. The government also launched the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in the 1996/1997 Financial Year (UNDP, 2007a) and currently, the combined gross enrolment for primary, secondary and tertiary education stands at 63% (UNDP, 2008).

According to Ndeezi (2000) and Etonu (2003), by 1999, the launch of UPE had more than doubled the number of primary school going children in schools, leading to congestion in schools, lack of facilities, and lack of teachers. In the 2007/2008 Financial Year, Universal Secondary Education was also launched (UNDP, 2007a). Although the private sector is rapidly growing in the area of education, poverty has

continued to limit access to their services by the poor, especially those in rural areas. In addition, the number of children who leave private secondary educational institutions far exceeds the number that can be accommodated by post-secondary or tertiary institutions (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001).

The country continues to face certain challenges despite the progress in the educational sector. The impressive achievement registered in student enrolment levels has been accompanied by deterioration in performance in schools at various levels and pupils' inability to acquire the appropriate reading and writing skills (Muwanga, et al., 2007). UPE has also been characterised by high dropout rates, especially in rural areas (Ngaka, 2005; 2006).

In most districts, FALP appears to exist in name only, and there are signs that the gains made in education could be reversed. The education system has been criticised for being irrelevant and not tailored to meet the local needs of the population (Meshach, n.d.). Access to higher education is becoming increasingly difficult as the number of government-sponsored students continues to shrink (see Lanyero, 2008). With education playing a critical role in development in general and agricultural development in particular, such a trend is likely to have a negative impact on interventions like PMA.

Table 4 below shows adult literacy rates from 1997 – 2003. Although the national adult literacy rate in Uganda increased from 65% in 1997 to 70% in 2002/2003, and that among the rural population rose from 59% in 1997 to 67% in 2003, the Northern region where this study was carried out, as well as the Eastern region, only experienced a miserable increase of 1% each respectively. The Northern region therefore had the lowest adult literacy rates of all the regions in the country and it is possible that people in northern Uganda are generally experiencing difficulties with accessing literacy services provided under FALP. In the following sub-section, the trend in literacy provision in Uganda is discussed.

Table 4: Trends in adult literacy rates (%)

	1997			1999/00			2002/03		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
National	74	57	65	74	57	65	77	63	70
Urban	89	79	83	92	82	86	90	84	87
Rural	70	49	59	72	54	62	74	60	67
Kampala	-	-	-	-	-	-	94	91	92
Central	81	74	77	81	74	77	82	74	79
Eastern	72	52	62	72	52	62	72	54	63
Northern	72	38	55	64	33	47	72	42	56
Western	70	51	60	74	61	67	79	69	74

Source: UNHS, 2003/03 cited in Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004, p. 26)

2.2.4.3 Overview of developments in literacy provision in Uganda

In this section, I briefly describe developments in the state of adult literacy education provision in Uganda. I trace the history from the colonial to the post independence era, highlighting the major literacy-related interventions the different governments have initiated, and what the current status of literacy service provision in the country is. This attempt is meant to contextualise the linkages between the PMA intervention and literacy-related programmes, and the extent to which they interact within the sector-wide approach for the realisation of the goal of eradicating rural poverty in Uganda.

Literacy as we know it today was introduced to Uganda by Muslim missionaries and traders in 1844, and by the Christian Missionaries, that is, the members of the Christian Missionary Society and White Fathers who arrived in the country in 1877 and 1879 respectively (Okech et al., 1999; Okech, 2004; Openjuru, 2008). The literacy which they introduced was basically meant to help their converts read the Koran and the Bible, but the attempt laid the foundation for education and adult literacy provision in the country (Ngaka, 2004). Parry (2000) maintains that as a result, religious literacy could possibly be the most deeply embedded literacy in Uganda. It means that the missionaries played an enormous role in the development of education and literacy in Uganda.

Ssekamwa (1997; 1999) and Ssekamwa & Lugumba (2001) further confirm the above arguments by pointing out that for a long time, literacy training and any other form of education in Uganda, was provided by the missionaries. However, before turning their attention to Western forms of education, the Catholic and Anglican missionaries in Uganda had different strategies for developing the literacy skills of their followers – a factor that has had a lasting impact on unschooled rural women in terms of reading skills, as reported in Chapter Six. For instance, the Protestants emphasised individuals reading the texts themselves, while for the Catholics, sacred texts were made available for individuals through oral means (Ngaka, 2004). Ssekamwa (1999) describes the strategies the two religious groups used and points out that the ability to read was made a precondition for baptism for Anglicans in Uganda which helped them to accelerate the development of literacy among Protestants. Okech (1995), Ssekamwa (1997 & 1999) and Ssekamwa & Lugumba (2001) observe that the missionaries tended to lay a lot of emphasis on the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) as their main aim was to enable their followers to read the Bible.

However, it should be mentioned here that the conceptualisation of literacy has changed over time and there is now a shift from viewing literacy purely in terms of the technical skills of reading, writing and arithmetic to context-specific meanings. This conceptual shift has had an impact on teaching strategies, developing from chanting the words to what Freire (1996) describes as dialogue and conscientisation – a strategy that has an empowering effect on the learners.

Although the colonial government from 1894 – 1962 put very little effort into providing literacy to people, save for the initiative to resettle and occupy the indigenous World War II veterans, the post-independence government did make some efforts to support literacy education. This was evidenced by the government's decision to join other African states in providing literacy to its population with a view to enhancing socio-economic development, as the Heads of State affirmed in the Harare Declaration in 1982 (Okech et al., 1999). The government had previously launched a mass literacy campaign based on 22 languages in 1964, although it never yielded much fruit.

The period 1971 – 1979 witnessed a military regime taking power under the leadership of Idi Amin Dada. Okech et al. (1999) indicate that in the period, very little was done in terms of literacy provision because of the regime's lack of interest in the matter. The little that was done was uncoordinated and haphazard. However, from 1980 – 1985, when the military regime was toppled and Dr. Milton Obote took over as the head of state, there was interest in rejuvenating literacy programmes and many NGOs started getting involved in literacy provision.

On January 26, 1986, the National Resistance Army toppled Obote's regime and the NRM government came to power. As Okech et al. (1999) and Openjuru (2008) report, the new regime elevated the efforts Milton Obote made to promote adult education in the period 1980 – 1985 to another level. A series of needs assessment training workshops co-sponsored by UNESCO in 1987 and 1989 respectively were conducted, and a National Inter-sectoral Committee of 25 members to promote literacy programmes in the country was created. The committee was to work together in initiating, planning and implementing adult literacy because it was realised that a meaningful literacy programme could only be provided if different units and departments joined their efforts. However, the government was only able to pay attention to adult literacy programmes in the 1991/1992 financial year because of the multiplicity of problems it faced (Okech et al., 1999).

In 1992, the then Community Development Department (now Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development) launched an Integrated Non-Formal Basic Education Pilot Project in the eight districts of Apach, Hoima, Kabarole, Mbarara, Mpigi, Mukono, Iganga and Kamuli (Okech et al., 1999). Four languages: Luganda, Luo, Runyankore/Rukiga and Runyoro/Rutoro were used in this pilot project. The approach used laid a great deal of emphasis on the functional aspects of literacy. It was aimed at sensitising and making people aware of the true nature and causes of their prevailing living conditions and how they could be improved. Secondly, it also aimed to enable people to acquire practical knowledge, skills and attitudes to be used to improve their living conditions. The methodology used was described as integrated and the integration covered three aspects: integration of the subject matter, integration among service providers, and integration of learning and life.

In 1995, the government of Uganda promulgated a new constitution in which there was a provision that declared literacy and education a right every citizen should enjoy (Government of Uganda, 1995), which in itself was a commendable step. In 1996, the Integrated Non-Formal Basic Education Pilot Project was expanded to become a programme code-named FALP, and rolled out to cover the entire country (Okech, 2005). The main aim was to promote literacy through a combination of efforts by the central government, local governments, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), and NGOs, with a possibility of contracting out components or sub-components to organisations with the proven competence to manage them.

The desire to integrate not only the subject matter, but also the providers shows a positive sign in government's attempt to reach out to the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to contribute to literacy service provision. As a result, a number of NGOs, FBOs and CBOs have been involved in literacy promotion in Uganda. Okech et al. (1999) identify some of the outstanding CSOs and literacy programmes to include: ActionAid – Uganda, Women's Empowerment Programme, Save the Children Fund and Soroti Catholic Diocese Integrated Development Organisation. Oxenham et al. (2001) expand the list to include Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). The list can be extended even further to include new NGOs such as the Uganda Rural Literacy and Community Development Association (URLCODA), whose adult literacy programme has become intergenerational in nature and attracted the interest of primary school age children. This is very uncommon, especially in the history of adult literacy provision in Uganda (Ngaka, 2004; 2005/06).

It is clear that the present government has made certain attempts to promote literacy. In addition to FALP, which was launched in 1992, the government also embarked on UPE, whose implementation took off in 1997 (Ngaka, 2005). There have also been efforts to develop business, technical and vocational education. However, much as UPE and business, technical and vocational education have links with FALP, accessing them is not easy for most adult learners, because of their implementation falling under the formal sector. Oxenham et al. (2001) note that the business, technical and vocational education institutions require prospective applicants to produce a Primary School Leaving Certificate, which is a great barrier for the adults with no

schooling at all. It is also important to point out at this stage that despite efforts by government and CSOs to promote adult literacy education, a lot still needs to be achieved. Kiirya (2001) and Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2002) indicate that all the efforts combined only reach 4.3% of the estimated 6.9 million of the target group.

In addition to failing to reach the intended target group, another complication arises from the side of literacy facilitators, who are often volunteers and receive inadequate training and other incentives (PMA Secretariat, 2003; Jjuuko, 2007; Openjuru, 2002; 2008). Furthermore, FALP is assumed on paper to be operating in every district, which gives the false impression that the people in most of the sub-counties in the country are accessing the services.

Each district is supposed to have a budget line item for FALP. If this were the case in reality, then it would be good news for the PMA intervention because the two programmes coupled with UPE, as well as the business, technical and vocational training programmes, could supplement and complement each other. However, no empirical studies have been conducted to determine whether the adult literacy centres are actually functional and operational in the sub-counties, as has been claimed in most government documents. Finally, in light of the multidimensionality and intergenerational nature of rural poverty, what conspicuously seems to be missing from most of the major adult literacy programmes highlighted above is the issue of family/intergenerational literacy. There are only small-scale efforts by URLCODA and Family Basic Education (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning website www.unesco.org/uii/literacyprogrammes/14a_en.html). The experiences of the rural subsistence farmers with PMA should be understood in the context of the developments in literacy provision described above.

2.2.4.4 Human/economic activities

The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (2003) maintains that agriculture is the backbone of Uganda's economy. It accounts for one-third of the national Gross Domestic Product, 85% of the export earnings and provides employment to over 80% of the population, especially in the rural areas.

The common cash crops grown by the people of Uganda include coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton and sugar. Meanwhile the major food crops include bananas, maize, cassava, millet, sorghum, beans and other green vegetables. This means that the chief economic activity in Uganda is agriculture with a small percentage of manufacturing and service industry. However, UNDP (2007a, p.29) notes that whereas other sectors have responded to the macro-economic policy stimuli, the smallholder farmers have not responded to the same stimuli, especially in the north and north-east. Other economic activities occur in industry and services, though in small numbers. A significant proportion of the population is engaged in business.

2.2.4.5 The state of socio-economic infrastructure

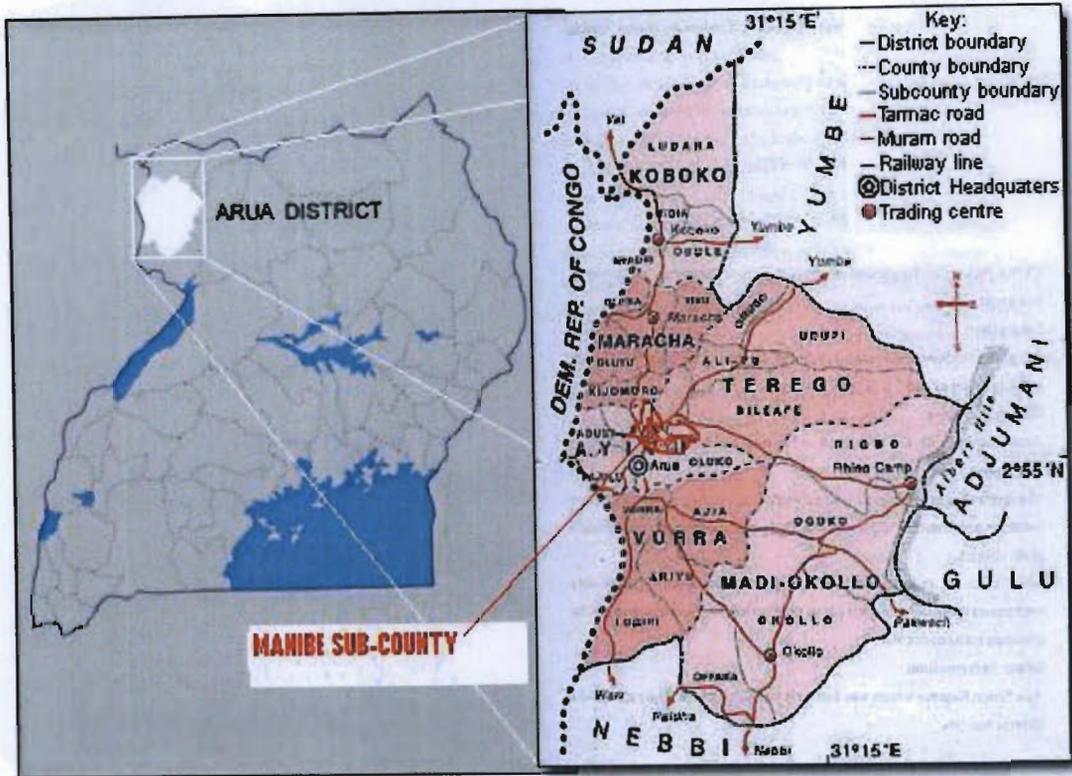
Generally, there have been attempts to improve the socio-economic infrastructure, especially in terms of reconstruction of roads and expansion of the financial sector in the form of the growth of micro finance institutions, telecommunications and so forth. As mentioned above, the educational sector has also witnessed growth especially in private institutions that complement the efforts of the government.

2.3 The research context in Manibe Sub-County, Arua District

2.3.1 Location and history

Manibe Sub-County is one of the 36 sub-counties that together form Arua District. Its characteristics are typical of any other sub-counties in Arua. Arua, situated 520 km from Uganda's capital, Kampala, is one of the 80 districts in the Country (Ocwich, 2005). The district is located on the latitudes between 2°30' N and 3°50' N, and longitudes 30°30' E and 31°30' E (Districts web portal, n.d.). It shares borders with the DRC to the west, Koboko District, Yumbe District, and Moyo District to the north, Adjuman and Amuru Districts to the east and Nebbi District to the south. The location of the district is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Location of Manibe Sub-County and Arua District



Source: District Web Portal.

2.3.2 Size, demographic and climatic context

Arua District covers a total area of 5,419 km², of which 5,208 km² is arable land and the remaining 211 km² is wetland and water (Districts Web Portal, n.d.; Arua District Local Government, 2006). The district has a population of 855,055 people, of which 445,852 (52.1%) are females and 409,203 (47.9%) are males (UBOS, 2002). This trend of females slightly outnumbering males is similar in the national statistics.

Within Arua District, Manibe Sub-County has a population of 23,546 people, of which 12,450 are females while 11,096 are males. This is very close to the district figures for female and male percentages (Arua District Local Government, 2006). The population of Manibe Sub-County relative to other sub-counties in Arua District is shown in Appendix 21. Compared to other districts in the Northern region, Arua has a relatively large population, which has led to land fragmentation, acute shortage of land, and environmental degradation.

The above problems have triggered rapid decline in the fertility and productivity of the land, thereby worsening problems of household food insecurity and poverty among the population. The situation has been worsened by the over-reliance on tobacco farming, which has had a negative impact on the environment (Ngaka, 2005/06). The reason for this is that tobacco requires a lot of energy for curing, and the only form of energy the tobacco producers in the district can utilise is wood fuel. The overexploitation of this wood fuel has therefore led to excessive deforestation in the area, which will eventually lead to desertification and consequently frustrate efforts to modernise agriculture.

Despite Uganda enjoying proximity to Lake Victoria and the Nile, Arua lacks access to big water bodies. The district therefore has inadequate surface and ground water resources, which are critical in agricultural development endeavours (Arua District Local Government, 2006).

There are two seasons, the wet season and the dry season, with August being the wettest month of all. The dry season starts from December and ends in March. These are the hottest months of the year. Sometimes the area experiences prolonged droughts and occasional hailstorms that are destructive to crops and animals, causing famine and starvation (Oxfam, 2008). The rural subsistence farmers who are the target group of PMA are sometimes subjected to this kind of unpleasant treatment from nature, which always has more serious implications in a less developed country like Uganda.

The photographs in Figure 5 (i) and (ii), taken during the fieldwork period, show banana plants and cassava stalks of a peasant farmer who had invested time, money and labour in the two crops. He was left in despair after a hailstorm devastated the area in August 2005.

Figure 5: The aftermath of a hailstorm in Manibe Sub-County in 2005



(i) Ruins of Banana Plants after Hailstorm



(ii) Cassava Stalks Stripped of leaves by Hailstorm

Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on August 13, 2005

The average amount of rainfall received in a year ranges from 750 – 1250 mm, while the monthly evaporation ranges from 130 – 180 mm. Much of Arua has ferralitic and sandy loam soils with fine texture and loose structure that can easily be eroded and leached.

Most of the soils are acidic in nature (Arua District Local Government, 2006) which has impacted on the vegetation of the area. The vegetation is therefore typical of savannah regions, characterised by short grasses and scattered bushes which tend to dry up during the hotter part of the year. The field photograph shown in Figure 6 below depicts typical vegetation in Agorovu Village, Oreku Parish in Manibe Sub-County.

Figure 6: Typical vegetative cover in Arua



Source: Field photograph taken in Agorovu Village, Oreku Parish, on August 27, 2007

2.3.3. Political and administrative units

The term Arua refers to both the district and the town that serves as the headquarters of the district. Historically, Arua has changed hands from the Congo to the Sudan, and was finally transferred to Uganda by Sir Henry Cohen, the Belgian colonial administrator in 1958 (Leopold, 2005; Oledra, 1999). As a town, Arua was at first the capital of the former West Nile province, which has since been broken up into several districts. The town then became the capital of Arua District (Leopold, 2005). It underwent massive destruction during the Liberation Wars in 1979 – 1982, which ousted Idi Amin from power.

In accordance with the principles of the decentralised system of governance described earlier, Arua District has its own Local Government, headed by an elected Chairperson. Within the district administrative hierarchy, there is a Resident District Commissioner appointed by the President to oversee security related matters, and there is a Chief Administrative Officer who is the highest civil servant in the district. Below the districts are Sub County Local Governments which are headed by Local

There are high school dropout rates among the children in primary schools in the district. For instance, Ngaka (2006) indicates that at the start of 2004, all the primary schools in the district registered a total of 362,000 pupils, but by the end of the year, 135,000 had dropped out. 68% of those who dropped out were girls, while 32% were boys. The district also has an insufficient number of schools. For example, Manibe Sub-County has only five primary schools and two secondary schools. The insufficiency of the educational infrastructure and facilities is illustrated in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Facility – Pupils Ratio in Arua District Primary Schools

S/No.	Specialist Category	Ratio
1	Teacher to Pupils	1:100 – 200 ³
2	Book to pupils	1: 5
3	Latrine to pupils	1: 170

Source: Adapted from Ngaka (2006, p.176)

According to Arua District Local Government (2006), the district has only one Core Primary Teachers' College, one National Teachers' College, three Technical Schools, two Business Colleges and one Nurses' Training College. The district has 320 primary schools, of which 270 are government aided and the remaining 50 are privately managed. There are 47 secondary schools, of which 25 are government aided. The remaining 22 are privately owned.

With the onset of UPE and Universal Secondary Education (USE) in Uganda, the quality of education has been badly compromised. As result, those who can afford to do so send their children to private schools. This means that the majority of the products from the UPE and USE schools will not proceed to higher levels of education and will remain as a labour reserve mainly for the large sugar plantations in the country, as has always been the trend. The forerunning discussion indicates that West Nile region, where Arua District is located, may continue to remain in a vicious cycle of poverty and illiteracy for some time. Low levels of education and literacy also reflect badly on the health and general living conditions of the population, as discussed in the following sections.

³ The ideal teacher – pupil ratio is 1: 40, but immediately after the introduction of UPE in Uganda, on average, the ratio ranges from 1: 100 – 200. This is not good for effective learning.

2.3.6 Human and economic activities of the people of Arua District

The livelihood of most people in Arua depends on subsistence agriculture (Arua District Local Government, 2006). Over 75% of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, in which they use traditional farming implements such as hoes, pangas, axes, and wooden barrows (Okech et al., 1999). The total estimated percentage of people who are engaged in commercial agriculture is 0.5% (Arua District Local Government, 2006). The people both grow crops and rear animals. The major food crops grown in the district include: cassava, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, maize, beans, sorghum, millet, simsim, groundnuts, sugar cane, and several vegetables. Figure 7 below shows a group of people harvesting fresh groundnuts which are later spread on the compound for drying before being stored in granaries in the background. The photograph shows the communal aspect of rural people's day-to-day lives.

Figure 7: Harvesting, drying and storage of groundnuts



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on August 17, 2007

The major cash crops grown in the district are tobacco and cotton, but people lost interest in cotton when its market value dropped. However, efforts are being made to revive its production. Figure 8 below shows a field of tobacco and a barn used for curing the leaves when they are ready from the field.

Figure 8: Tobacco field and a barn for curing the leaves



Source; Field photograph taken by the researcher in Eleku Parish on April 30, 2007

One important thing to note about concentrating on tobacco production as an economic activity is its impact on the environment. Because the growers depend on wood fuel as the source of energy for curing the leaves, tobacco growing has contributed enormously to the deforestation process in the district. For example, the things that are piled besides the barn are cubic metres of logs that have been collected from the local forests.

As a means of livelihood diversification in the area, people rear animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, rabbit, guinea pigs, and poultry. The agricultural enterprises farmers select under PMA also revolve around these traditional crops and animal breeds. However, with only 0.5% of the population engaged in commercial agriculture using modern tools to produce for the market, and the rest engaged in subsistence agriculture using simple hand tools like hoes, pangas, and harrowing sticks, it may be hard to think of increasing agricultural production when such traditional implements are seen to be constraining farmers' efforts to increase

production. This is why it is also important to introduce new and appropriate technologies in order to increase agricultural production.

A lot of people are also engaged in small scale trade in the local markets. Women mostly sell vegetables and other food items in order to buy other household necessities such as salt, soap, sugar, fish and so on. Meanwhile, men concentrate on retailing those household necessities. A good number of young men are involved in what is locally known as *boda-boda* business, transporting people by bicycles and motor cycles at a cost. This has become an important means of transport since there are few vehicles in rural areas. The young men normally wait for their prospective passengers at trading centres.

2.3.7 Living conditions and socio-economic infrastructure

Generally, the district has a poor network of social amenities. For instance, the only source of water the majority of people have access to is open water from springs or wells. The open water, that is, the wells and springs, is only accessible on a sustainable basis to about 57% of the population, hence leaving 43% without access to a safe and sustainable supply of water (Arua District Local Government, 2006).

Figure 9 below depicts women collecting water from an unprotected well.

Figure 9: Women fetch water from an unprotected well



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher in Rubu Parish on August 14, 2007

The population in the district is generally poor. There is a high incidence of poverty, which goes up to about 65%, although some studies indicate higher figures of up to 75% (Lamwaka, 2003). The existence of many old huts across the villages in the research area, like the ones shown in Figure 10 below, is a sign of poverty. Such living conditions expose the inhabitants to health risks with serious implications, especially in an area where trained health workers are in short supply and health facilities are inadequately equipped with the necessary medication. .

Figure 10: Old huts some people still use in villages



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher in Rubu Parish on August 14, 2007

Arua District has only three hospitals, one of which is run by the government. The other two are managed by NGOs. This means that health infrastructure in the district is inadequate. This is also reflected in the unpleasant statistics illustrated in Table 6 below. Whereas 60% of the population lives within a range of 5 km to the nearest health centre, at least 40% do not and consequently find it very difficult to access medical facilities. This is especially disheartening for cases of HIV/AIDS, as many people live in a state of uncertainty regarding their status because they cannot easily access voluntary counselling and testing services, highly stigmatised in the rural areas (Ngaka & Ayiko, 2007). Those already with full-blown AIDS cannot access anti-retroviral therapies (ARTs), as the health facilities are far away, and the required personnel to offer such services are far too few, as indicated in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Doctor/clinical officer/midwife/nurse – patient ratio

S/No.	Specialist Category	Ratio
1	Doctor to population	1:44,000
2	Clinical Officer to population	1:21,000
3	Midwife to population	1:7,600
4	Nurse to population	1:3,000

Source: Adapted from Arua District Local Government Development Plan 2006/07

The above conditions have been made worse by the fact that the socio-economic infrastructure of the district was destroyed during the 1979 war that ended Idi Amin Dada’s reign in Uganda. During the war, buildings in Arua town, including schools, health facilities, radio stations and the earth satellite that had just been constructed were all destroyed by complicated military weaponry. The tanks left marks on the tarmac roads, and some of the spoilt tanks were still lying by the roadside at the time of data collection. Figure 11 below shows ruins of a military tank that was abandoned in 1979. The tank lies by the roadside 16 miles from Arua town as one comes from Kampala. For a very long time, trips to and from Kampala to Arua were characterised by such scenes. This tended to remind people of the violence of the past years.

Figure 11: Ruins of a military tank in Arivu Sub-County



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on October 16, 2005

Another example of an important facility that would have been vital in the PMA intervention but was also vandalised is the earth satellite shown in Figure 12 below. This facility, established by Idi Amin Dada, was destroyed in the 1979 war, and has remained un-rehabilitated for the last 30 years.

This important facility could have been used by the local population to access information and enjoy the benefits associated with globalisation characterised by such facilities. This would have been instrumental in the PMA process, especially in the area of mobilisation, access to and dissemination of agricultural information.

Figure 12: Earth satellite vandalised during the 1979 war



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher in Manibe Sub-County on July 21, 2007

According to the information posted on the Arua District website regarding infrastructure (District web portal, n.d.), the district has 6.4 km of tarmac and 34.2 km of murram, which are classified as urban roads. There are 558 km of trunk roads, 1178 km of feeder roads, and 550 km of community roads. The maintenance of these roads is critical for helping farmers with PMA activities. It is important to note that the feeder roads sometimes become impassable, especially during the rainy season. The district also has an airfield that for now serves small aircraft, but has been designated as an international point of entry and exit by the Civil Aviation Authority of Uganda.

The district is served by three mobile telephone operators: Mobile Telephone Network (MTN) Uganda; Cellular Telephone (Celtel) Uganda, and Telephone Cellular (Telcel) Uganda. The landlines are provided by Uganda Telecom and MTN Uganda. This is beginning to bring in a dimension of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). There are also a number of local FM radio stations in addition

to the two national channels, but the problem is that only 24% of the population of Arua is said to have access to radios (Arua District Local Government, 2006).

There are a number of banks whose branches operate in Arua. These include: the Post Bank, B-Blue, Centenary Bank, DFCU Bank, Stanic Bank, Barclays Bank and other micro-finance institutions. However, these banks are not serving the interests of the rural poor because of their high lending rates, which do not favour subsistence farmers. The services are also mainly in urban centres.

The greatest problem in the district is that of energy. Thermal power, which is the main source of energy in town, only runs from 7am – 11 pm. Although this had improved with the World Bank assistance, which pushed the hours to 18, it deteriorated with recent political developments in Kenya, through which Uganda accesses the sea ports to obtain fuel. In any case, power in the town does not benefit rural people directly as they cannot afford the cost of electricity. This has terrible consequences for the state of the environment in the district, since 99% of the population relies solely of wood fuel as their source of energy. The depletion of trees in the district will have deleterious consequences for agricultural development in the area.

The general living conditions of people in Arua can be summed up by the views of de Senarclens (1997, p. 193), who describes the characteristics of economically backward societies as follows:

In backward regions, the economy is based on agriculture. Productivity is low, health and hygiene conditions are dramatic, illiteracy widespread, and low levels of education and technical training make progress problematic.

Such characteristics are typical of rural areas such as Arua. In summary, a concept paper by URLCODA (2007) posted on the web page of UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning highlights some of the major challenges facing the people of Arua district. They include: high rates of illiteracy, mass poverty, high rates of dropout among pupils in UPE, limited access to health care facilities, the scourge of HIV/AIDS, high and rising number of orphans and vulnerable children who will grow

up without education, and environmental degradation as well as its associated consequences like decline in agricultural production and food insecurity.

2.3.8 International dimensions of the research context

Arua district is strategically located along the DRC – Sudan border, with close interactions between the citizens of the three countries, giving them an opportunity to engage in international trade across borders.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (2006) actually refers to Arua town as Uganda’s “booming border town”. Figure 13 shows a pickup truck loaded with merchandise and passengers planning to leave for Juba, a town in Southern Sudan, which, after the conflict in the region subsided, is now associated with brisk business in many areas.

Figure 13: A loaded pickup destined for Juba, Southern Sudan



Source: BBC (2006) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6129568.stm>

What is also portrayed in Figure 13 above is the poor state of the roads in the area, as well as inadequate means of transport for people and produce. This is evidenced by the dangerous overloading of the pickup truck shown above. The issue of poor conditions of roads also has serious implications for PMA programmes, since farmers have to transport their produce from the farms to the various markets so that they can sell them and get the income they badly need to improve their livelihoods.

Another issue is that there has been some animosity in recent years between Uganda and some of its neighbours over accusations of one state harbouring rebels of the other, and vice versa. This is as a result of instability being experienced by most of the countries in the Great Lakes region such as DRC, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. This state of affairs has made Arua the home of large numbers of refugees from the neighbouring countries, which has also attracted the presence of many international aid agencies whose work goes a long way to help people. This has been helpful because sometimes government programmes take too long to reach the people who need them most.

However, the influence of the international aid agencies makes the local population appear as passive recipients, as they tend to promote a culture of dependency. This is detrimental, because programmes like PMA require a spirit of hard work and initiative. Besides the aid agencies there are also multinational corporations such as British American Tobacco (BAT) – Uganda Ltd, MTN, CELTEL, etc that operate in the area with very little going directly to the community as corporate social responsibility of such companies.

2.4 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, the macro and micro research context in Uganda was described. The chapter aimed at providing a contextualised setting upon which the understanding of the study findings, conclusions and recommendations would be based. A description of the research context was necessary because it had a direct bearing on the dimensions of the study such as research participants, methods and tools and the findings of the study.

The description of Uganda's geographical, historical, political, agro-ecological, socio-cultural, and socio-economic contexts revealed that the country is one of the poorest in the world, with over 80% of its population living in rural areas where their livelihoods predominantly depend on agriculture. Having experienced political instability and economic decline for a long time, and having seen rural poverty and

illiteracy levels worsening, the Ugandan government had no option but join others in the fight against poverty.

However, attempting to reduce rural poverty levels without seriously improving the productivity of poor people's resources such as land, knowledge, and skills cannot be very effective. Addressing poverty among poor people requires, as Badiane (1999) suggests, improving the productivity of the poor people's resources. This may take the form of developing their skills, improving their access to resources and increasing productivity of their pieces of land. The success of such a move would also greatly depend on the local context. The following chapter focuses on a detailed overview of the PMA intervention in Uganda.

CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF UGANDA'S PMA

3.1 Introduction

The term “modern” ordinarily denotes something that is new or not indigenous. Understanding a new phenomenon often requires new skills, techniques, strategies and above all, some form of education for a change in attitudes. Several writers allude to the fact that PMA, which hopes to revamp Uganda’s agricultural sector through tackling the production-related constraints facing the subsistence agricultural producers as Muhumuza (2003) describes, is a new concept, and therefore unfamiliar to many people (Odwongo, 2001; Obaa, 2004; Obaa et al., 2005).

In this chapter, an overview of the basic information about PMA is presented. The overview focuses on the various aspects of the intervention as seen from different angles. Several documents were reviewed in the course of compiling the basic information about the intervention, some of the major ones being :

- Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Eradicating poverty in Uganda (Government strategy and operational framework) Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000)
- National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme: Master document of the NAADS task force and joint donor group (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000)
- National Adult Literacy Strategic Investment Plan (NALSIP) 2002/3– 2006/07 (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002)
- National Agricultural Education Strategy (NAES) 2004 – 2015, final report (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003).

A detailed list of the major documents consulted is presented in Appendix 15.

The chapter aims to provide a detailed description of what the PMA intervention is about, what it intends to achieve, its conceptual and theoretical underpinnings, the main category of the Ugandan population it targets, and how the plan is being

implemented. The chapter also focuses on a description of the key stakeholders or partners involved in the implementation phase of the intervention, their specific roles in the programme and the nature of activities the primary target group is undertaking. An analysis of the extent to which such activities might necessitate extensive interaction with texts or written materials is also made.

The description of the PMA process also sheds some light on what is said about literacy, as well as what goes unsaid, and the social, cultural, economic and political factors or forces that interact within the PMA programme. The analysis of the process will also illuminate how such forces impact on the target group in their attempt to participate in the various activities of the intervention.

3.2 Background to PMA

This section focuses on a description of PMA, its genesis and linkage or relationship with the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, purpose, strategies for achieving the purpose, and the primary target group.

3.2.1 What is PMA?

As mentioned previously, PMA is a new phenomenon and therefore lacks a universal definition (Odwongo, 2001; Obaa, 2004; Obaa et al., 2005). Although it is difficult to define PMA, there have been attempts to describe what it is about. For example, Dr. Willie Odwongo, the PMA Director, describes the intervention as:

A set of principles whose goal is to eradicate poverty by transforming the agricultural sector in Uganda.... It has a number of interwoven players and themes.... It means government creating an environment for agriculture to flourish (Odwongo, 2003, p. 2).

The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (2003, p. 2) describes PMA as:

A holistic strategic framework for eradicating poverty through multi-sectoral interventions... It is aimed at transforming subsistence farmers into market-oriented commercial producers. It is an outcome-focused set of principles

upon which intra and inter-sectoral policies and investment plans can be developed at both the central and local government levels.

The main PMA document, which government uses as its operational framework, defines PMA as follows:

PMA is a strategic and operational framework for effectively transforming the livelihoods of the majority of the subsistence farmers in Uganda through reforming institutional and organisational structures and changing the type and methods of service delivery in the agricultural sector (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p.1).

According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (n.d., pp. 3 – 4), PMA is a strategy the government developed to have a modernised agricultural sector by 2017 in order to:

- Create opportunities for the poor, including women, youths and other disadvantaged groups.
- Give grants to communities through Local Council (LC) III to address community needs to improve lives
- Ensure that voices of the community are heard in deciding how the PMA grants will be used.
- Bring a new way of giving advice and information to farmers and households and how to improve farming, fishing and livestock rearing
- Work through all departments to improve rural lives by:
 - keeping people healthy and productive
 - improving skills and knowledge
 - maintaining productive soils, forests and wetlands
 - improving supplies of inputs for farmers, fishers, processors, artisans, and traders
 - making transport cheaper and improving roads
 - ensuring that people's property and lives are secure

- ensuring that people have access to markets for their produce and inputs
- ensuring that research solves problems faced by farmers and fishers.

As demonstrated pictorially in Appendix 32, various ministries for different sectors such as environment, health, security, industry, agriculture, marketing and education are expected to play a role in the PMA intervention. Appendix 31 further illustrates that the PMA intervention is meant to assist rural subsistence farmers in the modernisation process. Specifically, PMA is expected to help the subsistence farmers in enabling them: “do farming as a business, buy better seeds, animals, fish and tools to improve production, decide on what they need as a community, avail themselves of somebody to advise them about better farming; and be able to buy and sell produce more easily” (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, n.d., p.5).

From the forerunning summary of how government intends to help farmers through PMA, it can be said that the PMA intervention is a broad development strategy of the government of Uganda, designed to bring about improvement in the livelihoods of the rural poor by modernising its agricultural sector through multi-sectoral interventions (Muhumuza, 2003). According to Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000), the intended modernisation would be achieved by shifting from a subsistence form of agricultural production to commercial agriculture, so as to increase the marketed share of the agricultural output of the rural subsistence farmers, thereby raising their household incomes on a sustainable basis.

However, the term “modernisation of agriculture” can be understood from different angles and can mean different things. Odwongo (2001) lists a number of terms that can be used to explain modernisation of agriculture. They include:

- specialisation, monetisation or commercialisation,
- mechanisation or tractorisation
- large scale commercial farms or large scale agrarian reforms.

He clarifies that in the Ugandan context, the term is used to refer to a shift from subsistence agriculture to a commercial mode of production. In other words, engaging in agriculture as a business and not just a means of survival. According to NAADS Secretariat (2004c, p. 1), farming as a business means any farming activity that enables farmers to earn income from their produce. These activities include crop farming, livestock production, processing of crops and animal products, bee keeping, etc. Farming as a business is therefore farming with the main aim of selling off farm produce to raise income, also known as commercial farming. In doing farming as a business, farmers are expected to:

- Form groups and work together to be able to get easier access to inputs, markets, market information, technical advisory services and other services collectively
- Identify and prioritise enterprises for which they have comparative advantage
- Participate in enterprise selection, development and promotion activities.

It is important to note that what farmers are expected to do in most of the above activities appears to a great extent to demand the application of literacy and numeracy skills. Since most people living in rural areas of developing countries face the problem of lack of literacy, doing farming as a business is likely to pose serious challenges to those with limited or no literacy and numeracy skills.

According to Odwongo (2003), the concept of modernisation of agriculture therefore denotes an attempt to improve agricultural production through the introduction of unique or new approaches, technologies and methods that reduce costs and maximise output. In light of the prevailing conditions in which the subsistence farmers in Uganda operate, Odwongo's typology of agricultural modernisation that the Ugandan government is trying to pursue appears to be more closely related to commercialisation than large-scale farming or mechanisation. .

According to Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000), the attainment of the above agricultural transformation would necessitate undertaking institutional and organisational structural reforms, as well as methods of service delivery. Such

reforms took the form of retrenchment in the Public Service, reduction of the state's role in economic development activities, and transfer of agricultural extension service provision to the Private Sector Organisations (PSOs), amongst other things.

An analysis of the wide range of objectives PMA was meant to help farmers achieve, as outlined above, indicates that the intervention is based on the Ugandan government's belief that the subsistence farmers would easily adapt to undertaking farming as business, and would quickly adopt the new agricultural technologies being introduced, maximise their production levels, and easily market their produce to raise household incomes and at the same time improve food security.

Whether the government's assumption or belief about the rural subsistence farmers is feasible can only be realistically assessed in light of the multiple constraints they are experiencing in their effort to improve agricultural production, as discussed in Muhumuza (2003).

3.2.2 Genesis of PMA and how it relates to PEAP

The origin of the PMA Programme can be traced to 1987, with Uganda's adoption of a number of IMF and the World Bank initiated macro-economic and Public Service policy related reforms under the SAPs (Belshaw et al., 1999). Some of the market oriented reform policies and principles that were adopted have continued to guide and impact on the PMA process (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2003). Crucial in the reform policies adopted, was the desire to attain economic and political stability, improve service delivery and reduce the role of the state in areas where the private sector can perform better (Government of Uganda, 1995; 1997). The decentralisation policy was particularly aimed at taking services nearer to people in rural areas with the hope of bringing about qualitative changes in their living conditions (Government of Uganda, 1997).

The urge to improve the living conditions of the poor, as can be seen in most of the above policy reform packages, led to the conceptualisation and development of Uganda's PRSP (IMF, 2005; Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic

Development, 2004). This PRSP then developed into the government's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). PEAP is a broad development strategy that defines its poverty eradication agenda aimed to realise the nation's long-term dream – Vision 2025. The vision for 2025 conceptualises Ugandans as prosperous people, and Uganda as a harmonious nation and beautiful country (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000). The PEAP has since been revised several times. The revisions, according to Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004, p. 1), were undertaken as a result of “changing circumstances and emerging priorities” in the country.

PEAP's main purpose was to engender social transformation by raising incomes of smallholder farming communities in rural areas (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. v). Initially with four pillars, the revised version as shown in IMF (2005) and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004; 2005) has five pillars or intervention areas, namely:

- Economic management
- Production, competitiveness and incomes
- Security, conflict resolution and disaster management
- Good governance
- Human development (the additional pillar).

The formulation of the four goals PEAP was designed to achieve, as outlined in Chapter One under 1.1, were therefore guided by the above five pillars.

According to Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (2000, p. v), achieving the PMA poverty reduction objective would be done by specifically addressing factors that undermine agricultural productivity, namely: poor husbandry, poor access to credit, poor access to transport, communication and marketing infrastructure, and insecure land and user rights. In listing the factors that undermine agricultural productivity, there appears to be a glaring omission: the skills and knowledge of the people whom the intervention wishes to lift out of poverty. According to Badiane (2009), a focus on people's knowledge and skills development is important in any poverty reduction intervention. He maintains that for a poverty

reduction intervention to be effective, there is a need to develop and implement policies that aim to enhance the productivity of poor people's resources.

It is important to emphasise that PEAP and PMA are historically linked to the World Bank and IMF policies, backed by donor funding and regarded as critical for the future of Uganda's economy (Bahigwa et al., 2005). This is because PEAP and PMA together provide a broad framework in which sectoral and inter-sectoral plans, programmes and projects interact.

3.2.3 PMA purpose and strategies

The main purpose of PMA is to eradicate poverty through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector. According to Muhumuza (2003), PMA's goal to eradicate poverty is to be achieved not only by transforming the practises of subsistence farmers, but also the entire agricultural sector in the country.

By transforming both the subsistence farmers and the entire agricultural sector through the PMA intervention, the Ugandan government hopes to: increase incomes and improve quality of life of poor subsistence farmers, improve food security, provide gainful employment, and promote sustainable use and management of natural resources (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000). However, two critical issues which need serious attention are the subsistence farmers' ability to keep records in their efforts to engage in agriculture as a business, and adopt the new agricultural technologies for which reading, writing and arithmetic is necessary; and the diminishing role of the state in the different activities or aspects of the PMA intervention that have commercial dimensions.

3.2.4 Main PMA target groups: their rights and responsibilities

PMA is intended to transform Uganda's agricultural sector in order to reduce mass poverty in rural areas. Using agricultural modernisation as a mechanism for rural

transformation necessitates addressing the agricultural production-related challenges facing those who primarily depend on agriculture.

The PMA Director, Dr. Willie Odwongo, specifies the categories of people PMA is targeting to include: (i) people who are marginalised by agglomeration, (ii) small-holder subsistence farmers, (iii) people who are living in remote rural areas, and (iv) people with complex, diverse, and risk-prone livelihood strategies (Odwongo, 2001). These categories of people tend to be the hardest hit by poverty. They also tend to be disadvantaged in terms of access to educational opportunities and normally tend to lack literacy and numeracy skills. Thus in terms of rural poverty reduction, they are certainly the appropriate PMA target group.

However, there appears to be a contradiction in terms of which groups PMA is targeting because Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000, p. 29) indicate that the focus of the PMA intervention should be on all the three categories of farmers namely: subsistence farmers (constituting 70%), semi-commercial farmers (25%) and commercial farmers (5%). This clearly contradicts the description of the PMA target group by Odwongo above. The contradiction is evident in the following quotation:

All farmer categories will benefit from an enabling environment to be created by the government of Uganda, (namely): stable macro-economic policy, good governance, accountability, security of person and property, infrastructure, efficient financial sector, legal and regulatory framework and agricultural research (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. 29).

Notwithstanding the above comment which gives all categories of farmers the opportunity to receive benefits accruing from the PMA intervention, Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000) further stress that the very nature of subsistence farmers and their associated constraints makes them a special category and as a result most of the public resources will be allocated to interventions that directly reach them to enhance their capital assets and improve their livelihoods. Much as the emphasis on

subsistence farmers is very important at this point, it is not clear how the special status to be accorded to them will be attained or put into practice in an environment in which PSOs are expected to take the lead in service provision for the rural poor.

The above view clearly shows that although PMA appears to lay emphasis on the subsistence farmers as its primary target group, they seem not to prioritise them in certain documents. It could therefore be possible that focus may shift away from the subsistence farmers to semi-commercial and commercial farmers who already have resources and power to influence decisions regarding resource allocation during the implementation. If this happens, the subsistence farmers, the majority of whom lack literacy and numeracy skills, are most likely to be excluded from the benefits accruing from the PMA intervention. This is also reflected in how PMA grants are managed.

3.2.5 The PMA grants to the communities

One of the eight pillars of PMA, which will be outlined in the next section, is Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants, also known as PMA grants⁴. All community grants from PMA are supposed to be managed at district and sub-county levels with active involvement of the Farmers Fora (NAADS Secretariat, 2004b). The funds are used according to the various work plans submitted by the various Sub-County Farmers' Fora (SCFF) in the district.

According to the description given by NAADS Secretariat (2004b), when the funds are released from the treasury, the district notifies and sends approved work plans to the SCFF and releases funds for the advisory services to the bank accounts of the Sub-County NAADS programme. The Sub-County Chief, the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator and the Sub-Accountant are responsible for managing the bank account. They are signatories to the account, and are responsible for spending the funds on activities approved by the SCFF.

⁴ Grants to the communities which constitute one of the pillars of PMA are formally referred to as Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants (NSCGs) in most PMA documents. In this study the term "PMA grants" is used interchangeably to refer to the same thing since they are funds within PMA channelled to the communities at Sub-County level to address their immediate needs.

On the arrival of the funds, the District Farmers' Forum (DFF) then calls for bids and appoints service providers to provide advisory services as stated in the work plans approved by the SCFF. The farmers in their respective groups identify the advisory services and technologies needed, and assess the quality of services provided by the service provider. The SCFF prioritises farmers' groups' needs, selects service providers and monitors the implementation of the activities. The procurement committee awards contracts to a competent service provider, who then gets the money for the services to be provided. The contracts are signed between the Sub-County Chief, the SCFF Chairperson, and the private service provider, witnessed by the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator.

The contracted private service provider serves the farmers' groups, and submits reports on the accomplished work to the Sub-County Chief. The NAADS Coordinator coordinates the activities while the SCFF monitors the service providers' performance and provides feedback reports to the farmers, SCFF and District Farmers' Fora. Farmers also monitor and report on the performance of the service providers and the NAADS programme.

From the above description of how grants to the communities are managed in accordance with the planned activities, it appears the farmers in their respective groups do not come directly into contact with the funds, although Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (n.d) give a detailed description of how farmers can use the PMA funds to address pressing needs. Information on how much each group gets is slight. What is clearly mentioned is that the communities are expected to use PMA grants to:

- Improve village road and paths that are important for their agricultural activities
- Build markets and cattle dips
- Construct or improve valley dams
- Get training on better ways of farming
- Get training and advice on how to use and manage their land, forests, wetlands, and water in better ways for the present and future

- Together, identify markets for their products and inputs
- Build protected fish landing sites
- Get adult literacy training
- Get planning skills,
- Get through all the above and improve status of women, youth and other disadvantaged groups (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, n.d., p. 10).

It should be pointed out that the above list is not necessarily arranged in order of priority, because the communities are expected to use the grants to address their most pressing needs. However, what is problematic is how the communities, the majority of whom lack literacy, can prioritise their needs when they are powerless and voiceless in most cases. With stiff competition for the scarce resources and biting poverty among the communities there is the likelihood that acquiring adult literacy skills may not necessarily be seen as a priority for the communities. Community needs assessment is therefore critical for the rural poor. Also the extent to which all the listed activities can be accomplished within PMA budgets for a particular community is difficult to ascertain.

A detailed description of the PMA pillars and how two of them relating to agricultural advisory services and agricultural education are implemented is given in the following sub-section.

3.3 PMA pillars and principles guiding the implementation

As stated in Chapter One, Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (2003) identifies eight pillars or priority intervention areas for public expenditure to enhance the attainment of its goals and objectives. The pillars, not necessarily arranged in their order of importance, are:

- Agricultural research and technology development
- Agricultural advisory services
- Rural finance
- Agro-processing and marketing

- Agricultural education
- Sustainable resource management
- Supportive physical infrastructure
- The non-sectoral conditional grants, also known as PMA grants, which aim at incorporating agriculture into the planning and budgeting process of local government development programmes (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2003, p. 2).

As already highlighted in Chapter One, this study focused on the agricultural advisory services and agricultural education pillars of PMA. A brief description of the main strategies adopted for the operationalisation of these two PMA pillars is given in subsections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 below. The choice of these two PMA pillars was based on the fact that they relate most directly to issues of teaching/learning and dissemination of information to the target group and the general public, which is crucial for the success of the PMA programme. As Jjuuko (2007) notes, the two pillars also intersect directly with issues in adult literacy programmes in the country.

3.3.1 Agricultural Education

Agricultural education, both formal and non-formal, constitutes an important aspect of agricultural modernisation. The Ministry of Education and Sports defines formal agricultural education as:

... organised by formal educational institutions using formal methods of teaching that include institutional classroom instruction or lectures in which a student is assessed or examined to enable him or her attain certain standards for academic advancement from one learning stage to another (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003, p. 10).

In contrast, it defines non-formal agricultural education as that type of agricultural education:

... where the learner attends agricultural education training which may be either structured or unstructured and organised by either a formal or informal training institution and acquires knowledge and skills but is not assessed or

examined by a recognised examination agency (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003, p. 10).

The distinction in the above definitions appear to relate to issues of providers of agricultural education and training, location, teaching and assessment methods and purpose, which gives opportunities to cater for the needs of people of all ages. Attempting to cater for all categories is useful, because in a rural context where adult literacy rates are low, illiteracy acts as “a barrier to accessing information and profiting from livelihood opportunities thereby compounding poverty, especially for women” (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p 61). Hence non-formal agricultural education would be crucial in such circumstances.

According to Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000, p.60),

The poor farmers in Uganda identified low educational levels, ignorance, lack of information, lack of skills – particularly in primary production and financial management – as factors influencing their inability to access and benefit from livelihoods opportunities and subsequently causing poverty.

Part of the solution to the above problems facing the poor farmers would be to have an efficient and effective agricultural extension education unit. Unfortunately, the personnel in agricultural extension education in Uganda were badly hit by the civil service reform policy implemented in the 1980s and 1990s.

Under the above reform, the Agricultural Extension Directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries was disbanded, and the responsibility for agricultural extension education was transferred to the Ministry of Local Government (MoLG). The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries had its staff reduced from 1,400 to 300, and this meant redefining the key functions of the ministry based on certain provisions derived from the 1995 Constitution (Government of Uganda (GoU), 1995), the Local Government Act, 1997 (Government of Uganda, 1997) and the Public Service reforms. This had certain negative implications for the

implementation of some of the activities of PMA at sub-county and district levels, especially the two pillars that this study focused on.

According to the Ministry of Education and Sports (2003), agricultural education and training in Uganda is faced with a number of challenges, some of which include lack of coherent policy, insufficient funding, ineffective institutional framework for delivery of agricultural education and training inappropriate curricula, teaching and learning methodologies in agricultural education and training, and negative attitudes towards agricultural education and training. With such enormous challenges, the mandate of the provision of agricultural education, especially non-formal agricultural education and training appears to be unclear when considered in terms of the three ministries of Agriculture, Local Government and Education. As indicated above, non-formal agricultural education and training takes place in an ineffective and incoherent institutional framework.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000) suggest that the responsibility for providing formal agricultural education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels lies with the Ministry of Education and Sports, while non-formal agricultural education is to be undertaken by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. The idea of aligning non-formal agricultural education and training with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development seems to hinge on the fact that FALP is housed in the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. FALP is expected to integrate non-formal agricultural education and training into their activities, which at sub-county level are overseen by Community Development Officers (CDOs). However, the role of CDOs in the sub-counties where the activities of FALP and PMA are meant to interact is not clear. More importantly, the roles of the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries as far as non-formal agricultural education is concerned, and how they differ from the farmers' training and technology demonstrations that are supposed to be provided under PMA, remains unclear.

Both formal and non-formal agricultural education and training play a crucial role in PMA implementation. Addressing the challenges outlined above requires a genuine

inter-sectoral approach, so as to allow the different ministries to effectively collaborate on issues of agricultural education and training. How these issues are being tackled needs to be analysed to gain some insights on what is exactly meant by agricultural education, how local people understand it, how it has been undertaken in PMA, what curriculum is followed, how issues of quality are addressed, and what materials, methods and languages are used. An analysis of the linkages and synergies between the Ministry of Education and Sports and the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development is also critical, as the two programmes both target poverty reduction. The practical experiences of the research participants regarding the lack of clarity on the issues raised at this stage are presented in Chapter Six.

3.3.2 National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS)

NAADS is a key PMA component created by an Act of Parliament, the NAADS Act, 2001, to increase farmers' access to improved knowledge, technologies and information (Mugerwa, 2000). Though it was meant to operate as a semi-autonomous entity, its Secretariat is placed under the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries, with the Board reporting to the Permanent Secretary for this ministry (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000, p. 21). Its role was assumed to be critical because transforming Uganda's subsistence agricultural sector to commercial agriculture would greatly depend on the quality of advisory services given to the farmers (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000). It was intended to put into practice the agricultural advisory services aspect of the PMA intervention by coordinating agricultural advisory services provision to the subsistence farmers by Private Service Providers (PSPs) (Government of Uganda, 2001). The agency was therefore meant to prepare the farmers to gradually phase out public sector-led agricultural advisory service delivery and replace it with a private sector service delivery system.

Achieving the above target necessitated structural adjustments and institutional reforms, such as reduction in the number of public extension workers, who were replaced by PSPs hired to provide such services on a contractual basis (Obaa, 2004; Obaa, Mutimba & Semana, 2005; Musemakweri, 2007). According to the Ministry of

Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, the restructuring from a public to a private service delivery system was underpinned by the need to minimise the social impact related to retrenchment, and the reality that the bulk of the initial source of service providers would be the former public servants. This restructuring was to take place in a number of ways:

- The existing senior core staff of the District Production Department (DPD) that will have important input to NAADS are to remain as employees of the District Service Commission (DSC). NAADS programme was expected to support them by picking up their incremental NAADS operating costs such as transport, necessary equipment/supplies and allowances
- The graduate extensionists recently appointed and the field extension workers at sub-counties who are employed under civil service conditions are expected to be absorbed into NAADS by changing their terms so that they can stay in public service as Sub-County NAADS Coordinators, or by mutual agreement, as contracted service providers, with an NGO, a private company or individually. Severance from the public sector will be made as provided for in their terms and conditions of service (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000, p. 14).

While some of the former government servants got reabsorbed into the NAADS programme under different terms and conditions of service, most of them lost their jobs, while others had to compete with other private agencies to be awarded contracts as PSPs.

NAADS's philosophical underpinning was therefore "the need to empower farmers, particularly the poor and women, to demand and control agricultural advisory services" (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000, p. v). Mugerwa (2000, p. v) notes that "it is also grounded in the overarching government policies of decentralisation, privatisation, liberalisation and increased participation in decision making". Its mission is "increased farmer access to information, knowledge and technology through effective, efficient, sustainable and decentralised extension with increasing private sector involvement in line with government policy" (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000, p. 4). It is therefore intended to

develop a demand driven, client oriented and farmer-led agricultural service delivery system particularly targeting the poor and women (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000). During the implementation of PMA, NAADS was designed to have a secretariat reporting under the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, which is expected to work closely with MoLG, mandated to undertake the delivery of agricultural advisory services (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000).

Considering that provision for the rural poor is based on the aid of Non-Sectoral Conditional Grants for the initial years of the programme, where the farmers are expected to contribute 2% of the cost of the programme, the issue of gradually phasing out the grants and leaving the PSPs to completely take over the process based on market principles creates serious doubts around the extent to which PMA can deliver the poor from their state of deprivation. As Wade (2004) notes, neoliberal market-oriented policies in this globalised era have never helped the situation in which the poor are trapped. Neoliberal policies tend to negatively affect resource allocation for certain sectors such as education and health, thereby making them inaccessible to the poor (Atim & Ngaka, 2004). It is therefore not clear whether the new extension service delivery system, driven by the forces of demand and supply, can effectively and efficiently attract subsistence farmers to the programme and deliver them out of their deprivation.

Table 7 below illustrates projects under PMA by priority areas during the 2001/02 financial year. The table clearly shows the PMA pillars that receive more funding. For instance, agricultural education, which plays an important role in agricultural technology development, demonstration and transfer, occupies the last position, with only 0.6% (2.0508 billion Uganda shillings) of the total funds (347.9859 billion Uganda shillings).

Although it has been difficult to draw a clear line between agricultural advisory services and agricultural education and training, agricultural advisory services has received the second largest sum, probably because it has been given a different name from education or literacy, which are normally not seen as priorities. The sum of

88.1607 billion Uganda shillings allocated for agricultural advisory services is expected to cover the following five components:

- Advisory and information services to farmers
- Technology development and linkages with markets
- Quality assurance – regulations and technical auditing of service providers
- Private sector institutional development
- Programme management and monitoring.

However, it would be important and interesting to examine a detailed breakdown of the 88.1607 billion Uganda shillings allocated for agricultural advisory services to see the fraction that actually goes to the educational related aspects in relation to the five components specified above.

Table 7: Summary of PMA projects by priority Areas: 2001/02

No	PMA Priority Area	No. of Projects	UShs (Bns)	% Budget
1	Physical infrastructure	16	102.3947	29.4
2	Agricultural advisory services	38	88.1607	25.3
3	Natural Resource use & Management	22	50.0741	14.4
4	Institutional Reform, Reform of Policy and Regulation	29	33.4960	9.6
5	Research and Technology	14	32.1552	9.2
6	Agro-processing and Marketing	7	28.2624	8.1
7	Access to Rural Finance	4	11.3920	3.3
8	Agricultural Education	2	2.0508	0.6
	Total	132	347.9859	100

Source: Muhumuza (2003, p. 14)

Operationalisation of some of the pillars listed in Table 7 above through strategies like NAADS require extensive dissemination of information and sensitisation of the communities about the programme. This is intended to address a number of problems such as:

- Inadequate knowledge among the PMA stake holders about the philosophy, purpose and programmes of PMA
- Limited and inadequate knowledge amongst the PMA target group regarding their roles, responsibilities, and how they can benefit from PMA
- Establishing adequate mechanisms and systems for all the PMA stake holders to access the badly needed information on PMA

- Closing the information gaps amongst PMA relevant institutions and stakeholders regarding the roles they are expected to play in the course of implementing PMA priority areas
- The inadequate knowledge and kind of attitude towards the linkages amongst the PMA implementing institutions
- Low levels of promotion of transparency and accountability on PMA programmes (Implementation and management of dissemination sensitisation programme for PMA, n.d., p. 2).

Most of the activities under PMA are supposed to be cross-sectoral, and, most importantly, to involve some form of collaboration between the state and business in the form of Public – Private Sector Partnership (PPSP). This partnership requires certain principles to guide the process. These principles are basically derived from government policy instruments, such as the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (Government of Uganda, 1995), the Local Government Act, 1997 (Government of Uganda, 1997), and the National Adult Literacy Strategic Investment Plan (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002).

In accordance with the stated policy instruments, the operationalisation of the PMA pillars are guided by a number of principles, some of which include: privatisation; decentralisation; liberalisation; democratisation and stakeholder participation; gender and environmental sensitivity; and a multi-sectoral approach, as well as working in partnership with all the stakeholders (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2003). The neoliberal market oriented policies that influence most of the PMA activities do not work in favour of the poor (Wade, 2004). Further discussion about the salient features of liberalism, neoliberalism and globalisation, as well as their criticism, is presented in the next chapter.

3.4 PMA institutional framework and stakeholder analysis

As noted earlier, PMA operates in a multi-sectoral framework with various themes and players all intended to achieve the common purpose of eradicating mass poverty among the rural people in Uganda. In this section, a brief description of PMA institutional framework adopted for the implementation of the programme is

presented, and the key partners involved are highlighted. It also highlights the roles and responsibilities assigned to each of the partners identified.

3.4.1 PMA framework

In recognition of the complex and multidimensional nature of poverty reduction processes, the PMA programme was deliberately designed to fit within the overall Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) described in detail in IMF (2005) and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004; 2005). PEAP provides a comprehensive framework for the overall development of the country by taking into account policies, plans and investment programmes of all sectors, districts, NGOs and donors.

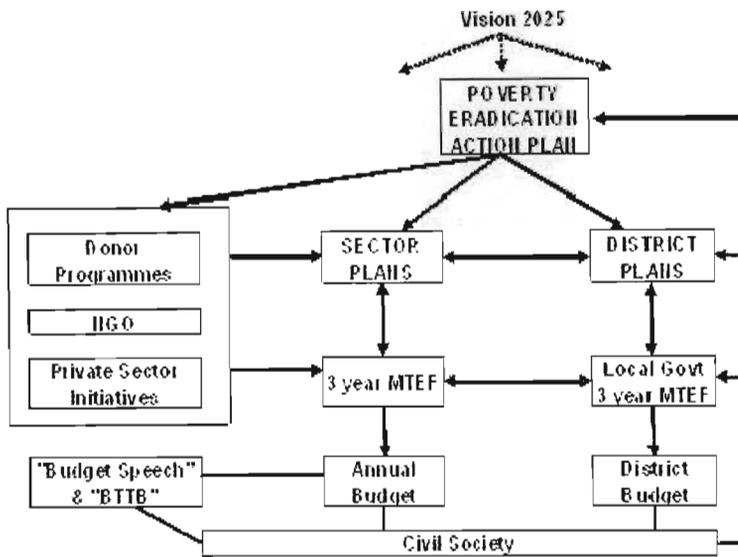
Hence, the implementation framework for the PMA intervention had to be designed in a manner that depends on the involvement of, not only government ministries and local government structures and sectors as illustrated in Appendix 32, but also other sectors and in partnership with farmers, commercial/Private Sector Organisations (PSOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and donors (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2000, p. 4).

The implementation framework, guided by Uganda's vision for 2025 and PEAP as shown in Figure 14 below, involves the institutions with links to all the key intervention areas or pillars of PMA presented earlier in Section 3.3, and whose project priority areas for 2001/2002 Financial Year were summarised in Table 7.

The relevant institutions in the implementation amongst others include: farmers' groups located at the different levels of Local Government, Local Government, PSOs and CSOs, the NAADS Board and its Secretariat, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries and the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development.

The interactions between the various PMA partners in the planning and implementation of PMA are illustrated in Figure 14 below.

Figure 14: The framework that guides PMA implementation



Source: Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000a, p. 4).

As a result of the crosscutting nature of the activities involved in poverty reduction endeavours, government established a multi-sectoral coordination mechanism comprising all the stakeholders to ensure harmonious implementation, vertical and horizontal coordination as well as linkages at the centre, district and sub-county levels (Bahigwa et al., 2005; Baryayebwa, 2004). As shown in Figure 14 above, the multi-sectoral implementation framework entails using the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), which integrates policy-making with planning and budgeting as well as expenditure. The integrated process is based on strategic priorities and current budget constraints, sectoral policy reform, strategic reprioritisation, and investment programming. Three important aspects of the framework that need to be highlighted are: (i) drawing together all stakeholders in a genuine partnership involving what Kiirya (2001), Kaliisa (2001) and Baryayebwa (2004) describe as a sector-wide approach; (ii) taking into consideration the decentralised system of governance with full consultation and delegation at various levels; and (iii) embracing the values of transparency and accountability for the funds received and used.

3.4.2 PMA partners and their roles

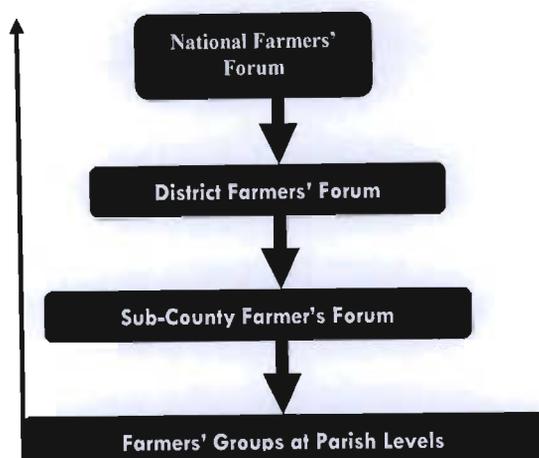
Judging from the brief description given in 2.4.1 above, and what is presented in the PMA Secretariat (2003, pp. 2 – 3), it is clear that there are many stakeholders involved in the implementation of the PMA programme. Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000, p. 42) identify the key players to include: (i) farmers and farmers' organisations; (ii) Local governments, including the higher and lower local governments at district and sub-county levels; (iii) Private Sector Organisations (PSOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) comprising churches, media organisations, academic institutions and trade unions; (iv) Line ministries and their agencies; and (v) Development partners comprising sub-groups on agriculture, decentralisation, private sector and micro-finance.

The specific roles of each of the partners reflected in Muhumuza (2003), PMA Secretariat (2003) and Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (n.d.; 2000) are described below.

3.4.2.1 Farmers and farmers' organisations

The farmers' organisations are considered to be the crucial element for farmers' empowerment in the implementation of PMA (NAADS, n.d.; Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000). They are responsible for organising, formulating and prioritising farmers' needs as well as contracting and monitoring the PSPs. They are comprised of: (i) farmers' groups at parish and village levels; and (ii) Farmers' Fora at sub-county, district and national levels as shown in Figure 15 below.

Figure 15: Structure of farmers' organisation



Source: Author's own construction⁵

On the one hand, the farmers' groups are primarily responsible for ensuring the success of PMA implementation at grassroots level, especially at parish and village levels. They are the nuclear grassroots institutions of PMA implementation and their effective participation and subsequent empowerment is expected to be the principal determinant of success of the PMA intervention (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000).

The landscape in which the farmers' groups operate is complex, and there are different forces that influence or govern their operations in the PMA intervention process. Understanding the processes and dynamics involved in the operations of the farmers' groups is critical in this study, in order to get a clearer picture in terms of members' participation levels in the various PMA activities. However, for the expected benefits to materialise, farmers need to know their responsibilities and exercise their rights. The exact message to the farmers' groups is that: "as partners, it is your responsibility to:

- Inform yourself about the PMA programmes and activities
- Work closely with your neighbours, local councillors, extension workers, NGOs, CBOs, and associations
- Demand to know how you can take an active part and benefit from the PMA programme

⁵ Figure 15 above is the author's own construction based on information about Farmer Institutions. Online and Retrieved April 12, 2009 from: <http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>

- Take an active part in PMA meetings, discussions and activities in your area so that your needs get into the local plan
- Use available resources and the services provided by government to improve your opportunities
- Follow closely the progress of PMA activities in your area and make sure they are carried out as planned
- Find out how funds and other resources available to your community are being used
- Report any cases of misuse of PMA funds to elected leaders and the police
- Work together as women and men to share the workload such as weeding, harvesting, transporting, marketing and processing (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, n.d. p. 15).

On the other hand, the Farmers' Fora are primarily responsible for ensuring priority setting, resource use and upward and downward linkages in programme implementation at sub-county, district and national levels. Their collective functions outlined in the NAADS Master Document include:

- Guiding the tendering and procurement of advisory services through the government systems
- Playing lead roles in leading the needs assessment and priority setting activities
- Developing proposals and plans to solicit funding support
- Prioritising plans to sub-county and district and national levels
- Mobilisation and management of their own and external financial resources
- Promoting capacity development among farmers
- Guiding the technology generation, adaptation, development and dissemination
- Leading the NAADS monitoring and evaluation process
- Overseeing information and communication systems
- Contributing to local and national policy debates relevant to NAADS (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, 2000, p. 11).

The different roles of the farmer organisations in the implementation of PMA suggest that they have to work very closely with the sub-county Local Governments, whose responsibilities and roles are described in the following paragraph. However, the way farmers are expected to play the above roles is not clear. An assessment of the involvement of the farmers' group members at the various levels of Local Government through different activities, to be presented and analysed in Chapter Six is intended to provide a better idea of the level of their participation in the implementation of PMA.

3.4.2.2 Local Government

Uganda has a three-tier decentralised system of governance: the Central Government; the Higher Local Governments at district level; and the Lower Local Government at sub-county levels (Makara, 2000). Local governments, in accordance with the Local Governments Act 1997 (Government of Uganda, 1997), are charged with the responsibility of implementing programmes aimed to reduce poverty in their respective districts (see <http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>). This involves local administration and regulatory aspects and support requirements for interventions such as PMA. The Sub-County and District Councils at their respective levels are responsible for policy, assessment of effectiveness and general oversight of PMA activities, and for voting on counterpart financial contributions.

The Ministry of Local Government, through its Decentralisation Secretariat and Local Government Finance Commission, ensures the integration of PMA pillars into Local Government Development Projects and all other local government capacity building initiatives in the districts. Through this arrangement, each district and sub-county undertakes full responsibility to implement and supervise the operation of a given PMA pillar under implementation in partnership with farmers' groups and Farmers' Fora, as described below.

The main players involved within the Local Government Structures, outlined in <http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>, are:

- Districts and Sub-Counties Development, Investment and Production Committees

- Production Departments
- Technical Planning Committees
- Local Administration.

A detailed description of the kind of partnership envisaged between the units listed here and the Farmers' Fora would be necessary to examine whether they enhance or frustrate the activities of farmers groups. Of specific interest in this study would be the role of such units in the management of Farmers' Fora.

3.4.2.3 District local governments

The District Local Governments are specifically expected to: (i) provide PMA information to lower councillors, NGOs, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs); (ii) provide guidance and support to Sub-Counties; (iii) receive and pass funds to Sub-Counties; (iv) monitor the use of PMA funds; (v) make progress reports; (vi) coordinate PMA activities among the various sectors; and (vii) monitor PMA activities (see <http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>).

3.4.2.4 Sub-County Local Governments (SCLGs)

Within the SCLGs, the key role of the councillors is to involve the communities in planning for the PMA activities. It is their responsibility to: (i) know about the PMA programme and activities; (ii) organise meetings for all people in their community, including women and other disadvantaged groups, to plan and carry out activities agreed; (iii) make sure PMA activities meet the needs of the community; (iv) guide their community in planning and informing them about the available funds; (v) raise local resources to support PMA activities; (vi) share views and information with other leaders, NGOs, and CBOs in their area; (vii) make sure the views of their communities on PMA are passed on to higher levels; and (viii) make progress reports on PMA activities (<http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>).

Also at sub-county levels, the PSPs are expected to: (i) advise people on how to improve their lives; (ii) guide communities to plan and make proposals for using

PMA money; (iii) monitor PMA activities; (iv) make progress reports; and (v) make sure communities know the government policies (<http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>).

3.4.2.5 The Private Sector and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

The private sector, comprised of individuals and private firms, is responsible for delivering advisory services to the farmers on a contractual basis in accordance with Section 24 of the NAADS Act, June 2001 (Government of Uganda, 2001). The Civil Society Organisations, which include NGOS, Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), collaborate with PMA programmes during the start-up activities of farmer mobilisation and farmers' institutional capacity development. During this time the CSOs, are expected to assist in the supervision of extension service delivery until service providers have been contracted.

CSOs are therefore responsible for mobilising and supporting communities about their rights and responsibilities, helping to train extension workers, training and passing on messages to communities, making progress reports, holding Local Councillors, district authorities and Central Government officials to account for PMA activities, advising on the best practice in agriculture and other rural businesses, and lobbying and advocating for activities that help the poor (<http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>). The CSOs may also opt to be contracted as service providers, in which case they are required to register a commercial arm of their agency to allow fair competition with other firms, including payment of taxes.

3.4.2.6 Members of Parliament

The Members of Parliament are one of the most important stakeholders in the PMA programme. They are expected to take responsibility for: (i) mobilising communities to support and participate in PMA activities; (ii) lobbying and advocating for PMA activities; (iii) following up PMA activities; (iv) making and passing laws that support PMA; and (v) reporting misuse of PMA funds.

3.4.2.7 Central government and its agencies

The Inspectors and Auditors, as agents of Central Government, are supposed to: (i) ensure proper use of PMA funds; (ii) ensure quality of services being delivered; and (iii) report cases of misuse of PMA funds to government.

The Central Government's Line Ministries are supposed to: (i) provide funds for undertaking PMA activities; (ii) develop policies that guide PMA activities; (iii) provide guidance and support supervision; (iv) train district staff; (v) set and ensure that national standards are met; (vi) issue guidelines on how PMA grants are used; and (vii) monitor and evaluate PMA activities (<http://www.naads.or.ug/framework.php>).

3.4.2.8 The role of development partners in PMA implementation

The development partners play an important role in PMA implementation. They are comprised of sub-groups on agriculture, decentralisation, private sector, and micro-finance. They have two crucial roles to play in PMA implementation: (i) contributing funds; and (ii) advising the government on how to go about implementing PMA programmes (PMA Secretariat, 2003a).

3.5 A critical assessment of the PMA framework

Different aspects of PMA have been discussed in the previous sections. It is worth noting that whereas some inspirational proposals are being made in the plan to enable farmers to attain the goals of PMA, there are a number of issues which are unclear, and that therefore appear to potentially pose a threat to the realisation of the benefits that the target group expects from the intervention. This applies especially to those members of the target group with limited or no literacy skills. Some of these issues are highlighted in the following sub-sections.

3.5.1 Literacy skills and the PMA process

Both PEAP and PMA recognise the fact that the majority of the people being targeted are uneducated and lack literacy skills. According to UNESCO (2005b, p.3), literacy

skills are “a crucial foundation not only for achieving EFA goals, but more broadly, for addressing the issue of poverty and hunger”. The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2004) indicates that during their consultation with the poor, illiteracy was cited as one of the constraints facing subsistence farmers in their agricultural production efforts. In a summary version of PEAP, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2005) mentions adult literacy as one of the areas of interest to be used as a tool for community empowerment. Ministry of Education and Sports (2003) also articulates the challenges of agricultural education, especially in the non-formal sector.

As has already been emphasised, literacy is crucial to any effort to modernise the subsistence agricultural sector in Uganda. It would therefore be important if what is said about the role of literacy, which the Constitution of Uganda recognises as a right (Government of Uganda, 1995), is put into practice by instituting a mechanism for continuously building and improving the skills of those participating farmers with limited or no literacy skills.

When the contextualised meaning of PMA which Odwongo (2001) gives is critically assessed, it suggests that Uganda’s agricultural modernisation efforts are directed towards specialisation, monetisation or commercialisation. These three dimensions of agriculture have huge potential for increasing the marketed share of the agricultural output of the subsistence farmers, and hence increasing household incomes.

However, it should be pointed out that commercialising subsistence agricultural activities comes with its own baggage of commercial literacy practices, which the target group is not accustomed to. For example, it requires that the participating farmers keep consistent activity records, actively participate in business skills building courses, write reports on all the activities they are involved in, handle financial transactions in the banks, and use Information Communication Technologies (Kaliisa, 2001). In view of the fact that the majority of the PMA target group are people with few or no literacy and numeracy skills, the shift in the focus of production from meeting household needs to the market is likely to pose formidable challenges for the subsistence farmers.

Another aspect of the literacy skills needed can be seen in the language used to describe the roles and responsibilities of the subsistence farmers. As outlined in Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (n.d, pp. 11 – 12), they include informing oneself of PMA programmes, demanding to know how one can take active part in PMA programmes, taking active part in meetings, and finding out how funds are used. These may not be possible for people who have limited or no literacy skills. Such unschooled people tend to lack assertiveness and in many cases are too shy to express themselves amidst educated people. It is also not likely that the voiceless rural communities, who are suffering from what Sen (1999) describes as poverty deprivation, can easily follow how funds for PMA are used and report mismanagement to the appropriate authorities.

Although adult literacy training is one of the areas which communities are expected to spend the PMA grants on, it may not necessarily be a priority for them. Adult literacy tends to attract little interest, and this does not seem to be an exception here. In fact, throughout most of the documents, the issues of literacy skills building seemed not to have been taken seriously.

Critical in any development intervention involving agricultural production is the issue of adoption of the new agricultural technologies, for which a reasonable level of education and some literacy is said to be necessary (Weir & Knight, 2000; World Bank, 1996). However, the government seems to assume a number of things regarding the subsistence farmers' ability to adopt the new agricultural technologies, maximise production and market their produce. This assumption seems to overlook the fact that most of the people in the rural areas lack literacy skills and that they need to be facilitated through literacy programmes. A thorough assessment of the extent to which the intervention takes into account lack of literacy among the target group in its efforts to realise sustainable rural livelihoods in Uganda is crucial in this study.

3.5.2 Sensitisation and information dissemination

Dissemination of information and sensitisation of the public about PMA is one of the critical activities for the success of the programme. A number of methods can be used

to achieve the objectives of sensitisation and dissemination. Available options include radio, television, newspapers, the internet, posters, and distribution of leaflets to different sub-counties. However, each has its own advantages and shortcomings. It is even more complicated in light of the nature of the target group who might not have access to some of the methods being used for dissemination of information on PMA, because of poverty.

3.5.3 Language

Beside the issue of interaction with written materials, another potential threat may come in the form of the language which is used in the implementation of the programme. Uganda is a multiethnic country, in which there are few common languages that can be understood across the country. English is the official language and it is also used as Uganda's chief medium of instruction in schools. However, people mostly have to go to school in order to speak and understand English well.

Most rural people have low levels of education and cannot speak English well enough to fully understand what is being taught in training sessions or seminars and workshops if they are conducted in English. While Kiswahili is one of the languages spoken widely in the East African region, in Uganda it is mainly only spoken by the business community and people in the urban areas. It does not therefore seem to offer any solution to the language problem as Kwesiga (1994) notes in his work, "Literacy and the Language Question in Uganda". The experiences of the participating farmers in relation to the issue of language in the PMA programme have never been documented. The issue of the use of English could also affect the teaching and learning materials used during farmer training and technology demonstrations. It has been acknowledged in PMA documents that hundreds of thousands of PMA leaflets written in English were sent to different sub-counties.

3.5.4 Participatory planning and management

The concept of participation by all in the PMA process has been lauded (Muhumuza, 2003). However, what does not seem to be clear is the kind of participation, its level and the feasibility of everyone being able to participate in the process. According to

Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000) and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000b; 2002), a participatory poverty assessment was conducted in 1999 so as to bring the perspectives of the poor into national and district policy formulation, planning and implementation. In the assessment, local people were consulted using participatory methods from 36 rural and urban sites in nine selected districts across Uganda – particularly in Kumi, Kapchorwa, Kabarole, Kalangala, Moyo, Kotido, Kisoro, Bushenyi and Kampala.

In view of the total population of Uganda and the number of districts the country has at the moment, the views obtained from the 36 communities in nine districts may not really be representative enough to draw valid conclusions regarding the needs of poor people, as well as their perceptions about poverty that went into shaping the PMA process. Also, there appears to be contradiction in terms of specification of the primary target group. Saying that all farmers will benefit from PMA, as in Odwongo (2001) and Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000), is too broad and can easily create opportunities for cheating those who need the most help. In addition, saying that the intervention needs to focus on those farmers who already have something to begin with will exclude those farmers who have nothing to start with (Bahiigwa et al., 2005).

3.5.5 PMA implementation

It was indicated that PMA is being implemented in a multi-sectoral framework because of the crosscutting nature of poverty reduction processes. Indeed, the multidimensionality of poverty does warrant such an approach. The sector-wide approach to planning and management of programmes and projects was intended to ensure equitable distribution of resources for different interventions. It was also meant to allow integration of related programmes to take advantage of efficient and effective resource utilisation.

However, it should be pointed out that the framework that guides the implementation of PMA is extremely complex. The linkages between units performing similar tasks

are not well clarified. For example, FALP, which government claims is one of its vital tools for poverty reduction, would have benefited greatly from such an inter-sectoral approach, but this cannot be seen in reality. The extent to which the complex multi-sectoral framework can squarely face the challenges posed in terms of the expected synergies is difficult to establish.

3.5.6 Neoliberal reform policies and PMA

Although the reform policies the Ugandan government adopted were largely claimed to be successful (Belshaw et al., 1999; Baffeo, 2000; Ellis & Bahiigwa, 2003), many people have been suspicious of the intentions of the architects of the policies, claiming that the policies tend to affect the poor negatively (Adebua et al., 2002).

Civil Society Organisations claim that decentralisation of powers to enhance service delivery has instead decentralised corruption in service delivery (PMA Secretariat, 2003a, p. 14). An article by Okech (2008), regarding halting the reconstruction of northern Uganda because of fraud only makes fears about such claims worse.

In my view, PMA finds itself in a tricky position where it has to deal with the latent tension between the desire to pull its target group out of mass poverty on the one hand, and on the other, ensure that the process of pulling them out of poverty operates within neoliberal principles such as liberalisation, privatisation, decentralisation, in which service delivery is driven by market forces and opportunities to access them depends on whether one has the capacity to afford them (see Bahiigwa et al., 2005).

Although the proposal to increase household incomes of the rural poor through commercialisation of agricultural production looks irresistible, reducing poverty levels through the strategy may prove to be an uphill task, especially when every effort is being made to reduce the role of the government in service provision and pave the way for the private sector to do so at market rates. Of great interest at this stage is the fact that a 10% co-funding or matching grant is expected from the communities before receiving a PMA grant from the sub-county (Obaa et al., 2005). How poor rural subsistence farmers can match the funds they are to get from PMA is a difficult question to answer.

PMA clearly recognises the rural subsistence farmers as the focus of the intervention. However, this recognition is contradicted by the emphasis laid on the poor local communities being asked to demand the types of agricultural advisory services that they need. As indicated above, the poor subsistence farmers must contribute a certain proportion of co-funding, and they are likely to find this difficult. Finally, the feasibility of the poor and unschooled people being able to articulate their needs and solicit services from the private sector is yet to be seen.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, basic information about PMA was presented. The chapter focused on the description of the concept of PMA in terms of what it is about, its conceptual and theoretical basis, goals and objectives, and the main target group. It is stated in this chapter that PMA is an intervention with multiple stakeholders who have various interests and expectations. This variation in interests and expectations constitutes a complex landscape, which presents certain challenges for those who are supposed to be the main target group of the intervention.

In assessing the policy positions of the plan, special emphasis was laid on literacy-related issues that have negative implications for those members of the target group with few or no literacy skills. A critical observation made in the assessment was that while much has been said about adopting a holistic framework to eradicate poverty through multi-sectoral interventions, the catalytic role of literacy in fostering participation in the intervention seems to have been taken lightly. The government seems to suggest that by providing an enabling environment through the various institutional and legal reforms it has undertaken, in which the private sector is expected to take the lead in the provision of agricultural advisory services, the participating farmers will automatically realise a boost in their agricultural production and household incomes. This may, however, not necessarily be the case.

Commercialising the subsistence agricultural practices of smallholder rural producers, most of whom lack literacy skills, imposes certain demands on them in terms of the literacy and numeracy skills necessary for efficient and effective management of their

commercial agricultural enterprises being promoted under PMA. This commercial dimension of subsistence agriculture also effectively integrates the subsistence farmers into the rapidly globalising capitalist market system in which the literacy demands extend to emphasise functionality, not just the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic. This therefore casts doubt on the plan as an effective strategy for eradicating rural poverty among a population characterised by high rates of illiteracy.

While the vision, mission, and objectives of the plan appear to be based on pro-poor principles, the influence of market oriented policies or forces, in which access to services such as agricultural extension is determined by the extent to which one has the ability to pay for them, seems to put the benefits expected for the poor in a questionable position. This appears to contradict the poverty eradication objective of the plan. With the task of agricultural advisory service provision, farmer training and technology demonstration being left to the PSOs, it is possible that the intended target group of the intervention might miss out. This is because the emphasis is likely to shift to those who can pay for them, and the mood of those with the power to influence the implementation of the programme seems to be driving the programme's work to start with those who already have something. This drive is evident in the words of the Ugandan members of parliament, which Ekwamu and Ashley (2003, in Bahiigwa et al., 2005, p. 486) quoted as follows: "It is better to push a wheelbarrow of money than one with stones – you need to target the middle class as a means to uplift the poor".

While the sector-wide approach adopted for PMA implementation, appears to generate hope in terms of tackling the complex nature of poverty, the heavy reliance on the use of written materials raises serious questions about the extent to which the literacy needs of the participating farmers were taken into consideration. Even then, the purpose of extensive sensitisation and dissemination as a crucial part of the programme implementation outlined in Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (n.d, p. 2), appears to suggest that the sector-wide approach is too complicated for the relevant institutions to understand. Whether the synergies between the different sectors or units are really working remains to be seen.

As Muhumuza (2003) points out, there have already been signs of concern about tensions between different government units over the use of the term ‘agriculture’, since a number of sectors have felt that they have their own concerns to address, not just agriculture.

In the following chapter, the literature that is relevant and related to the topic of this study is reviewed, and the conceptual framework that informs the study is described and the relevance explained.

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, literature that is relevant and related to the issues of agricultural and rural development aimed to realise what Chambers (1997b) calls “the state of well-being” is reviewed. The chapter is divided into four main sections covering different aspects of the study. The first section focuses on an overview of the concepts and theories that directly or indirectly influenced the study. Some of the concepts discussed include literacy and its various dimensions, education, social capital, participation, sustainable livelihoods, and the capability approach.

It is important to point out at this stage that this study was mainly informed by the capability approach around which its conceptual framework was constructed. Other approaches were used as complementary conceptual and theoretical tools to aid analysis and discussion of the main issues that emerged from the study. As a result, the capability approach is discussed in more detail than the rest of the concepts.

The connections between the key conceptual tools used in the study are discussed so as to facilitate a better understanding of the role each plays in an effort to attain sustainable development or what Chambers (1983; 1997a; 1997b) describes as responsible well-being. In other words, development that meets the needs of the present generation and, at the same time, takes into account our responsibility to the seventh generation (Clarkson, Morrissette & Regallet, 1997).

In the second section, the available empirical studies that have specifically focused on the PMA intervention are reviewed. The review aims to identify some of the shortcomings in these studies. The identification of such weaknesses helps in trying to devise strategies for addressing them, as well as opening new directions for further research within the same area or problem that might not have been adequately studied.

In the third section, an attempt is made to review other works that are relevant and related to the study. The review is done under the following four sub-headings:

- Literacy and the language factor in development interventions,
- Literacy, health and agricultural development,
- Literacy, gender participation and poverty reduction
- Literacy and entrepreneurship.

In the last section, the conceptual framework that informs and guides the analysis and discussions in the study is presented. The framework, based on the work of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, drew from the concept of sustainable rural livelihoods, the frame of reference of which is discussed in Scoones (1998) and shown in Appendix 29. I found it necessary to supplement and complement the capability approach with ideas drawn from Scoones' framework because it emphasises pro-poor policies and focuses on the analysis of issues of contexts, livelihood resources, institutional processes, policies and organisational structures, livelihood activities and outcomes, which are all issues of interest in this study.

The overall purpose of the chapter is to situate PMA in the bigger picture of other development interventions in order to provide a theoretical and methodological background to the study. The review of the relevant and related literature helps to reveal the gaps, not only in PMA focused studies, but also in the existing studies in the areas of development interventions in terms of scope, methods, approach and time frame. The review aims to make a humble contribution towards filling the existing gaps, as well as enriching the ongoing debate surrounding issues of literacy skills development in the context of rural and agricultural development. In essence, the chapter locates the problem being addressed in the present research in the context of related studies that have examined issues of literacy skills and agricultural development. In the following section, the different concepts and theories used in the study are discussed.

4.2 Concepts and theories in the study

In this section, the concepts that constituted the conceptual and theoretical lenses used for viewing, analysing and discussing the major issues that emerged in this study are discussed. The following sub-section discusses the concept of literacy.

4.2.1 Overview of the concept of literacy

The concept of 'literacy' lends itself to multiple definitions, with none being accepted as a universal one. A universal definition for the concept has not only remained elusive among scholars, but has also continued to generate more debate and new ideas (Holme, 2004). Soares' statement that "consensual agreement on a single definition of literacy is implausible," clearly points to the challenge scholars have continued to face in trying to establish a universal meaning of literacy (Soares, 1992, in Harris & Hodges, 1995, p. 140).

Harris and Hodges (1995, p. 140) outline the complications that arise when seeking a single definition of literacy. These include: (i) the concept of literacy as continuum; (ii) the dual referents of literacy, individual and social; (iii) the differing historic, geographic and linguistic interpretations of the term; (iv) the distinctly different and yet complementary sets of complex skills and abilities involved in reading and writing; (v) the way it develops differently with respect to such factors as age, sex, and education; and (vi) its implications of symbolic language behaviour at a level of sophistication far beyond that of an ordinary conversation.

The above factors make the concept highly contentious and very complex. This definitional challenge has been implicitly or explicitly expressed or acknowledged by various scholars in different works. (see Street, 1984; 1995; 1996; 2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; Gee, 1990; 1999; 2000; Venezky, 1995; Baynham, 1995; Baynham & Prinsloo, 2001; Okech, 1995; 2004; 2005; Grabill, 2001; UNESCO, 2004; Holme, 2004; Feeley, 2007; McCaffery, Merrifield & Millican, 2007).

Venezky, Wagner and Ciliberti describe the complexity as follows:

Social concepts such as literacy ... are integrally tied to their labels. Like jelly and sand, they are without intrinsic shape, defined and redefined by the vessels that hold them (Venezky et al., 1990, p. ix, cited in Openjuru, 2008, p. 17).

Lind and Johnson (1990) hold similar views about the nature of literacy, and add that discussions on literacy in most cases reveal a mixture of issues regarding values,

objectives, functions, methods, levels, and content. McCaffery et al. (2007, pp. 34 – 39) also acknowledge that the word “literacy” has taken many meanings and point out that a question like “What is literacy?” often generates four broad responses that relate literacy to skills, tasks, social practices and critical reflection. The definition of the concept has therefore been evolving and changing with time, as seen in the following examples.

Ordinarily, most people understand literacy as the ability to read and write. To Bhola (1994), it is the ability to read and write in the mother tongue. He does, however, recognise the fact that literacy has many faces.

The first definition of literacy UNESCO constructed from the recommendation of 1958 International Standardization of Educational Statistics states that “A literate person is one who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement about his or her everyday life” (UNSECO, 2004, p. 12). This definition leaves a lot to be desired because it raises several questions such as: Read and write what? For what purpose? In what language? At what level? Lyster (1992a) notes that such a definition reveals very little about what this person can do with his or her literacy skills.

The above definition was modified in 1970 to broaden the meaning of literacy to address issues of its uses and purposes. The modified definition that views literacy in terms of what a person can do with the literacy skills states that:

A functionally literate person is one who can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for the effective functioning of his or her group and community and also for enabling him or her to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his or her own and the community’s development (UNESCO, 2004, p. 12).

The emphasis of the above definition of literacy on skills for effective functioning appears to adhere closely to Street’s conception of the autonomous model of literacy, in which literacy is conceptualised as a neutral technical skill. Although the definition took into account issues of context, usage, and social relevance it was still lacking in terms of the ideological purposes of literacy, which, according to Lyster (1992a, p.

11), makes the definition acceptable to a wide spectrum of opinions about the purposes of literacy work. Continued attempts to get an inclusive definition of literacy led the International Symposium for Literacy, which took place in Persepolis in 1975, to adopt a declaration in which the issue empowerment for critical consciousness became central to the definition of literacy (Lyster, 1992a).

The various definitions above confirm the dynamism of literacy and how its meaning changes from time to time, place to place, context to context, and across cultures. It cannot therefore have a standard measure that can be applied uniformly worldwide. This means that literacy can only be defined and understood within a particular context. Inferred from UNESCO's perspectives, literacy standards are tied to one's life circumstances, one's group and one's community. As a result, UNESCO proposed an operational definition formulated in its International Experts meeting in June 2003, which states:

Literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in their community and the wider society (UNESCO, 2004, p. 13).

In light of the forerunning discussions, it is clear that the definition of literacy changes with time and place, and is shaped by the institutions, cultures and communities in which the meanings are coined and used. It is also influenced by various disciplinary, theoretical and ideological inclinations. However, the consensus scholars have mostly arrived at is that the concept of literacy has something to do with the ability, skills and knowledge of reading and writing. In this study, "literacy" will be used as Venezky describes below:

Literacy is the minimum ability to read and write in a designated language, as well as a mindset or way of thinking about the use of reading and writing in everyday life. It differs from simple reading and writing in its assumption of an understanding of the appropriate use of these abilities within print-based society. Literacy, therefore, requires active, autonomous engagement with

print and stresses the role of the individual in receiving as well as assigning independent interpretations to messages (Venezky, 1995, p. 142).

The multiple faces of literacy, as Holme (2004) puts it, means that it can be conceptualised and understood from different angles in terms of the theories that explain it, and the approaches that can be used to operationalise it. In the following section, the theories, models and approaches to literacy that have been used in this study are briefly discussed. The discussions in the section focus on:

- The autonomous model of literacy
- The ideological model of literacy
- The effective model of literacy
- Functional literacy
- Critical or radical literacy.

An effort is made to briefly highlight the strengths and weakness of the models of and approaches to literacy, and how they relate to capabilities, participation and sustainable livelihoods within the broader development discourse.

4.2.1.1 Autonomous model of literacy

The “autonomous” and “ideological” models of literacy, terms which Street coined in the 1980s, offer an opportunity to conceptualise literacy in terms of the dominant view, which considers literacy as a set of neutral technical skills on the one hand and as a social practice on the other (Street, 1984). As Holme (2004) notes, it is therefore important not to consider the two models as separate phenomena, but rather treat them as part of a continuum of literacy, with the autonomous model located at one end, and the ideological model at the other.

Street (2003a, p. 77) observes that the standard view in many fields, from schooling to development programmes works from the assumption that literacy in itself – autonomously – will have effects on other social and cognitive practices, and hence introducing literacy to poor “illiterate” people will have the effect of enhancing their cognitive skills, improving their economic prospects and making them better citizens,

regardless of the social and economic conditions that accounted for their “illiteracy” in the first place.

People who subscribe to the above school of thought conceptualise literacy variously as: an autonomous single and neutral technical skill, an individual accomplishment, a facilitator of the development of critical, rational and context-free thought, and a necessary condition for attaining economic growth and development (Goody, 1968; 2000; Goody and Watt, 1968; 1986; Havelock, 1982; Grabill, 2001).

Considering the tenets of literacy as viewed from the autonomous model perspective, it can be argued, as in Holme (2004), that literacy is about achieving the cognitive as well as the social skills individuals need, which determines their motivation and ability to understand and use information in order to engage in activities that will lead to an increased standard of living, progress and civilisation. UNESCO’s Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) introduced in the 1960s was based on this kind of conceptualisation of literacy.

It is also probable that the motivation behind Uganda’s FALP, launched in 1992 (8 years before the introduction of PMA), came from the autonomous model of conceptualising literacy. Development models based on the concept of modernisation tend to be inclined towards emphasising investment in human capital which Flora et al. (2004, p. 18) say is concerned with development of ‘the skills, and abilities of each individual within a community’ with the specific intention of increasing production and productivity. As indicated in Holme (2004), functional literacy fits very well in such a model of development. Since literacy, according to those who subscribe to the autonomous model school of thought, leads to rapid economic growth, progress and civilisation, it means functional literacy lies closer to the autonomous model than the ideological within the continuum of literacy.

However, the critics of the autonomous model, mostly from the ideological model perspective, argue that conceptualising literacy in terms of technical skills of reading and writing alone is insufficient (Barton, 1994; Street, 1984; 1995; 2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Prinsloo, 2005). In fact, experiences from the EWLP implemented by UNESCO in the 1960s indicated that a single approach model

was too limited, and that the direct socio-economic returns from literacy could not be proven (UNESCO, 2004). Critics of the autonomous model further claim that the model ignores the social interactions between people, and how this influences learning. To substantiate this criticism, Barton and Hamilton argue that:

Literacy is primarily something people do; it is an activity, located in the space between thought and text. Literacy does not just reside in people's heads as a set of skills to be learned, and it does not just reside on paper, captured as texts to be analysed. Like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and it is located in the interaction between people (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 3).

However, despite such criticisms, the autonomous model of literacy remains the dominant view of literacy, one that influences development thinking most. In many countries, efforts to promote rapid economic growth and development are guided by human capital theory, which is closely associated with the autonomous model of literacy. The desire to invest in human capital forces many countries to lay special emphasis on the development skills necessary for increasing production and productivity. The focus on production increment appears to be the main reason behind certain countries' special interest in promoting functional adult literacy.

4.2.1.2 Ideological model of literacy

Unlike the autonomous model, in which literacy is viewed as a set of neutral technical skills, the ideological model of literacy, also known as the social practice theory, or the New Literacy Studies (NLS), conceptualises literacy as a social practice (Street, 1984; Baynham, 1995; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Baynham & Prinsloo, 2001; Prinsloo, 2005).

Gee (1999) observes that NLS constitutes a wider social turn in literacy away from behaviourism and cognitivism. The core task of NLS, according to Clarke (2002, p. 120), continues to be bringing together ethnographic accounts of local community experiences "that disturb the global hegemonisation of literacy."

Drawing from the experiences of Finnegan (1981), who attempted to understand literacy in terms of concrete social practices of people, Street (1984) explored the

theoretical basis of Finnegan's work and came up with an alternative model to the dominant view on literacy, which he termed the ideological model of literacy. The model, now commonly referred to as the NLS, is said to have its philosophical roots in postmodernism (Holme, 2004). Those who subscribe to the model reject the conception of literacy as a single, neutral, technical skill, and instead conceptualise literacy as social practices of people implicated in power relations and deeply embedded in socio-cultural contexts, meanings and practices.

According to Prinsloo (2005), this approach views literacy practices as variables which link people, linguistic resources, media objects and strategies for meaning-making in context-specific circumstances. Such literacy practices are seen as varying across broad social contexts, and across social domains within these contexts, thereby influencing the approach to literacy teaching with a specific emphasis on starting literacy learning from where the target group is, and then moving beyond to encompass the broader socio-cultural development issues (Prinsloo & Breier, 1996)

NLS recognises the existence of multiple literacies, of which the meanings and uses are related to the specific socio-cultural contexts (Barton, 1994). Proponents of the model lay special emphasis on the social nature of human beings, and recognise the role of literacy networks and mediators in facilitating those who lack literacy skills but can depend on the skills of literate others in the community as they engage in different literacy events and use various literacy practices (Baynham, 1995). The concepts of literacy events and practices mentioned here need to be discussed briefly.

Heath (1982, p. 93) coined the term 'literacy event' to describe "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes." Any activity in which literacy has a role is a literacy event. Gebre, Rogers, Street and Openjuru (2009, p. 16) use the term to refer to "a specific event, a one-off occurrence of literacy involving some text." For example in the context of PMA, farmers' training workshops, agricultural tradeshows and technology demonstrations in which writing plays a crucial role would be considered to be literacy events.

The term 'literacy practice' refers to "the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy" (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p. 8). Gebre, Rogers, Street and Openjuru (2009, p. 16) describe it as,

.... a repeated behaviour, a demonstrable pattern that continues to occur – it shapes the literacy events, just as the literacy events accumulate to make up the literacy practices. Literacy practices involve values, attitudes, feelings, and social relationships. They have to do with how people in a particular culture construct literacy, how they talk about literacy and make sense of it. These processes are at the same time individual and social. They are abstract values and rules about literacy that are shaped by and help shape the ways that people within cultures use literacy.

In this case practices, such as signing attendance sheets during meetings, signing for sitting allowances after meetings and training workshops and writing names on the tags would also constitute some of the literacy practices within PMA activities.

However, this model is criticised for being too preoccupied with the social uses of literacy at the expense of the real meaning of the concept. Geidt (1994), for example, argues that NLS ignores the literate reader and his or her reading as a solitary activity, thereby devaluing individual literacy as an important aspect of personal communication. To Gough (1995), ordinary reading is one of the most private and unsocial activities that people do, and is therefore contrary to a social activity in which other people must be involved. The model is also criticised for implying to those who are not literate that it is not necessary for everyone to develop their individual literacy skills, since it is possible to depend on the skills of others as mediators within their existing literacy networks. This view assumes that those who lack literacy cannot feel disadvantaged, as they are operating in a network of people who can easily fill the gap. However, results from a number of studies (see Openjuru, 2008), have shown the opposite. People who lack literacy feel incomplete, and would have wished to use their own literacy skills if the opportunity for them to do so was there.

4.2.1.3 The model of effective literacy

Closely related to the social practice theory of literacy is the “model of effective literacy” developed by Basu & Foster (1998). Their publication, entitled “On measuring literacy”, has generated a growing interest among scholars to research the extent to which the benefits of literacy (which they claim is a public good) can be shared within and between households with high numbers of people who lack literacy skills.

To date, this model of effective literacy has been re-examined, modified, extended, applied and used by various scholars and researchers (Foster and Subramanian, 2000; Chakravarty and Majumder, 2005; and Maddox, 2007a). Unlike the proponents of the ideological model of literacy, the proponents of the model of effective literacy conceptualise literacy from an economics perspective, based on the concept of externalities.

They argue that that literacy is a “public good” and that its benefits could be shared within and beyond households to produce what economists call positive externalities. According to Hachett (2001), a positive externality can be defined as “an unpaid-for benefit enjoyed by others in society that is generated as a by-product of production and exchange”. He adds that positive externalities are also known as external benefits. He illustrates the term with two examples focusing on the purchase of a college education on the one hand, and a parent immunising a child against infectious disease on the other. He writes:

As a by-product of purchasing a college education, a college student produces external benefits to the society in form of being an informed voter and a resourceful citizen. As a parent vaccinates his or her child against infectious disease and an immunised child reduces the likelihood of the disease spreading to others in the society (Hachett, 2001, p. 54).

In this case, what Basu & Foster (1998) term as “literacy externality” refers to the benefits that accrue to an individual who possesses literacy skills that he or she can share with others within the household and between households in the larger community whose members lack literacy skills.

In their exploration of the effective model of literacy, Basu and Foster (1998) coined the following two terms: “proximate illiteracy” and “isolated illiteracy.” They use the term “proximate illiteracy” to refer to illiteracy among members of a given household in which at least one member of the household is literate and “isolated illiteracy” to refer to illiteracy among people in households where not a single person is literate. They argue that the literacy externalities produced by those who are literate could be shared by “proximate illiterates” within the household, and by the ‘isolated illiterates’ between households in the wider social networks and larger community. They further argue that the model could be used to address anomalies in determining literacy rates, and address the problem of rural illiteracy by focusing on households with “isolated illiterates”.

This model clearly fits with the social practice theory of literacy as it emphasises sharing the benefits of literacy by members within households and between literacy networks in the broader community. The literates in this circumstance perform the role of literacy mediators, a common idea within the social practices theory of literacy. Whereas the model shares all the features of NLS, the difference perhaps lies within their philosophical roots. Those who subscribe to the effective model of literacy trace their roots from economics (Basu & Foster, 1998), while those who advocate for New Literacy Studies are said to originate from post-modernism (Holme, 2004).

4.2.1.4 Functional literacy

Functionality of literacy has to do with skills for performing specific tasks and for specific purposes. Holme (2004, p. 11) defines the concept of functional literacy as “having the level of reading and writing that allows you to follow your career path and do what the society requires of you.” In other words, functional literacy denotes the set of skills one possesses that enables one to effectively perform certain functions in specific areas of assignment. According to him, viewing literacy as a mastery of set of skills can mean that such a mastery is never attainable because there is always a way in which a person can be a better reader or writer. This idea was clearly acknowledged by UNESCO as follows:

Literacy is a characteristic acquired by individuals in varying degrees from just above none to an indeterminate upper level. Some individuals are more or less literate than others but it is really not possible to speak of illiterate and literate persons as two distinct categories (UNESCO 1967, in Holme, 2004, p. 11).

The above view stresses the fact that literacy is a continuum, and people's skills vary along that continuum. I strongly believe that it is this concept of a continuum that explains why some people who are able to read and write are sometimes referred to as functionally illiterate. Examples of such cases include people who are able to read and write but cannot operate a computer, or fill in a bank deposit form, or tell the time.

According to Holme (2004), one way to decide what it means to be functionally literate is to decide on what we want literacy for. This is because a lawyer, for instance, needs a different kind of literacy than a soldier does. It can therefore be said that literacy is no longer a fixed set of competencies everyone in basic education is struggling to acquire, but specific tasks that enable one to perform specific functions.

The origin of the concept of functional literacy can be traced back to the post-war decades of 1950 – 1970 as a way to accelerate economic development (Burkey, 1993; Holme, 2004). Literacy was seen as underpinning the implementation of technology administration and therefore an engine for attaining rapid economic growth and development. This was why, for leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, literacy was given the highest priority in his country. To him, lack of literacy and education was making his country lag behind and he expressed the urgency to increase literacy levels of his people through functional adult education as follows:

Education could not wait for a new generation of educated children to grow up and enter the work place. Education had to begin with adults so that it would have impact now (Rassoul, 1999, pp. 106 – 107).

The link between literacy, society and the economy was made in two distinct but related areas: (i) in development economics and aid project design where the emphasis was on finding ways to help people of less developed countries to achieve greater prosperity, better health and greater self fulfilment; and (ii) in social,

economic and educational problems of developing countries where the aim was to search for ways to ensure a fuller participation in society by all the nation's citizens, and secure a future where prosperity was dependent on new knowledge-intensive industries. Knowledge-intensive industries were those that required the workforce to have high level of skills and knowledge so that they could impart high added value to a product. Functional literacy therefore branched out of the educational arena and brought about improvement in productivity, thus increasing wages and raising standards of living (UNESCO, 1972, p 29, cited in Holme, 2004, p.16).

Because of its claimed role in increasing production and productivity as well as raising living standards, literacy was to be linked to other types of social interventions and institutions to which individuals have daily access. Literacy was therefore assumed to allow economic development to occur. It should be stressed that functional literacy was treated as part of a continuum of literacy intended to lead to functional education. Functionality was extended to include activities such as parenthood, health literacy etc. Literacy in this sense was about achieving the “cognitive and social skills which determine the ability of individuals to understand and use information to promote and maintain good health” (Holme, 2004, p. 17). For instance, Eison et al. (1998) argue that children of literate mothers are more likely to be healthy and complete their education than those of mothers who lack functional literacy.

However, UNESCO's experiences with the EWLP, which was implemented in conjunction with United Nations' first Development Decade in the 1960s, yielded the following two key results:

- its single-model approach was too limited
- the direct socio-economic returns of literacy could not be proven (UNESCO/UNDP, 1976, in UNESCO, 2004, p. 9)

According to UNESCO (2004), the above results ushered in a turning point in the modern history of education by allying literacy with social and economic development, thus expanding the understanding of literacy beyond imparting basic technical skills.

4.2.1.5 Radical literacy

The radical literacy approach was popularised by the Brazilian adult educationist, Paulo Freire, whose interest was in empowering poor peasant farmers and workers by helping them to recognise the nature of their oppression (McCaffery et al., 2007). Freire (1970; 1996) sees literacy as enabling poor peasant farmers to explore and understand the root causes of their situation in order to challenge it. He describes traditional education as an “act of depositing in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor”. He believed in the power of literacy in transforming people as expressed in his statement: “we can transform the reality we did not make, and we can transform the reality we make” (Freire, 1970, cited in McCaffery et al., 2007, p. 87). McCaffery et al. (2007) refer to Freire’s radical approach to literacy as critical reflection. Concerning its focus, they argue that:

Critical literacy focuses not only on what participants both require and aspire to, but also on what they can do. It opens the space for critical reflection at the communal and individual levels and also for reflection on society and its organisation (McCaffery et al., 2007, p. 87).

In his approach to literacy, Freire (1970) conceptualises literacy as a strategy for liberation that teaches people to read not only the word, but also the world. According to Freire, teaching and learning of literacy should help to unmask the powers that are hidden in dominant literacy discourses. He suggests a critical approach to teaching literacy based on conscientisation, dialogue and generative themes (Freire, 1973; 1996). He advocated for:

... a learning cycle which starts with experience, leads to action, then to further reflection and action again. Learning to read is a process through which we can begin to perceive the world as it really is, to read the world, and through this reading and consequent understanding, take action to change it (Freire, 1970, p. 68).

Accordingly, the literacy learners not only gain a shared vocabulary, but also the capability to describe the world they live in and, most importantly, recognise the socio-cultural, socio-economic and politico-ideological factors which caused the circumstances in which they have found themselves (Freire, 1970; 1996).

Freire's views fit very well with the ideas in the capability approach, which was used to construct the conceptual framework of this study. Radical literacy, which focuses on empowerment of disadvantaged sections of the population, is crucial in complementing other theoretical and conceptual tools used in this study because some of the factors that perpetuate vulnerability among rural people in Uganda have political and socio-cultural roots. In this way, the ideas in the radical theory of literacy, which emphasises freedom, liberation and active engagement in the learning process, have similarities with the tenets of the capability approach and the concept of well-being which Chambers (1997a), Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000) discuss in their works.

It is important to point out that the liberatory component of the radical approach to literacy education tends to be viewed with suspicion by certain governments. This is because the radical approach to literacy or adult education tends to encourage critical thinking, questioning and criticism (Kwesiga & Katahoire, 1995). The threat that this approach poses to those in power has always made its application problematic.

Irrespective of the model or approach to literacy one selects, literacy has something to offer that can have a positive impact on an individual. McKay (1996) and Olson and Torrance (2001) say that literacy connects people to a range of experiences, places and different points in time, Freire emphasises its emancipatory role in oppressive cultures, Basu and Foster talk about its positive externalities that can be shared, and Havelock (1963; 1982), Ong (1987), Olson and Astington (1990), Olson (1994; 1996), Goody (2000) talk about the cognitive consequences and facilitation of rapid economic growth, progress and civilisation.

The emphasis of this study is not on which approach or model is better than the other, rather, it emphasises that any poverty reduction intervention, such as PMA, should take into consideration the lack of literacy that characterises rural people. As Torres (2006) notes, since it may be difficult to talk of eradicating illiteracy, the efforts towards its provision should be geared towards enabling everyone to access it, that is, providing literacy for all. In the following sub-section, a brief discussion on the concept of education is presented.

4.2.2 The concept of education

The term “education” is difficult to define. However, the Random House Dictionary (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/education>) describes education as:

- The act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgement and generally preparing oneself or others intellectually for mature life
- The act or process of imparting or acquiring particular knowledge or skills as for a profession
- A degree, level, or kind of schooling: a university education
- The result produced by instruction , training, or study; to show one’s education
- The science of teaching (pedagogy).

In view of the different aspects of education defined above, it is possible to summarise the broad meaning of education to be a process of imparting and acquiring knowledge, skills and attitude through various forms of teaching and learning with a view to preparing individuals to be responsible citizens. Ishumi (1976) argues that education plays the role of leading people out of ignorance and to a more desirable state of life. It is important to recognise there are different types of education: formal, informal, non-formal, adult education, indigenous education and so forth, all of which are perceived differently by different people.

According to Ishumi (1976), education is a universal phenomenon, which has been held as mankind’s asset for upholding and perpetuating his or her time-treasured virtues. He observes that many people view education as a conserving machinery for society’s institutions and values, but he argues that education should mean more than that. It should both be a creative and conserving process, which brings about a real relationship with development. To him, education should therefore be seen as a means to development on the one hand, and the product of development on the other.

Ishumi (1976) further argues that as a perfect state of affairs, education, just like development, has an “ever flying goal”. However, he maintains that the products that are derived from it in the course of the developmental process represent symbols of a

utopia people aspire to reach. As a means, education is an essential asset to any country or any individual aspiring to attain development. He contends that education is therefore:

.... an important asset that raises people's aspirations to increased social, economic, and cultural performance; raises people's and individuals' level of awareness of their environment and equips them with the necessary skills and ideology for contending with the problems they encounter in their daily lives (Ishumi, 1976, p. 6).

Ishumi (1976) discusses the several educational goals, of which two are strikingly important for me in this study. They are stated as follows:

- Providing such knowledge as can be of utility in giving skills and sponsoring existential trades as tools in living better life – such knowledge that further frees individuals from undue domination and from alienation
- Engendering, encouraging and fostering a high degree of effective involvement in productive and creative work and, consequently a high degree of expectation based on realistic investment of efforts (Ishumi, 1976, p. 6).

The above goals are particularly important and relevant in this study because they directly touch on the issues of knowledge, skills, creativity, participation, and a better life. These are some of the fundamental challenges facing the rural people that the Ugandan government wishes to address through the PMA intervention. Tett (1996) also outlines some of the functions of education to include:

- The technical function for skills and knowledge promotion
- Status establishment function that remains for the rest of the individual's life
- Reproduction of society's social structures and cultures (Tett, 1996, p. 155).

The functional aspect emphasised in Tett's presentation is similar to development models driven by modernisation, and the human capital approach, in which the focus is on the development of skills for increasing production and productivity, which will in turn lead to progress, economic growth and development. However, Ishumi (1976) tends to disagree with the last function, arguing that education should aim to play both conservative and creative roles for the society. He argues that education, irrespective of the form it may take, should strive to attain a change in the present unsatisfactory

state of man. Although this view is influenced by a particular philosophy of education, it appeals to me and also applies to this study because of its emphasis on the need to do away with the unsatisfactory and miserable state of many people's living conditions. Ishumi argues that:

Education should not only maintain the status quo in the society, but it should also change the less satisfying conditions to higher levels of human achievements. Education would be failing if it did not have both the creative and conservative function (Ishumi, 1976, p. 14).

Ishumi (1976) concludes that if the ultimate long-term goal of education is to raise man and society to the highest possible level of excellence, peace, freedom and contentment, then the proximate and immediate goal should be to produce individuals who aspire to reach that highest position of betterment. To him, a person who is able to fairly attain such a state:

... becomes aware of his or her inner self and of his environment, establishes amicable relations with his or her fellow men, identifies problems that confront him and others and thinks critically on possible solutions to problems he or she faces (Ishumi, 1976, p. 14).

Although Ishumi's (1976) arguments on education seem to be slightly conservative, he appears to have drawn from the philosophical underpinnings of radical education, which lays a great deal of emphasis on emancipation and liberation. These ideas are linked to the idea of expansion of human capability in which freedom and participation are seen as crucial aspects of development.

4.2.3 The capability approach

The concept of human capability developed by Sen (1999) and expanded by Nussbaum (2000) and others was adopted as the main conceptual lens to view, analyse and guide discussions about the phenomena of interest in this study.

According to Sen (1999), an individual's capability refers to alternative combinations of functioning that are feasible for a person to achieve. Capabilities comprise what a person is able to do or be, including "the ability to be well nourished, to avoid

escapable morbidity or mortality, to read, write and communicate, to take part in the life of a community; and to appear in public without shame” (Sen, 1990, p. 126).

Functioning, which has distinctly Aristotelian roots, reflects “the various things a person may value doing or being” (Sen, 1999, p. 75). The valued functionings, the things one can do and be, may vary from elementary ones such as being adequately nourished and free from avoidable diseases, to very complex activities or personal states such as being able to take part in the life of a community and having self respect (Sen, 1999, p. 75). In other words, capabilities are “what people can do or be with their entitlements or substantive freedoms” (Sen, 1999, p. 75). Expressed less formally, capabilities are the freedoms people have to achieve the various lives they want to have.

Nussbaum (2000) develops Sen’s ideas on human capabilities further and introduces the concept of a critical threshold of human capability, that is, the minimum level below which a human being ceases to function effectively. She argues that “the intuitive idea behind the capability approach is twofold:

- (i) that certain functions are particularly central in human life, in the sense that their presence or absence is understood to be a mark of presence or absence of human life; and (ii) there is something that it is to do these functions in a truly human way, not a merely animal way (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 72).

She asserts that “we judge, frequently enough, that life has been so impoverished that it is not worthy of the dignity of the human being, that it is a life in which one goes on living, but more or less like an animal, unable to develop and exercise one’s human power”.

Thus, the core idea in the capability approach is that a human being needs to be a dignified free person who shapes his or her life in cooperation and reciprocity with others, rather than being passively shaped or pushed around by the world in the manner of a “flock” or “herd” animal (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 72). She argues further that when provided with the right educational and material support, human beings can become fully capable of performing all functions.

The above argument suggests that people have certain lower levels of capabilities, which, when adequately enhanced through literacy and basic education, transform into higher-level capabilities. Nussbaum (2000, p. 71) asserts that the central question asked in the capability approach is not how satisfied an individual is, nor how much in the way of resources he or she has or is able to command; it is instead, “What is an individual actually able to do or be?” (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 71). The idea is to ask, “not only about a person’s satisfaction with what he or she does, but also about what he or she does and what he or she is in position to do – the opportunities and liberties such a person has at his or her disposal” (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 71).

The amount of resources an individual commands as a basis for judging his or her well-being is rejected in the capability approach, because a person’s well-being is not really a matter of how rich he or she is. Sen argues that commodity command, or the amount of resources one is able to control, is just a means to the end of well-being of an individual, and can scarcely be the end itself (Sen, 1985). This is why, in the capability approach, poverty is defined in terms of deprivation of capabilities – lack of multiple freedoms people value and have reason to value, and not in terms of lack of or lowness in income (Alkire, 2007).

To Sen, development should henceforth be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms or liberties that people enjoy, which he outlines as political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. Development is therefore not just about growth or raising incomes. Sen (1999, p. 14) substantiates this argument by making reference to an observation Aristotle made at the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which he stated: “Wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else.” He maintains that the reason why we want more income and wealth is not because income and wealth are desirable for their own sake, but because they are “admirable general-purpose means for having freedom to lead the kinds of lives we have reasons to value” (Sen, 1999, p. 14). Hence, the usefulness of wealth lies in the things it allows us to do – the substantive freedom it helps us to achieve.

In terms of broader human development, UNDP (2001) describes the role of human capability as follows:

Human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests....Development is thus about expanding the choices people have, to lead lives that they value. ...it is thus much more than economic growth, which is only a means – if a very important one – of enlarging people’s choices. Fundamental to enlarging these choices is building human capabilities – the range of things that people can do or be in life. The most basic capabilities for human development are to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living, and to be able to participate in the life of the community. Without these, many choices are simply not available, and many opportunities in life remain inaccessible (UNDP, 2001, p.9).

The above quotation appears to be greatly influenced by Sen’s ideas and that of Sen’s colleague, Hag (n.d.), who is also the founder of the Human Development Reports (HDR) of the UN.

According to Sen (1999, p. 91), many Asian countries, such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore, have done remarkably well in spreading economic opportunities through an adequately supportive “social background”, including high adult literacy, numeracy, basic education, general good healthcare, completed land reforms and so on.

The above argument suggests that agencies involved in poverty reduction interventions need to conceptualise poverty in broad terms, so that the responses and the strategies that can be used to reduce it focus on minimising conditions that constitute manifestations of human capability deprivation. There is now a growing consensus that attention to the multidimensional nature of poverty should not be subordinated to the interest in maximising economic output (Grusky & Kanbur, 2006). Consequently, poverty should not now be seen as lowness or lack of income, but rather be conceptualised as a deprivation of people’s basic capabilities (Sen, 1997;

1999; Preece, 2005a; 2005b). Sen (1999, p. 20) asserts that deprivation of people's elementary capabilities can be reflected in "widespread illiteracy, premature mortality, especially of children, significant morbidity, and other failures".

The capability perspective or approach in poverty analysis enhances the understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and deprivation by shifting primary attention away from means (particularly income) and ends, to the freedoms people need to do what they want to and be. The capability approach emphasises the point that per capita income is not an adequate measure of a person's well-being, since raising incomes alone will not always increase well-being (Saito, 2003). It is therefore important to pay attention to what people are able to do, rather than to what people can buy with their income.

Nussbaum (1990, in Saito, 2003) argues that "more is not, in fact, always better, where wealth and income are concerned". Too many goods, she argues, can encourage "excessive competitiveness" and make people insolent and arrogant, causing them to have "a mercenary attitude towards other things". It is therefore important to focus on what is of intrinsic value in life, rather than on the goods that provide instrumental value or utility (Pressman and Summerfield, 2000, p. 9). With reference to development interventions, Sen (1999) argues that the expansion of human capabilities should therefore be taken as a way to assess any policy, programme or practice. According to him, the ultimate objective of development is to take human beings not as a means, but as an end in development process, and to expand their capabilities or freedoms.

Sen (1997; 1999) further contends that the enhancement of people's capabilities tends to go hand in hand with expansion of productivities and earning power. Most importantly, the possession of human capability enables people not only to produce more and more efficiently, but it also enhances their ability to engage in meaningful discussions, debate, negotiation, and to add their voices to the multitude of other voices that influence households, local, national and international discourses on development (Freire, 1996; Bebbington, 1999). It is on this basis that the capability approach, whose strengths are briefly described in the following sections, was chosen as the main conceptual lens for this study.

Nussbaum's idea of developing the lower level human capabilities through literacy and education is similar to Sen's observation that access to literacy, basic education and healthcare not only contributes directly towards improving the quality of life of an individual, but also increase his or her ability to earn income and as a result, attain freedom from income poverty. To Sen (1999), participation, freedom, and well-being are central features of development. Again, this is why the capability approach was chosen to underpin the conceptualisation of this study, which focuses on intervention intended to bring about sustainable improvement in the quality of life of the rural poor.

4.2.3.1 The relevance/importance of the capability approach in poverty analysis

The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation of individual well-being and social arrangements, as well as the design of policies and proposals about social change in society (Robeyns, 2003; 2005; 2006; Alkire, 2003). Its importance is reflected in the key tenets of the approach, which include: (i) the recognition of the multidimensional nature of human beings; (ii) appreciation of the role of information in development; (iii) consideration of human beings as both participants and agents; and (iv) concerns about equality and group disparities (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000).

In light of the above view, the concept of human capability is therefore highly relevant for this study because of its focus on freedom and participation as critical elements of the development process. These concepts are critical for an intervention like PMA, which is intended to improve the quality of life of the marginalised rural poor for active citizenship. The link between the capability approach and literacy is clear when viewed through the lens of Nussbaum's theory of the critical threshold of human capabilities, which considers literacy and basic education as catalytic factors in developing an individual's basic capabilities for higher level functioning. Maddox (2008, p. 185) states that "the capabilities approach has consistently promoted literacy as an important social entitlement, a key determinant of well-being and a goal of human development." This is also evident in the Human Development Report of the UNDP, where the adult literacy component accounts for two-thirds of the knowledge measure of the Human Development Index (Maddox, 2008, p. 185).

The capability approach emphasises as its core idea the need to treat human beings as dignified free persons who shape their life in cooperation and reciprocity with others rather than being passively shaped or pushed around by the world (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 72). Similarly, Chambers (1997a), in discussing the concept of capability, equates it to human well-being. He argues that capabilities refer to:

What people are capable of doing and being. They are means to livelihoods and fulfilment; and their enlargement through learning, practice; training and education are means to better living and to well-being (Chambers, 1997a, p. 1748).

He further argues that such an approach to poverty and livelihoods analysis, in which poverty is defined broadly, as Alkire (2007) also does, in terms of capability deprivation, allows people themselves to define the criteria which are important to them and may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as: self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns (Chambers, 1997a).

The capability approach lays emphasis on freedom, participation and well-being as critical aspects of development in which literacy and education play a catalytic role. Sen (1999) observes that the better basic education and healthcare a person receives, the better his or her quality of life is, and the better his or her ability to earn an income is. This approach is important because its conceptualisation of poverty in terms of deprivation of basic capabilities encompasses far more than material concerns of food intake or income (UNDP, 2002).

In the context of this study, literacy is taken to be crucial for the attainment of freedom necessary for participation in development interventions that aim to bring about human development. Since deprivation of basic capabilities is reflected in the form of widespread illiteracy, premature mortality, significant morbidity and other failures, enhancing people's literacy skills becomes one of the significant means of addressing the issue of capability deprivation. According to Sen (1999), poverty eradication in the context of the capability approach requires a shift from viewing poverty solely in terms of lowness or lack of incomes, to encompass expansion of the

basic capabilities of those who are to be rescued from rural poverty. Sen puts this emphatically as follows:

Since enhanced capabilities in leading a life would tend, typically, to expand a person's ability to be more productive and earn higher incomes, we would also expect a connection going from capability improvement to greater earning power; and not only the other way round. The more inclusive the reach of basic education (including adult literacy), and healthcare, the more likely it is that even the potentially poor would have a better chance of overcoming penury (Sen, 1999, p. 90).

While it is important to focus on income poverty reduction, focusing on this aspect alone cannot be the ultimate motivation of antipoverty policies because of the multidimensional nature of poverty. According to Sen (1999), there is a danger in defining poverty in the narrow terms of income deprivation, and then justifying investment in education, healthcare and so forth, on the grounds that they are effective means to the end of reducing income poverty. That would be a confounding of ends and means. In this era of neoliberalism and globalisation, the ability of individuals and groups to actively engage in debates, discussions and effective negotiations in which literacy plays an important role, as DFID (2002a) notes, is something that needs to be considered seriously.

4.2.3.2 Criticisms of the capability approach

Although Sen's capability approach has emerged as the leading alternative to the standard economic framework for thinking about poverty, inequality and human development (Clark, n.d., p. 5), it has been criticised from different angles, and in many cases, its strengths have been construed as its weaknesses (Sugden, 1993). Others have criticised Sen for failing to supplement his framework with a coherent list of important capabilities (Williams, 1987; Nussbaum, 1988).

The first and most notable criticism against the capability approach relates to how far Sen's framework is operational (Clark, n.d.). The approach is said to be too difficult in practical terms, and too demanding in terms of methodology and information required. Martinetti expresses this criticism as follows:

Undoubtedly, the richness of such theoretical argumentation is not easy to translate into practical terms. The capability approach is certainly more demanding at an informational and methodological level, if compared to more standard approaches (i.e. income and opulence-centred analysis) to well-being; it is also hard to constrain and to manage in traditional framework of welfare and poverty analysis, if we want to fully preserve its informative and interpretative contents. These difficulties could partially explain why, up to now, there are relatively few empirical applications that have been able to capture the richness of such a perspective even if many well-being analyses refer to it (Martinetti, 2000, p. 3, cited in Comim, 2001, p.3) .

The second criticism levelled against the capability approach points to the pervasive nature of human diversity, which has serious consequences for its operationalisation. Undoubtedly, there are many sources of diversity between human beings. Sen identifies some of the to include: (i) personal heterogeneities; (ii) environmental diversities; (iii) variations in social climate; (iv); differences in relational perspectives; and (v) distribution within the family (Sen, 1999, pp. 70 – 71).

Such differences tend to shape the degree of variations in the conversion of resources into capabilities. Consequently, because individuals are diverse, their capabilities cannot only be assessed uniquely in terms of resources they have available, but also in terms of what they are capable of doing and being with the resources (Comim, 2001, pp. 5 – 6). Hence in operational terms, we would say that the pervasive nature of human diversity influences: (i) the range of conversion rates of resources into capabilities; and (ii) the parameters (individuals or groups) of the conversion rates (Comim, 2001, p. 6), thereby further complicating the process of assessing an individual's well-being. Despite the complications involved in the operationalisation of the capability approach, there have been a number of areas where attempts have been made to apply the concept. In the following section, I discuss the practical application of the concept and its relevance for this particular study.

4.2.3.3 Practical application of the capability approach

There are a number of areas in which the capability approach has been operationalised. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the UNDP is one such area,

in which Sen's capability approach has been very influential. Pressman and Summerfield (2000) note that the HDI first appeared in UNDP's annual Human Development Report in 1990. They note that:

It (HDI) emphasises the development of human choices and returns to the centrality of people and it is reflected in measuring development not as the expansion of commodities, but as the widening of human choices (UNDP, 1990, p. 1).

According to Saito (2003), despite the fact that many criticisms have been levelled against the index, the construction and refinement of the HDI has attempted to analyse the comparative status of socio-economic development based upon key capabilities in different countries. He states that the HDI measures relative, not absolute, levels of human development. Its focus is on ends of development, rather than the means as compared to the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) alone. Todaro argues that the ends of development, as measured by the HDI, specify three goals which include: (i) longevity as measured by life expectancy at birth, (ii) knowledge as measured by a weighted average of adult literacy (two-thirds) and mean years of schooling (one-third), and (iii) standard of living as measured by real per capita income adjusted for the differing purchasing power parity (PPP) of each country's currency to reflect cost of living and for the assumption of rapidly diminishing marginal utility of income above average world income levels (Todaro, 1999, p. 73).

Pressman and Summerfield stress the negative implications of focusing on growth of incomes only when they say:

When governments focus on growth of incomes only, distributional issues become irrelevant; education is likely to get short changed; the environment is likely to be ignored; and long-run growth may be sacrificed" (Pressman & Summerfield, 2000, p. 102).

It can therefore be said that using the HDI for measuring overall human development can play an important role in calling the government's attention to the need for widespread and equitable provision of services including provision of adult literacy and general educational opportunities.

4.2.4 Poverty, social capital, participation and sustainable livelihoods

In this section, brief discussions about three important concepts: social capital, participation and sustainable livelihoods, all of which tend to feature prominently in discussions about poverty reduction and natural resources management, are presented. The discussion attempts to highlight some of the links and connections that exist between the concepts.

4.2.4.1 Poverty

Poverty is generally a difficult concept to define, and de Beer acknowledges this when he says that “many people recognise poverty when they see it, but few are able to give a definition that will be generally accepted” (de Beer, 2000, p. 1). According to Preece (2005a), most people think of poverty in a narrow context, equating it with absolute or relative income lack. However, it is increasingly recognised that poverty is a multifaceted phenomenon whose understanding should not only be restricted to low incomes (Sen, 1999; Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002; Preece, 2005a; 2005b). Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development describes poverty as follows:

Poverty is a complex multidimensional phenomenon influenced by cultural, social, political economic, physical, communication and educational factors. It is a result of inequalities that exist at individual, household and national levels (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2002, p. 3).

Approaching poverty from the capability approach point of view, Alkire (2007) defines poverty as deprivation of human capabilities, that is lack of multiple freedoms that people value and have reason to value. The concept has no universally accepted definition and as a result, there have been attempts to search for a broader meaning of the concept.

The broadening of the concept of poverty has come about as a result of a broadening of the concept of development, which tends to focus on the improvement of the quality of life of human beings (human well-beings) through the enhancement of human capabilities, as Chambers, Sen, and others have articulated over the past decades (Preece, 2005b). The new perspective on development, which shifts emphasis

from incomes to capabilities (see Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Preece, 2005a; 2005b) has for instance been adopted in the recent reports of the UNDP. As a result of this new perspective, UNDP (2002) started describing poverty in terms of income, capability and participation, recognising that poverty leads to trauma, powerlessness and shame.

De Beer (2000) distinguishes between absolute, relative and subjective poverty. The World Bank (1975, p. 19, cited in de Beer, 2000, p. 2) describes absolute poverty as “a situation where incomes are so low that even a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter and personal necessities cannot be maintained”. In other words, it is a matter of life and death. Relative poverty, according to de Beer (2000, p 3), is: “the poverty of one entity in relation to another entity”. It refers to people whose basic needs are met but who, in terms of their social environment still experience some disadvantages. In her typology of poverty shown in Appendix 23, Preece (2005a; 2005b) gives four different types of poverty: income poverty, capability poverty, participatory poverty and consequential poverty. It is important to take these dimensions into account when trying to define poverty.

Indabawa and Mpofu (2006) also describe poverty broadly in terms of monetary, capability, social exclusion and participation. Their description of poverty, as in Preece (2005a; 2005b) above, covers different dimensions and is related to the views of Chambers (1997a; 1997b) and Sen (1997; 1999), who use the concepts of well-being and capabilities respectively to describe the desired state of human development in which the issue of freedom to participate in development initiatives features prominently.

According to Nussbaum (2000), the capability approach considers poverty as the failure to achieve certain minimal or basic capabilities, where basic capabilities refer to the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to certain minimally adequate levels. Indabawa and Mpofu (2006) argue that conceptualising poverty broadly to include issues of lack of self-determination, self-esteem and participatory democracy, is critical if we are to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the concept. Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2002) also recognises

the multidimensional nature of poverty and how it is linked to issues of education, literacy and exclusion.

Hence, a multidimensional understanding of the concept helps to identify and recognise the various ways and forms poverty manifests itself, as seen in Preece (2005b) and also helps to identify the poor. Generally, the poor are said to be the weak, the hungry, the homeless, the beggars, the mad, the enslaved, and the exiled. (Indabawa and Mpofu, 2006). The World Bank (2001, cited in Indabawa and Mpofu, 2006, p. 121) has characterised the poor as:

...people who live without fundamental freedoms of action and choice. They often lack adequate food and shelter, education and health, deprivations that keep them from leading the kind of life that everyone values. They also face extreme vulnerability to ill health, economic dislocation and natural disasters. And they are often exposed to ill treatment by institutions of the state (or government) and society and are powerless to influence key decisions affecting their lives.

Poverty should therefore be conceptualised as a phenomenon that is much broader than lack of incomes, is characterised by multiple dimensions, manifests itself in various forms, and is a condition that can be reduced and, most importantly, eliminated altogether. Among the different causes of poverty, lack of literacy is an important factor that needs special consideration. Discussing poverty and its reduction in this thesis is very important, because the main essence of this study is geared towards trying to identify, analyse and recommend feasible strategies to the impediments rural subsistence farmers experience in their struggles to eliminate poverty.

4.2.4.2 Social capital

The concept of social capital is derived from the word 'capital', which Flora et al. (2004, p. 18) define as "a resource invested to create new resources". They argue that human interactions, in which social capital is deeply embedded, are the foundation of all communities. Social capital is therefore interactive in nature. It is also a group-level phenomenon, which sociologists explain in terms of norms, reciprocity and

mutual trust. Norms can be reinforced through a number of processes such as: group formation, collaborating within and among groups, developing a united view of shared future, and engaging in collective action. Flora et al. (2004) citing Putnam (1993) describe social capital as “features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. This enhances the benefits of investing in physical and human capital. In view of the nature of social organisations among rural people, the concept of social capital appears to offer some useful insights that could be used to facilitate interactions within and between groups.

The concept of social capital is characterised by a multiplicity of uses. According to Putnam (2000), social capital refers to the collective value of all social networks, and the inclinations that arise from the networks to do things for each other. Putnam and his followers maintain that social capital is a key component for building and maintaining democracy, and that it can be measured by the amount of trust and reciprocity in the community or between individuals. Preece (2005a) argues that social capital building can provide an opportunity for collective agency through shared understanding of a particular situation and the strength of having a collective voice. Woolcock sums up much of the conventional thinking behind social capital as follows:

It is wisdom born of ... experience that gaining membership to exclusive clubs requires inside contacts, that close competitions for jobs and contracts are usually won by those with “friends in high places.” When we fall upon hard times we know it is our friends and family who constitute the final “safety net.” Conscientious parents devote hours of time to the school board and to helping their kids with homework, only too aware that a child’s intelligence and motivation alone are not enough to ensure a bright future. Less instrumentally, some of our happiest and most rewarding hours are spent talking with neighbours, sharing meals with friends, participating in religious gatherings, and volunteering on community projects (Woolcock, 2002, p.22).

In other words, the basic belief behind the concept is that one’s family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, which one can turn to in times of a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and where possible, leveraged for material gain (Woolcock,

2002). Schafft & Brown (2000, in Woolcock, 2002) argue that those communities endowed with a rich stock of social networks and civic associations are in a much stronger position to address poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes and share beneficial information. Conversely, the absence of social ties can have an equally important impact (Woolcock, 2002).

Communities can build sustainable social capital by strengthening relationships and communicating among themselves on a community-wide basis, and encouraging community initiative, responsibility and adaptability (Woolcock, 1998; 2001). Such initiatives are in turn enhanced by developing a shared vision, building on internal resources, looking for alternative ways to respond to constant changes and, most importantly, discarding the victim mentality, which only causes the community to focus on past wrongs rather than future possibilities (Preece, 2005a).

Social capital has costs as well as benefits. Social ties can be a liability as well as an asset. It is often argued that the focus on social capital rather than incomes in reducing poverty is dangerous. It tends to shift the responsibility of poverty reduction from agencies and political structures and systems that create poverty, to individuals or communities (Goddard, 2005). Preece (2005a; 2005b) argues that the idea of social capital potentially provides a convenient argument for the state to provide less, or do less, and leave issues of social equity and cohesion to small groups of volunteers. The slippery nature of social capital means that it is difficult to define and measure in quantitative terms. The concept also has the potential of becoming a normalising goal for exclusion of those who are operating outside the norm. Preece views this as a mechanism by certain communities to protect themselves from external disruption, which can easily lead to culturally rich and able communities securing and utilising their social resources for maintaining resistance to infiltration by the “lower classes” or for sustaining oppressive behaviours towards minorities.

However, social capital can also assist certain communities in moments of shock and stress. Those social parts of such social networks are likely to withstand unexpected shocks. A social capital perspective therefore attempts to move beyond cultural explanations for the different response strategies, and instead looks for structural and relational features. Bebbington & Carroll (2002) argue that the success of

development programmes at all organisational levels, to a large extent depends on the ways and means employed to forge mutually beneficial and accountable ties between different agents and agencies of expertise.

Social capital, by way of knowledge and identity resources, oils the processes of change to enhance outcomes that simultaneously draw on and strengthen communities. Social capital not only represents the tangible bonding elements of trust and reciprocity in societies, but also creates a sense of well being and cohesion. It can be seen as the basis for empowerment and a community's ability to solve its own problems. At the same time, it can be seen as the missing link between socially and economically failing communities, and those that are rich (Preece, 2005a; 2005b). However, it should be noted that social capital is dependent on the existence of numbers of meaningful interactions. Given that social capital can only be built in actual interactions, then a precondition to building social capital is the existence of sufficient numbers of interactions of a particular quality (Bebbington, 1999). Both quality and quantity of interactions therefore have a significant role to play in the development of social capital, a fact that programmes such as PMA cannot afford to ignore.

4.2.4.3 Participation

Another important concept in the fight against poverty is participation which also has many definitions, forms and levels. Van der Veen and Preece (2005) maintain that effective social planning needs to be participatory. They argue that the failure of the socialist countries as well as the crisis in the Western welfare state have demonstrated that non-participatory national planning has a tendency to become static, and therefore ineffective.

Whereas the recent decades have witnessed a shift by the Ugandan government to adopt decentralisation policies under the guise of promoting participatory governance at local levels, experience suggests that decentralisation is instead breeding inefficiency and corruption (PMA Secretariat, 2003; Ellis & Bahiigwa, 2003; World Bank, 2004). Bahiigwa et al. (2005) also express dissatisfaction with decentralisation with specific reference to the implementation of government programmes meant to

eradicate poverty. Narayana et al. (2000, in van der Veen and Preece, 2005) seem to concur with such a view, and observe that local authorities in many developing countries are typically autocratic and inefficient, thereby curtailing opportunities for participation by the local population and minimising the benefits the local people expect from poverty reduction policies and programmes.

UNDP (1993) defines participation in terms of people having constant access to decision-making and power as well as in terms of economic participation. According to Wolfensohn (1996), participation essentially means that people who are affected by development interventions must be included in the decision-making process. Since the outcomes of a given development programme depend on who is making decisions, UNDP's definition of participation, coupled with the ones provided by Oyugi (2000) and ideas from Crocker (2007) (discussed in the following paragraph) would be useful when planning and implementing development programmes.

Oyugi (2000) refers to participation as the involvement of people, not only in decision-making about those issues that affect their lives directly, but also in how those decisions, once made, should be implemented with their active involvement and contribution. The concept of participation is concerned with ensuring that the intended beneficiaries of development projects and programmes are themselves involved in the planning and execution of those projects and programmes. This is important as it empowers the recipients of development projects to influence and manage their own development – thereby removing any culture of dependency. Participation should not be a mere consultation to rubberstamp and legitimise decisions already taken outside the communities that will be affected by such decisions

Crocker (2007) identifies and discusses several types of participation, which include: nominal participation (do not attend meetings, but are members); passive participation (attend but do not ask questions or make decisions); consultative participation (non-elite only give information, opinion etc to elite); participatory implementation of plans and strategy by elite (non-elite implement, as well as comment); bargaining (non-elite bargain with elite and what they gain depends on what they are willing to give up and take); and deliberative participation (non-elite sometimes among themselves and sometimes with elite deliberate together, engage in practical reasoning and scrutinise

proposals to forge agreements on policies for the common good, ones which at least a majority can accept) (Crocker, 2006 cited in Crocker, 2007).

According to Crocker (2007), the further we go down the list, the “thicker” or “deeper” is the participatory mode, in the sense of more fully expressing individual or collective agency. It requires more agency of an individual to attend a meeting than be a stay-at-home member, and even more agency to actively comment in deliberative participation in a local development petition rather than merely listen, accept others’ decisions or do what one is told. In both bargaining and deliberative participation, non-elite individuals and groups manifest even more robust agency because they are part of the decision-making process, and not passive recipients of others’ decisions. It should also be noted that different kinds of participation are likely to differ with respect to their consequences.

Community participation in development projects often assumes the notion of common purpose and common good, which romanticises the people or the community (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). The obstacles to participatory development highlight the social and power relations between the stakeholders in a development planning process: the professional planners and technicians, the beneficiary population, and the concerned agencies and institutions. A re-negotiation of the relationship between those who control resources and the recipients of those resources is needed. Involving people can be expensive in various ways and, in some instances, can paralyse decision-making, holding development investments hostage to unproductive activism, and reinforce local power structures and power struggles.

Community participation can use enormous amounts of time by endlessly delaying and circularising decision-making, having to deal with a constantly changing *cadre* of decision-makers, and every now and then evoking the new charge of lack of mandate (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). The challenge for those involved in participation, they argue, is to recognise these obstacles related to development, and how these obstacles might impede community participation. The above arguments highlight some of the obstacles and impediments facing attempts to initiate participatory development. Some of the obstacles have an external influence on the end-beneficiary community, while others are endemic or internal to the community. Understanding how these

internal and external obstacles inter-relate to or interact with one another is of vital importance in getting a clear picture of all the different factors and processes impacting upon promoting and facilitating community participation.

Community dynamics in the developing world occur in heterogeneous, divided and complex societies (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). All attempts to initiate grassroots development should deal with far more than visible conflicts between competing values and interests. Sometimes, even authentic community participation is not a guarantee that a development intervention will be without serious conflict or will be successful. In some instances, all the relevant stakeholders may agree upon the contents, form, process and product of development, and yet conflict may arise during the implementation phase of a development project. It can therefore be said that although community participation is crucial in development interventions, the experiences given above present a picture of how challenging it might be to attain.

4.2.4.4 Sustainable livelihoods

The term “sustainable livelihood” comes from two words: sustainability and livelihood. Chambers (1997a) defines livelihood as: “adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs and to support well-being, where well-being simply refers to “experience of good quality of life” (Chambers, 1997a, p. 1748). Chambers uses the term “sustainability” to refer to: “application of all policies and actions to the long-term perspectives of well-being and livelihoods as objectives for the present and future generations” (Chambers, 1997a, p. 1749). In other words, using the present resources needed for making a living should take into consideration the needs of both the present and future generations.

From the forerunning discussions, it can be seen that the concept of sustainable livelihoods is related to the idea of well-being (Chambers, 1983; 1989; 1997a; 1997b) and human capabilities (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000), because they all seem to emphasise responsible and equitable use of resources for human capacity development in order to attain good life for all to be enjoyed for a long period of time. The concept of sustainable livelihoods, which is central in discussions on rural development, poverty reduction and environmental management, is relevant in the

present study because its areas of focus are crucially linked to the goals of the intervention under study.

According to Scoones (1998), the concept of sustainable livelihood has no precise definition. However, the burgeoning literature on it suggests that a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required to make a living (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998; Butler & Mazur, 2007). Scott-Goldman (2001) presents a similar definition. A sustainable livelihood therefore involves the use of both tangible and intangible assets to offset risks, ease shocks and meet contingencies (Chambers, 1997a).

Hence, a sustainable livelihood refers to a situation where one's capabilities, assets and activities required to earn a living are able to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance one's capabilities and assets without undermining the natural resource base (Scoones, 1998; Chambers and Conway, 1992). UNDP (1998, cited in Beck, 2001) maintains that sustainable livelihoods are derived from people's capacities to access options and resources, and use these resources for making a living in such a manner that does not foreclose options for others to do the same, both at present and in the future. In other words, the present development efforts should not jeopardise the needs of future generations. In his paper entitled "Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analysing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty", Bebbington (1999) argues that an analysis of rural livelihoods requires a clear understanding of the rural environment in terms of four major factors:

- People's access to resources
- The ways in which they combine and transform those assets in the building of their livelihoods
- The ways in which people are able to expand their asset bases by engaging with other actors through relations governed by the logics of state, market and civil society
- The ways in which they are able to deploy and enhance their capabilities to make living more meaningful and to change the dominant rules and relationships governing the ways in which resources are controlled,

redistributed and transformed in the society (Bebbington, 1999; Flora et al., 2004).

Similarly, Giddens (1979, in Beck, 2001) argues that development initiatives need to build on people's assets and strengths, so as to empower them as agents to act, reproduce, and change or challenge the rules that govern the use, control and transformation of resources. Livelihoods assets are therefore, in a sense, vehicles of what Bebbington (1999) describes as instrumental, hermeneutic and emancipatory actions. According to Cameron (2005), the sustainable livelihoods approach places people at the centre of development, and views people as having access to assets (human, natural, social, physical and financial) which are mediated through the prevailing social, institutional and organisational environment. The approach provides a conceptual tool for improved understanding of the context in which people live.

The above views on sustainable livelihoods offer some useful ideas that can stimulate critical reflection about the PMA process. They indirectly highlight the challenge faced by people with limited literacy and numeracy skills who are attempting to participate in PMA activities, where most of the opportunities seem to be favouring those who are relatively literate. The concept of sustainable livelihoods is very important in this study because its framework for analysis focuses on "poverty reduction, recognizing the importance of local knowledge, assets, and capabilities as well as people's hopes, dreams, and problems. ... it can help to conceptualize the multi-dimensionality of life, and to facilitate greater social equity, ecological integrity, and economic efficiency" (Butler & Mazur, 2007, p. 606). It can therefore be used to encourage local innovation and entrepreneurship, and to strengthen individual and institutional capabilities. According to Butler & Mazur (2007), local empowerment, one of the keys to sustainability, is evidenced when local people initiate development activities in which they have faith, which means they would be willing to own them and sustain the benefits for their own good. The sustainable livelihoods approach is therefore concerned with both the means and the ends of development.

In a related way, Chambers (1997a) links livelihoods to capabilities and describes them as two elements which are both means and ends in development thinking. He considers capabilities as means to livelihoods and fulfilment, and argues that "their

enlargement through learning, practice, training, and education are means to better living and to well-being” (Chambers, 1997a, p. 1748). He attaches great importance to equity and sustainability as principles that qualify livelihood to become livelihood security, and well-being to become responsible well-being. He describes well-being as “experience of good quality of life’ – characterised amongst others by access to basic services, security and freedom from fear, friendship, love, peace of mind, choice, creativity, fulfilment and fun ” (Chambers, 1997a, p. 1748).

4.2.4.5 Linkages between the key concepts

Literacy is a multidimensional phenomenon, and there are various beneficial and developmental claims associated with it. For instance, it is argued that literacy raises individuals’ critical consciousness and empowers them to better understand their environment and participate in development activities (DFID, 2002a; Torres, 2006; UNESCO, 2004; 2005). Its relationship with education stems from the fact that it not only arises directly from education, but it also acts as a foundation for further education and skills training (Stromquist, 1992).

The complementary roles of literacy and further education and training as a form of investment in human capital, and as a means of expanding human capabilities are important in promoting development. Literacy arises directly from education and this in turn strengthens and reinforces literacy which further enhances the freedoms people need to choose the various lifestyles they wish to enjoy, including effective participation in decision-making processes as well as developmental programmes (Sen, 1997; 1999).

According to Sen (1997), the benefits that well-educated and literate people enjoy allow them to enhance their capabilities and make them more productive in terms of their earning capacities and the choices they make in order to live a life they have reason to value. By raising people’s critical consciousness levels, and empowering them to analyse and question what is happening in their environment, literacy contributes towards enhancing capabilities, which in turn maximises people’s levels of participation in development activities (Sen, 1999).

When people's capabilities are enhanced, they not only produce more and more effectively but are empowered to engage in debates, discussions and negotiations regarding development discourses. Enhanced capabilities increases people's level of participation in development activities, and contributes to better utilisation of the different livelihood assets or capitals needed for engaging in more viable options of livelihoods strategies. In the context of the PMA intervention, efficient and effective utilisation of livelihood resources would lead to the attainment of sustainable livelihoods. In addition, it would lead to what Chambers calls "responsible well-being" that is characterised by equitable distribution of the benefits arising from the efforts of development.

The concept of responsible well-being is useful because it encourages equitable redistribution of development benefits for all members of the community. It could take the form of the desired quality of life for all, since the end result would be availability of schools, health centres, sustained economic growth and development, reduced inflation, and equitable access to adult literacy education. An effective utilisation of what Sen (1999) describes as economic opportunities and social arrangements would lead to meaningful engagement with tasks involved in agricultural production.

Increased levels of education and literacy would mean that farmers are more likely to be able to adopt new agricultural technologies, and access information on markets, agricultural inputs, and credit facilities. They will also be more likely to be able to increase production, household incomes and their overall quality of life which ultimately translates into more development. Similarly, attainment of increased levels of education and literacy among the population will, as Sen (1999) puts it, expand their capabilities, which in turn empowers them to do what they want, hence causing more development to occur on an equitable and sustainable basis. It can therefore be said that the goals behind these concepts are interconnected, linked to one another and intersect each other, and all aim at one goal – human development in holistic terms. They should therefore all be considered holistically when designing and implementing development interventions.

Most of them contribute towards attaining development at personal and national levels and the benefits of development efforts need to be distributed equitably to satisfy not only the needs of the present, but also of future generations. Ishumi summarises this as follows:

It is in the act of educating the society that men and women become aware of their circumstances and prepare to participate in the development of their community. Without education, there is no development; without development, there can be no further national progress, and any educative efforts are enfeebled by a weakened development base (Ishumi, 1976, p. 4).

4.3 Overview of some key development theories

This section focuses on an overview of some of the worldviews that tend to influence thoughts about development interventions. In the section, emphasis is laid on discussions of the theories that tend to influence debates on development in which issues of agricultural modernisation as a rural poverty reduction strategy also tend to fall:

- Modernisation theory
- Dependency theory
- Neoliberalism and globalisation

The section is not intended to provide a detailed analysis of each of the theories, but rather highlight the basic features or ideas and key critics associated with each. It is intended to provide background information to help readers appreciate the role these might be playing in the intervention currently under study.

4.3.1 Modernisation theory

Modernisation theory offers a basis for explaining the unequal relationship between the rich North and the poor South. The theory gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s (Lyster, 1992a). According to the theory, poor countries are poor because they lack certain ingredients. If such ingredients were added, these countries would be able to leap forward and catch up with the developed countries (Lyster, 1992).

Development was seen in terms of growth and associated with economic progress and civilisation (Burkey, 1993; Ndinda, 2002).

Growth was therefore thought to be achieved through the timely and correct application of inputs, but it could also be impeded by bad conditions. Poverty in developing countries was thus attributed to their own internal deficiencies such as: dominance of subsistence agriculture, low rate of capital accumulation, and low rate of economic growth (Youngman, 2000). It was therefore, assumed that poor countries would be able to catch up with developed countries if they followed W. W. Rostow's five stages of growth the developed countries took: (i) the traditional society; (ii) the preconditions for take-off; (iii) the take-off; (iv) the drive to maturity; and (v) the age of high mass-consumption (Rostow, 1990; Ndinda, 2002).

However, critics argued that the capitalist market system, in which the developing countries are trapped in subordinate roles, does not allow them to cast off their poverty. Critics argued that a new approach to explaining the unequal relationship between the industrial countries in the north and the agricultural countries in the south was needed. Dependency theory, discussed in the following sub-section, therefore emerged.

It should be pointed out that from an educational and knowledge perspective, modernisation theory is closely associated with the human capital theory, which Sheffrin (2003) describes as the stock of skills and knowledge embodied in the ability to perform labour so as to produce economic value. In other words, the skills and knowledge gained by a worker through education and experience which improve production. It normally acts as the driving force behind functional literacy (Holme, 2004). According to Holme (2004) functional literacy lays emphasis on the acquisition of skills to enhance efficiency, productivity and living standards. Generally, it can be said that literacy efforts guided by modernisation and human capital theories tend to fall within the autonomous model school of thought, which conceptualises literacy as a set of technical skills that lead to the development of critical, rational and context free thought. According to Holme (2004), such cognitive changes enable one to understand and use information to effectively engage in activities that will lead to an increased standard of living, progress and civilisation.

4.3.2 Dependency theory

Dependency or Underdevelopment theory emerged as an alternative to modernisation theory (Lyster, 1992a). Its proponents argue that the state of affairs in the developing countries was not caused by their own internal deficiencies as modernisation theorists claim, but rather by their domination by capitalist countries, who used colonialism to ensure that all the primary products flowed cheaply to them, and in turn exported the manufactured goods expensively back to the developing countries.

The above condition, based on active exploitation of underdeveloped regions by the developed capitalist countries (Morphet, 1987, in Lyster, 1992a, p. 27), was responsible for the unequal relationship that exists between the poor south and the rich north. This condition led to a centre – periphery economic system which integrated the developing economies into the international capitalist market system with an inferior role. According to Lyster (1992a), the integration of the developing countries into the international market system aided the extraction of surplus from the developing countries and dissolved their feudal structures, thereby dividing the global market into metropole centre and peripheral satellites.

Frank (1996, in Youngman, 2000), argues that the development of the capitalist countries in Europe is based on an exploitative relationship, which is responsible for the underdevelopment of the developing countries. He argues that the poverty that pervades developing countries is not an original condition resulting from their internal characteristics, but was historically created by their subordination to the global capitalist market. He justifies this viewpoint in his seminal essay entitled “The development of underdevelopment” as follows:

Even modest acquaintance with history shows that underdevelopment is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped (Frank, 1996 in Youngman, 2000, p. 61).

According to Frank, injecting capital into the developing countries was not enough and he instead argues that development of underdeveloped countries could only occur

by de-linking from the global capitalist economic system. However, dependency theory, according to Lyster (1992a), fell from grace because it was based on a negative critique of modernisation theory rather than a positive conception of development.

In terms of literacy work, dependency theory is linked to the radical or critical approaches to literacy. Lyster (1992a, p. 27) notes that its fundamental tenet, that “it is not the fault of poor people that they are poor”, fits very well into the liberatory approach to literacy. The idea behind liberatory or emancipatory literacy, popularised by Paulo Freire, is that literacy should enable the poor to see the structural causes of their poverty and to take action to overcome them (Freire, 1970; 1996)

4.3.3 Neoliberalism and globalisation

Liberalism, neoliberalism and globalisation are difficult terms to differentiate. The boundaries between them are not watertight. Although it is not the ultimate intention in this section to engage in a detailed discussion on the concepts, an attempt is made to highlight some of their basic tenets to facilitate an understanding of some of the issues that have emerged from the present study.

According to Atim and Ngaka (2004), social development interventions, particularly in developing countries, have always been articulated in terms of ideas and values underpinned by theories of development. Stressing the influence of ideology on development theories, which in turn tends to dictate the paths people take to implement development projects, Atim and Ngaka wrote:

The underlying values informing the development theories are powerful ideologies of capitalism, and socialism or communism which have tended to emphasise different styles of economy: free market under capitalism and command economy under socialism or communism (Atim & Ngaka, 2004, p. 20).

From the forerunning argument, it is clear that the theories of liberalism, neoliberalism and globalisation tend to go with particular ideologies that influence

development interventions. It is in terms of the above argument that the tenets of the three concepts will be discussed.

According to Treanor (1996), the term liberalism is used in different forms and ways, but generally, it seeks to maximise four things: (i) interaction; (ii) the number of those interacting; (iii) the number affected by each transaction; and (iv) the zone where interaction takes place. It can be argued that it is an economic theory in favour of laissez-faire, the free market, and the gold standard. Martinez and Garcia (2000) add that liberalism is based on the key tenets of “no control” and “free enterprise”. The desire for economic freedom underpins the concept, as Hobhouse emphasises:

The heart of Liberalism is the understanding that progress is not a matter of historical contrivance, but of liberation of living spiritual energy. Good mechanism is that which provides the channels wherein such energy can flow unimpeded, unobstructed by its own exuberance of output, vivifying the social structure, expanding and ennobling the life of the mind (Hobhouse, 1911, online and retrieved February 25, 2009 from: <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~victorp/vplib.htm>).

Critics of liberalism argue that the chains of interactions and transaction it creates cannot help in resolving the problems facing developing countries (Treanor, 1996; 2004). This criticism, which also applies to neoliberalism in terms of education and learning, has merit because of the implications for the poor, as expressed below:

... hence governments will seek to establish an environment that encourages individuals to take responsibility for their own and their children's learning, and where appropriate permit a choice as to where they acquire the learning they need (Halford & Jarvis, 1998, p. 15, cited in Atim & Ngaka, 2004, p. 20).

Martinez and Garcia (2000) indicate that the decline in economic development guided by ideas of economic liberalism after it was challenged by Keynes during the Great Depression paved the way for the emergence of a new form of the concept, neoliberalism. It was characterised by:

- The rule of the market,
- Cuts in public expenditure for social services,
- Deregulation,

- Privatisation
- The elimination of the concept of “the public good” or “community”.

Neoliberalism is often associated with global organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and IMF. The concept arose as a result of economists at the World Bank and IMF finding that post World War II development strategies for the poor were not having the intended effect. Major projects in poor countries instead increased debts and left very little growth to show. Treanor (2004) summarises some of the key tenets of neoliberalism as:

- Acting in conformity with market forces
- Acting to maximise the opportunity for others to conform to market forces
- Holding no other goals.

DeLong (1999) extends this list to include:

- Elimination of all barriers to international trade,
- Shrinking governments
- Privatising economies.

DeLong (1999) argues that close economic contact between the industrial core and the developing periphery is the best way to accelerate the transfer of technology, in order to make poor economies rich. This argument fits very well with modernisation tendencies. According to DeLong, governments in general lack the capacity to run large industrial and commercial enterprises and, except for core missions of income distribution, public-good infrastructure, and administration of justice, their role should diminish and give way to the private sector.

However, critics of neoliberalism argue that market forces inevitably increase inequality in wealth and power. Their criticism became a driving force that can explain and guide development efforts. It also led to the emergence of a concept called globalisation that appears to work hand in hand with neoliberalism.

Treanor (2004) maintains that neoliberalism now operates alongside globalisation. He describes globalisation as a process of integrating the countries of the world into one

global village, through movement of goods, services and people, aided by tremendous development in transport and emerging Information Communication and Technology (ICTs). Indeed, the use of ICTs in a rapidly globalising world has become crucial for agricultural development (see Kaliisa, 2001; Oryokot, 2003) According to Levitt (1983), proponents of globalisation claim that “the world’s needs and desires have been irrevocably homogenised, and technology drives consumers relentlessly towards the same common goals – alleviation of life’s burdens and the expansion of discretionary time and spending power” (McMichael, 2000, p. 275).

Kuhnen (1987) assesses the different development decades from 1945 – 1985, and notes that there were a series of changes in the concepts used. These included: initial development efforts, growth of national incomes, growth-by-industrialisation and the concept of poverty. In the late 1980s, the concepts used in discussions about poverty also started changing and terms such as: structural adjustment programmes, poverty eradication, poverty alleviation, alleviating costs of social adjustment and poverty reduction became common.

Each of the above changes is informed by the forces of prevailing development thinking. These changes neither marginally reduce the problems of the developing countries, nor lead to spectacular development. Neoliberal policies became the order of the day in Uganda, especially from the late 1980s. Although they were meant to lead to positive transformation, this did not actually occur. The characteristics of neoliberalism and globalisation described above are the very forces guiding the implementation of PMA, and yet such policies, as Wade (2004) and Scoones and Wolmer (2003), observe do not work in favour of the majority poor in developing countries. This is the dilemma facing the poor in their engagement with the intervention.

4.4 Empirical studies on PMA and related interventions

A search for literature related to agricultural development and poverty reduction in general, and PMA in particular, reveals a steady rise in intellectual interest among scholars to research the various dimensions of the intervention. Such studies include: Adebua et al. (2002), Ellis & Bahigwa (2003), Muhumuza (2003), Friis-Hansen et al.

(2004), Obaa (2004), Obaa et al. (2005), Bahiigwa et al. (2005), Nalugoot & Ssemakula (2006), Musemakweri (2007), Ngaka (2007) etc.

This section focuses on a review of empirical studies conducted on different aspects of PMA, and any other agricultural based poverty reduction related programmes in Uganda and elsewhere. The aim is to unveil the efforts being made to research PMA, and examine the methodological and theoretical approaches employed in the course of the studies, with a view to identifying and where possible, filling the identified gaps.

In 2002, two years after the launch of PMA, Adebua and others conducted a study on household efforts in poverty alleviation in Arua District in particular, and northern Uganda in general (Adebua et al., 2002). Their study specifically focused on the impact of the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) on the processes of resource mobilisation and allocation in Arua District. Aware of the fact that SAPs were intended to lead to increases in producer prices, especially in tradable goods, which would then trickle down to the households through market mechanisms and cause increase in incomes, their study sought to investigate three issues:

- The extent to which the reforms had resulted in increased producer prices and increased household incomes
- The extent to which the increased producer prices had stimulated increased production in tradable goods
- The extent to which agricultural technologies had changed after the introduction of the reform policies.

Data collected through survey methods from a randomly sampled 199 respondents revealed that while liberalisation had resulted in positive price incentives in agricultural products, the average price of inputs went up to the extent that they offset the possible gains arising from the price increases. The results also revealed that people's efforts to increase and diversify agricultural output for cash and household consumption were hampered by the lack of an in-built mechanism to address land degradation, fertility loss and fragmentation.

The above study is highly relevant to the present research because it focused on a market-led approach to rural poverty reduction especially in northern Uganda, where the present study was undertaken. It is also relevant because of the fact that the investigators were concerned with how possible threats to the success of a poverty reduction intervention, based on agricultural development, could be mitigated. Most importantly the study recommended educating farmers about the issues of land degradation and fragmentation. All the issues of concern in the above study are in one way or another featured in the present study, though with a different focus on literacy-related matters.

In their seminal study entitled “Livelihoods and rural poverty reduction in Uganda”, Ellis and Bahiigwa (2003) conducted a survey with a sample of 315 households in the three districts of Kamuli, Mbale and Mubende, with the aim of deriving relevant policy inferences for the PMA framework in Uganda. Choosing their districts based on the livelihood gradients that characterised each district (intensive versus extensive farming and small scale versus large scale farming), their study revealed interesting results concerning issues of livelihoods and rural poverty reduction in Uganda.

The key findings of the study were as follows:

- Raising farm output is not helpful for the rural poor, since they often have very limited or no access to land, and that such an approach tended to benefit those who are already better resourced.
- There was poor service delivery at decentralisation level, and that the decentralised authorities were becoming one of the causes of rural poverty, rather than the solution.
- Public agencies and officers were held in low esteem by the local people, and not seen as having a positive influence on poverty reduction.
- The taxation system appeared to penalise any engagement in a monetised economic activity in crop sales, trade and non-farm businesses.

With specific reference to the findings regarding taxes, they observe that the local tax regime in Uganda was disabling and was likely to remain so in future, as it became more entrenched and insiders’ opportunities to exploit it for personal gain became

better established. It can be argued here that a tax system that scares people away from engaging in any form of economic activity is obviously a disincentive to production, and cannot be helpful in boosting efforts to eradicate rural poverty.

The issues addressed in the above study are highly relevant for the present study because the implications of its findings, though based on districts other than the one in which the present study was conducted, are strikingly similar for people across Uganda. For instance, one of their findings suggested that it was not possible to reduce poverty through increasing farm output, because of a lack of land. This is a central issue in the present study. For the rural poor, the majority of whom are unschooled, the problem of landlessness or lack of access to land can be further aggravated by a lack of literacy, which complicates issues to do with understanding legal issues associated with land tenure and land rights.

Especially relevant is that in many cases the agencies and officers that are employed by the government to implement poverty reduction programmes are becoming a part of the problem. The issues of the impact of market-led agricultural services delivery, perceptions about the public officers, the prevailing taxation systems and knowledge and skills all have some bearing on levels of participation of the target group in a development intervention.

Muhumuza (2003) conducted a livelihoods-oriented audit of the PMA programme, and acknowledged that the short period of time the PMA intervention had been in existence was one of the potential weaknesses of his evaluation study. His evaluation study was done two years after the launch of PMA, and used livelihoods approach criteria for evaluation. The main areas of assessment that guided his study were:

- Impact of the intervention
- The intervention's focus on people
- Participation
- Partnership
- Holistic approach
- Policy and institutional linkages
- Building on strengths

- Dynamism and flexibility
- Accountability
- Sustainability (Muhumuza, 2003, pp. 8 – 9).

Not much was said in this evaluation about continuous development of the literacy skills of the target group of the PMA intervention. This is a significant omission. As has already been mentioned, the issue of literacy and numeracy skills development arises because a significant number of activities in the intervention involve interaction with written materials, which would pose a challenge for those who lack literacy skills.

In a rare example among all the studies I came across, Friis-Hansen et al. (2004) conducted a study that examined smallholder agricultural technology development in Soroti District, Uganda with specific emphasis on the synergy between NAADS, the agency created to implement agricultural advisory services on the one hand, and Farmers' Field Schools (FFSs) on the other. Their study, which was based on a 2001 Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis and wealth ranking and a 2004 survey of 106 households in Soroti District, explored three issues:

- The use of improved agricultural technology by participating farmers under NAADS and FFSs
- Synergy between FFSs and NAADS
- Poverty targeting.

Their study revealed the following important issues:

- FFSs and NAADS groups were effective approaches for stimulating adoption and use of agricultural technologies among the smallholder farmers in Soroti
- FFSs and NAADS groups had higher use of improved soil conservation strategies, soil fertility innovations, and pest management techniques than non-members
- Knowledge and original empowerment caused by the FFSs had enabled farmers to take advantage of opportunities offered by NAADS, thereby creating a useful synergy between the two entities

- The majority of those participating in NAADS and FFSs were not really poor and therefore not the intended target group for the programme
- Though NAADS appeared to have a strong poverty orientation, it lacked a clear poverty orientation implementation strategy and as a result it failed to reach the poor.

The study by Friis-Hansen et al. (2004) raises pertinent issues that are of great interest in the present study. It raises issues of agricultural technology adoption, farmers' empowerment, institutional synergies, and NAADS' failure to reach the poor, which is an equally critical issue that needs to be addressed. It would be useless to have NAADS if it excluded the very people it was supposed to pull out of poverty. It is important to find out how such farmers' empowerment takes place, what methods are used to achieve it, and what strategies can be used to sustain it. It would also be useful to find out the educational and literacy-related characteristics of those people who were not helped by NAADS in order to identify the factors that contribute to their exclusion

In 2004, Obaa undertook a study as part of his Masters programme. His study focused on "Assessing the effectiveness of the contract system of agricultural extension with special focus on the enhancement of demand-driven processes in Mukono District." His study specifically sought to explore how farmers' groups were formed and selected and how they work, establish how farmers' needs are identified and prioritised for delivery of extension services under the new extension system, and find out farmers' perceptions of the new system. The study, the findings of which were jointly published a year later (Obaa et al., 2005), revealed the following:

- There was a tendency for farmers to form groups hurriedly in expectation of free inputs and money.
- The structure and role of groups were predetermined externally.
- Whereas the process of needs identification was effective in prioritising farmers' needs based on what the majority decided, it tended to undermine the need for diversification and initiative at an individual level.
- Enterprise selection was tedious, procedural and academic.

- Farmers thought that while knowledge and information were important, they were not enough to pull them out of rural poverty.

The findings of Obaa (2004) and Obaa et al's (2005) studies are relevant to the current research because they directly relate to the effectiveness of the neoliberal and market oriented agricultural extension service delivery system being implemented in PMA. In light of the above findings, especially the issue of enterprise selection, there are serious concerns about how those participating farmers with no or limited literacy could decide on a commercially viable enterprise when they did not understand how and why their enterprise was chosen.

Bahiigwa et al. (2005) conducted a desk review that focused on field data about income structures of farming households and early findings from the PMA implementation monitoring reports. Their research aimed to generate information that sought to answer two important questions: (i) whether PMA had identified the right target group for the agricultural modernisation to achieve rural poverty reduction; and (ii) whether the programme being implemented represented the most effective mechanism for achieving the goal of rural poverty reduction.

Among other things, they argue that poverty reduction in terms of action that directly assists the poorest is contested as a primary goal of PMA, both by national government actors and local government officials and representatives, both of whom favour investment in commercial or less poor subsistence farmers. They state that:

The contested nature of PMA goals reflected in ambiguous targeting of some PMA policies has allowed support through the NAADS and NSCGs to find its way to better off farmers rather than the poor (Bahiigwa et al., 2005, p. 494).

They thus concluded that whereas PMA chose the right target for achieving the goal of poverty eradication, its mechanism of implementing the programme through decentralisation was wrong. This conclusion appears to confirm the findings of a study conducted in 2003 in the districts of Mbale, Mubende and Kamuli regarding rural livelihoods and poverty reduction (Ellis & Bahiigwa, 2003)

The above study by Bahigwa et al. (2005) offers an opportunity to further explore the plight of those worse off farmers who might be excluded from the PMA intervention, and examine what strategies could be put in place to adequately cater for their needs.

Nalugooti and Ssemakula (2006) examine the limitations and opportunities of the NAADS farmer-led and privately serviced extension system in Nakisunga Sub-County, Mukono District in Uganda. They found that accessibility to information about the intervention tended to correlate with farmers' level of education. Members of farmers' groups at parish levels were also reported as having limited access to information, and they tended to depend on their fellow farmers for receiving information about NAADS.

Access to information plays a great role in ensuring the success of any given intervention. This information mostly comes through electronic and print media, which unschooled people who lack literacy and numeracy skill have difficulties in accessing. It is therefore important to examine the methods used to disseminate information about the programme to the public, the materials used, and the language used. These factors are critical for farmers in PMA.

Agricultural extension workers play an important role in reaching out to the farmers with extension information. The extension system in Uganda has undergone tremendous changes since 1898 (see Appendix 30). Despite such changes, the system has not produced the intended results in the agricultural sector. The government of Uganda has always blamed its public extension agents for the poor performance in the agricultural sector in the country. However, as Semana (2002), Obaa (2004) and Obaa et al. (2005) observe, this blame may be misplaced, because it has never been proved that the private sector could perform miracles in revitalising the agricultural sector. Considering the market-oriented nature of the new extension approach, the extent to which the PSPs will deliver the subsistence farmers out of poverty remains to be seen as a number of countries which have attempted privatisation of extension services have had bitter experiences.

The above observation is supported by what has been reported in Israel, where attempts were made to semi-privatise national extensions services (see Omar, 2005).

According to Omar (2005), even these efforts have not met with success. The government is still responsible for providing extension services, but encourages public-private partnership in extension service provision. According to Omar (2005), although advocates of privatisation of extension services believe that farmers should pay for the services, there is a genuine fear that the zeal for privatisation will deprive small farmers from benefiting from the commercialised services. This is because small farmers either do not believe that the services are worth paying for, or they simply cannot afford to pay. Omar argues that “common wisdom would dictate that in developing countries, commercial farmers and large cooperatives should pay for extension services while the government should continue to provide free-of-charge to small producers” (Omar, 2005, p. 12). In the context of rural poverty, such an argument makes a lot of sense.

Another study about NAADS was conducted by Musemakweri (2007), and it focused on farmers’ experiences and perceptions of NAADS’ agricultural extension system, with emphasis on Kabale District. It particularly sought to explore:

- The extension approaches used by NAADS to disseminate agricultural technologies
- The perceptions of farmers about NAADS information delivery approach
- The level of farmers’ comprehension and the extent to which they have applied the new agricultural technologies learnt from extension programme.

The study found out that:

- Farmers’ groups formed in a hurry, and their formation was based on extrinsic motives rather than the empowerment of farmers.
- Farmers were not fully equipped with NAADS information, rationale and expectations.
- There were too many groups to be properly supported.
- More benefits went to progressive or model farmers than struggling farmers
- PSPs tended to focus more on technical skills, with little knowledge about how to facilitate behavioural change in the farmers
- The education given to farmers did not empower them to demand services

- Contract times were too short to pay adequate attention to the issues the PSPs were supposed to handle, which was not good for continuous learning.

Musemakwiri's (2007) findings are relevant for the present study because they have raised issues to do with inadequate information about NAADS programmes which the target group needs, lack of empowerment which the target group needs to demand services, and the fact that more emphasis was laid on model farmers at the expense of struggling farmers. Musemakwiri's study also mentioned that forming farmers' groups hurriedly without educating them on the purpose of such groups could potentially lead to loss of interest by the members, thereby negatively affecting the performance of such groups. Establishing the various types of information farmers require for the different PMA activities and the extent to which such information is available is crucial in the current study.

A study by Ngaka, Cho, Arik and Sandvand (2008) analysed the dynamics of a local self-help group's initiative in improving rural livelihoods through dairy farming in Mbale District, Uganda. They found that the core poor in the communities were unable to benefit from the intervention because of their inability to meet certain conditions imposed upon members to gain the group's recognition. The conditions included membership fees of multiple categories, ability to attend all meetings and training and possession of a minimum of an acre of land. The training took the form of instruction on how to manage exotic breeds of cattle.

The unschooled farmers in the group reported encountering difficulties in such training because of their inability to read, write and calculate. Another problem was that the population in Mbale is so large that it is relatively hard for a poor person to access land. As Okuku (2006) discusses in his paper on the Land Act (1998), "Land tenure reform in Uganda", land in rural Uganda is not only the main means of generating livelihoods, but is also a means for accumulating wealth. With land already becoming scarce, any intervention that depends on land has to take into consideration issues to do with access to it. Hence, the lack of land and the limited access to it, coupled with other conditions groups impose on their members, may cause exclusion of some of them which often tends to affect the unschooled most.

From the forerunning discussions, it can be seen that there are a number of attempts being made to explore different aspects of PMA. What is clear from most of the studies is that they have a tendency to lean more towards survey methods than qualitative studies. While most of them have addressed different dimensions of agricultural development, issues of literacy skills development do not feature prominently. The current study was therefore an attempt to explore the PMA intervention from a literacy perspective, in order to fill a gap left by these studies.

4.5 Other relevant and related literature

This section focuses on a review of some of the relevant and related literature on literacy and rural poverty reduction through agricultural development not only in Uganda, but other parts of the world as well. The review lays emphasis on:

- The importance of literacy in development
- Literacy and language factors in development interventions
- Farmers' groups and their associated dynamics
- Literacy, gender, and poverty reduction
- Literacy and entrepreneurship
- Challenges of accessing literature on literacy and livelihoods.

The aim of this section is to bring together different perspectives on the role of literacy in facilitating active engagement with development activities, both within and outside Uganda. The sub-section that follows discusses the significance of literacy in development.

4.5.1 The importance of literacy in development

In this section, a brief overview of the role of literacy in development is presented and it is argued that although literacy does not necessarily mean absence of poverty, it does seem to be true that very poor people often tend to have problems with literacy (Desmond, 2004). Hence, participation in a literacy programme and being equipped with literacy skills is certainly an asset in developmental ventures. Several studies allude to the role literacy can play in personal as well as community development as discussed below.

Stromquist (1992) underscores the significance of literacy, not only in the acquisition of other skills, but also more generally in the development of attitudes. She argues that in a world where communication now depends on the written word, people who lack the ability to read and write (and to this I add calculate) are likely to be condemned to the lowest roles in the society. Literacy is therefore critical for recognition in society. For example, in their 18-month ethnographic study of rural women literacy participants in El Salvador, Purcell-Gates and Waterman (2000) report that the neo-literates claimed to have gained a voice in community meetings, and that several of them were able to engage in sophisticated socio-political analysis.

In general terms, literacy and education also have positive impact on mothers regarding their children's health, as well as education. Vine (1982, in Robinson-Pant, 2001, p. 30) discusses how high levels of education and literacy affect women's behaviour towards their children, thus accounting for high child health indicators and educational completion. UNICEF (1999) reports that in the Indian state of Kerala, which has already attained universal literacy, the infant mortality rate is the lowest in the entire developing world. Health is a vital aspect of development because people who are in poor health cannot engage in productive activities that would contribute towards poverty reduction.

Similarly, Grivel (1990, in Oxenham et al., 2001), evaluating the outcomes of adult basic education in four provinces of Burkina Faso, found that many, but not all newly literate people were undertaking roles in almost all the economic and governing bodies of their villages, which they had never done before. The SODEFITEX Corporation in Senegal also found that the farmers – men and women – who had taken their literacy course took up roles in managing the affairs and accounts of the producers' cooperatives, and also began to take control of the marketing of their products (Oxenham et al., 2001; 2002).

Egbo (2000) compared non-literate women to literate women (possessing varying levels of reading proficiency and thus formal education) in Nigeria. The study, focusing on 36 rural women through individual and focus group interviews, found that non-literate women felt their illiteracy had a negative impact on their self-esteem and

that it prevented them from full participation in community meetings because others assumed they were not knowledgeable. In contrast, literate women reported being confident enough to participate in community meetings, considered they knew their rights better than the non-literate women, and felt more confident in making autonomous decisions.

From the forerunning findings and reports, one can conclude that participation in literacy programmes is not in vain. Indeed, Oxenham (2004), after assessing the contribution of Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) towards poverty reduction and achievement of some of the goals of EFA and MDGs concluded that literacy can contribute tremendously towards poverty reduction and achievement of some of the MDGs. Conference papers by Baryayebwa(1998; 2004) and Kiirya (2001); and reports by Yates (1995), Okech et al. (1999), Meskel (2000), Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2002) and Kagitcibasi et al. (2005) seem to reinforce such a conclusion, because they all make reference to literacy, education and training as being powerful tools for poverty reduction.

4.5.2 Literacy and the language factor

As indicated in Ministry of Education and Sports (1989; 1992), language is a critical factor in literacy learning, because of linguistic diversity in certain countries and the associated challenges (see Morphet, 1992; Lyster, 1992b; Yu, 2006). Although many people tend to think that children need to learn the common language of wider communication, linguists as well as lay people are in agreement that children learn better and more easily when they learn in their first language, at least at the beginning (Klaus, Tesar & Shore, 2002). Ministry of Education and Sports (1989) echoes a similar view and acknowledges the fact that children and adults who are taught through their own language learn better and faster. There is therefore a strong link between language and literacy learning. As a result, most scholars argue that people should be taught how to read and write in their first language or mother tongue. Their argument is justified on the basis of the challenges involved in learning to read and write while at the same time struggling with the processes of trying to learn another language. This is partly because literacy learning is greatly influenced by socio-

cultural, economic, political and linguistic factors in which the learners are embedded (Blanton, 2007).

Morphet (1992) and Lyster (1992b) discuss in detail the difficulties associated with language and literacy learning. Lyster (1992b, p. 103) says that the reason often advanced to support the call to teach reading and writing in the first language is that “it is easier to learn the complex skills of reading and writing without having to grapple with the equally complex, but different processes of learning a second language at the same time”. The emphasis on the first language as the initial language for literacy learning is crucial for a country like Uganda, in which there are a many different ethnic groupings speaking different languages, some of which are minorities.

According to Klaus et al. (2002), the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is crucial for reaching the excluded, keeping them in school, helping them to learn, and in particular, helping them to learn a common language. They argue that the use of children’s first language of instruction in early basic education, transitioning gradually to the language of wider communication, can be of critical importance in enabling a country achieve EFA goals. Their argument is based on the findings of different research projects. For instance, they report that research conducted in Mali, Brazil and Guatemala in which children were taught in their mother tongue first, before gradually being introduced to a regional or national language, noted several pedagogical benefits such as better acquisition of literacy skills, improvement in test scores in all subjects and improved performance in reading, writing, mathematics and science. Such children were found to be performing better academically than their counterparts, who studied only in the regional or national language

A further argument for the use of mother tongue is based on the various linguistic benefits demonstrated by studies that show that children who become literate in their first language acquire a solid grammatical and cognitive base for learning a second language. According to Klaus et al. (2002), in nations where first language instruction precedes acquisition of second language, students acquire literacy in the second language faster and more easily than those who were denied initial education in their first language or mother tongue. Patrinos & Valez’s (1996) study in Guatemala, and

Pado & Samson-Reyna's (2001) pilot study in the Philippines offered more evidence to support the linguistic benefits of a bilingual approach to education.

Although there are challenges involved, most scholars believe that a bilingual or multilingual approach to language policy enhances literacy learning (Klaus et al., 2002). Emphasising the role of multilingual literacies, DFID (2002a) notes that listening to what literacy tasks people perceive to be relevant in a particular context may lead to more than one language being used in the same programme. It argues that participants may want to read religious texts in a first or second language, but write addresses and fill out forms in a more widely used official language. In Ghana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Togo, dual language literacy programmes have been introduced. These programmes have strengthened community development projects in situations in which people use more than one language in their daily lives (DFID, 2002a).

A related experience on the need for a multilingual approach to learning was reported in Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces of South Africa (see Basel, 2004). In this project, an attempt was made to set up electives in the subject of Agriculture and Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) as part of the General Education and Training Certificate (GETC) in the PALCs from 1999 – 2000. Basel (2004) reports that the main objective of the project was to enable previously disadvantaged adults to simultaneously obtain credits towards the GETC at National Qualification Framework (NQF) Level 1 and establish sustainable small businesses as a means of alleviating poverty. Basel's (2004) study reveals some crucial findings regarding the issue of the use of English as a medium of instruction and assessment in the project. The study found out that:

- The use of English to facilitate agriculture and SMMEs posed problems to learners. It restricted learner participation, as indicated by project field support workers, who said, “when educators used English in the classroom, a formal atmosphere developed and learners became very passive. However, when educators taught through the mother tongue of the learners, they participated actively in the learning process.”

- There was repetitive use of the mother tongue to clarify issues that were unclear to the learners. This led the study to recommend that multilingual supplementary materials be introduced to help learners master and understand new concepts in the subjects they were learning.
- Despite mother tongue being crucial, most of the learners still felt that English was important as it was the language in which they would need to conduct business.

The study showed that the adult learners were able to use their first language to understand concepts they were not able to understand in a second language, English. However, they still needed English because it was the language used for the wider communication they would need to confront while conducting their businesses. According to Kolb (1983, cited in Basel, 2004, p. 370), “learners more readily achieve the desired outcomes if engaged in experiential learning”. In other words, experiential learning is context based and it can only be meaningful when learners are using a language in which they are fluent. This is because intrapersonal and interpersonal communications require good linguistic skills, and comprehension can only occur when the learners are able to internalise what has been learnt and can apply it to different situations (Basel, 2004).

Another situation where learners express the desire to learn in English is attributed to the context in which small business transactions are performed. Yates (1995) reports an observation of this in relation to immigrant communities in the United States. She states that several studies of immigrant communities showed that many women wish to learn English, because they periodically have to interact in domains where English is spoken and written. She cites examples of such domains to include: “social services, public utilities and healthcare” (Yates, 1995, p. 445). She argues that since women are largely being restricted to the domestic sphere, often through violence, they do not get the same opportunities as men to enter freely the public domain where English is spoken, and they are therefore conscious that their English language skills are inadequate. She also discusses how the introduction of a mother tongue language policy to an environment such as Southern Ghana where English was perceived as a “prestige” language, was inevitably going to be challenged. She concludes that “if

non-formal education is to be seen by women as a second-chance and not a second-rate education, and if it is to enable them to become self-reliant in a number of literacy practices, the question of language and its functionality must be given greater prominence” (Yates, 1995, p. 447). Context is therefore crucial in deciding on the choice of language for literacy learning.

In a related study, Bagwasi (2006) examined the role of language in adult education and poverty reduction in Botswana. He arrived at the conclusion that adult education programmes in Botswana needed to take into account the multilingual context of the society if they were to allow learners to participate freely, make use of indigenous knowledge, and enhance their self-esteem and identity. For the adult learners to take advantage of extension programmes to improve their living conditions, “the programming must be guided by an unbiased language policy that will facilitate the dissemination of information and education to Botswana’s various communities” (Bagwasi, 2006, p. 340). He argues that taking into consideration the issue of local languages will not only reach the poor and marginalised groups but also instil a sense of pride, identity and self-esteem, all of which are crucial in the fight against poverty.

Robinson (2007) also discusses the issue of context in relation to language of instruction in an adult learning environment. In a study that focuses on four adult learning programmes in Bhutan, Myanmar, Ghana and Uganda respectively, he raises the issue of local context in relation to language and language choice as significant factors in literacy learning. Recognising Rogers’ (2004) contribution, he argues that “adult learning by nature is context-dependent, with the purpose, duration, process and content linked to adult learners’ environment, experiences, hopes and aspirations” (Robinson, 2007, p. 543). This is based on the argument that adult learning evolves from what learners know about themselves. In conclusion Robinson (2007, p. 550) observes: “Indeed, whatever kind of intervention is planned, language becomes not only a vector of implementation, but a resource for planning. Once a decision is made to engage local people in planning, questions of language choice will determine how far they participate”

According to Rogers (2004), the use of local languages in literacy learning enables learners to influence the shape of learning as it takes place. He notes that “using a

language which is less familiar or unfamiliar, and crucially which is not their own, makes such influence less possible or unlikely” (Rogers, 2004, cited in Robinson, 2006, p. 550).

In multiethnic nations such as Uganda, as Gordon (2005) notes, the issue of the choice of language of instruction becomes a critical factor in considering the learning context. The dilemma in choosing the medium of instruction in Uganda is outlined in the work of Brock-Utne (2000), who reports that although the language policy in Uganda since 1992 has been that local languages should be used for initial literacy, the reality is that in most primary schools, and among adult learners, little teaching is done in local languages. He attributes this to the pressure to acquire English. The importance attached to the issue of learning in English in Uganda is similar to the one Yates reports concerning the situation in Southern Ghana.

However, it should be noted that the reluctance in embracing mother tongue policy may not be deliberate and intentional, but rather as a result of difficult circumstances attributable to the challenges associated with the implementation of the policy (see Cook, 1951; UNESCO, 2003; Robinson, 2007). Using the vernacular may be difficult for a range of reasons. Okedara and Okedara (1992) argue that in the case of Nigeria, lack of orthography for a large proportion of the Nigerian languages makes the whole process very complicated. It could be argued that the same holds for Uganda, as has been acknowledged in Ngaka, O’dubua & Ongua (2008) during the process of compiling an English – Lugbara – English Dictionary.

Muwanga et al. (2007) and the Education Policy Review Commission of the Ministry of Education and Sports, also known as the Kajubi report, point out the difficulty of adopting a mother tongue policy for learning at different stages in Uganda’s education system. The report particularly recognises the fact that providing minimum basic education to all, including the adult illiterates and those who go to school but are not able to pursue education beyond primary level, is complicated because of the language diversity of the country (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1989).

Robinson-Pant (2001) discusses UNESCO’s move to encourage the use of vernacular (mother tongue policy) for literacy work. She notes that a great deal of debate has

been generated around the “social, political, linguistic, educational and economic implications of such a policy” (Robinson-Pant, 2001, p. 5). She reports that the debate on language policy now focuses on the social and political dimensions of implementing such a policy related to UNESCO’s declaration about conducting literacy work in mother tongue. According to her, the major issue regarding the language policy is not just which language is best understood, but which one is valued as a social or political asset. Openjuru (2008) also reports such a dilemma regarding the failure to accept Kiswahili as a national language in Uganda, despite it being adopted in the two sister countries of Tanzania and Kenya. He advances a number of reasons for this resistance, such as its foreignness, resistance from other tribes, as well as its low status among certain classes of people in the country. He expresses the issue of low status with regard to Kiswahili in Uganda as:

Its lowly status as the language used by unschooled trouble causing urban riffraff and often unpopular armed forces (the Army, Police, Prisons and other Security organs) in my opinion causes Kiswahili to be stigmatised as a language of coercion and thuggery” (Openjuru, 2008, p. 120).

Such views indicate that there are several challenges to be faced in handling language matters. Ryan (1990, in Robinson-Pant, 2001) particularly singles out political constraints in adoption and implementation of mother tongue policy in literacy programmes. He outlines these to include linguistic dilemmas such as:

- How far to standardise dialects
- How to reflect diglossia
- Development and provision of scripts for previously unwritten languages
- Financial constraints associated with trying to provide materials for many languages.

The above challenges regarding mother tongue policy are very real in resource constrained developing countries such as Uganda. The political nature of the decisions to be made in such matters also poses some challenges in trying to adopt a given mother tongue. Robin-Pant concludes on this particular issue:

Language for literacy programmes...should now be considered a political and social exercise since every language has a different and changing value to its users....decisions within literacy programmes such as, which script to adopt,

cannot be regarded in isolation from particular social contexts (Robinson-Pant, 2001, p. 53).

I am in agreement with the above view, especially with regard to the political forces that influence discussions about language of instruction, as well as adoption of a national language. In Uganda, it took decades to resolve the issue of mother tongue as a language of instruction in the lower levels of schooling, and it is likely to take some decades to arrive at a national language accepted by all the ethnic groups in the country.

4.5.3 Farmers' groups and their associated dynamics

According to Waswaga (2007), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and community groups form vital institutional structures in rural Uganda. Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA) (n.d.) defines farmers' groups as the grassroots farmers' institutions upon which the country builds strong local and national organisations and forms networks that can help in fostering agricultural development through proactively demanding their rights. Such groups, argues Waswaga (2007), include self help groups which are highly informal and have no written rules or constitutions, as well as those formed by external actors.

Groups are normally formed for different reasons, and the reasons vary from one group to another. In their recent review of groups supported by different organisations in Uganda to establish the relationship between the quality of farmer's groups, the effectiveness of NAADS programmes and other related factors, DENIVA (n.d.) established ten different reasons for forming groups. These included:

- To access support from donors and NAADS
- To access training in improved husbandry practices
- To pull resources together and address their challenges
- To address food security issues
- To help one another in case of need
- To carry out collective procurement of inputs and marketing of produce
- Moral uprightness (for youth farmer groups)
- To ease work for groups that carry out communal cultivation

- To lend money in 'circles' or as the case of need may rise with members
- To make monthly savings

The various reasons for different groups' existence tends to influence what they get in the form of resources, and they can also reflect the strength of the group. Self-help groups normally have a high proportion of poorer members. They normally tend to be ignored by managers of different development interventions intended to address rural poverty. As a result, such groups end up not being considered during delivery of poverty reduction programmes in rural areas.

Ignoring the self-initiated groups, according to Waswaga (2007), leaves the poor trapped in their poverty. They cannot meet the rules of government, NGOs and donors, and yet despite their informal status and absence of legal documents, self-initiated groups tend to be beneficial to the poorer sections of the community. Group benefits go directly to individual members of the group. Entry and exit is usually not governed by complex rules; the group functions as a "loose" organisation bound by trust amongst its members.

According to Waswaga (2007), the spatially trapped poor are usually prevented from joining and enjoying the benefits of externally formed groups. Consequently, integration in government rural poverty reduction programmes becomes difficult because of several factors such as: (i) lack of supportive attitudes by members of externally formed groups; (ii) class barriers in villages; (iii) lack of empowerment and room for voicing their concerns and interests; and (iv) lack of specialty in certain areas. For example, the attitudinal differences between the better off and the poorer community members act as barriers for poorer people to join groups. The village "middle class" perceives the poor as being "bad hearted", naturally lazy, uncooperative and having no initiative to engage in group activities (Waswaga, 2007). The marginalised and excluded, such as minority ethnic groups, those of unsound mind and the destitute, are sometimes feared and thought of as being surrounded by mysterious powers and bad omens. This generates fear and resentment from others, preventing any meaningful interaction, including group membership.

the standards of legitimacy set for government programmes. Such factors of legitimacy – formality, registration and a focus on a commercial agricultural enterprise – discourage many poor people from either initiating or taking part in formally-constituted small economic groups. In addition, the reasons for exclusion are not only external but also from within groups.

Waswaga's (2007) paper, which discusses spatial poverty, is highly relevant for the present study because the targets of the PMA intervention are expected to work in groups in order to undertake the various PMA activities. The focus in Waswaga's (2007) paper on issues of commonalities, values, aspirations and the abilities of members of farmers' groups is important in this study because they offer useful insights for the analysis of the dynamics involved in the management of the groups, and how this impacts on the members.

4.5.4 Literacy, gender, and poverty reduction

Empowerment, which has various definitions, is critical in any poverty reduction endeavour. According to the Department For International Development (DFID), people interpret the term according to their perception of what they need in order to improve their situation. DFID (2002a) further reports that in a recent study conducted in Nepal, women's aspirations encompassed both the satisfaction of practical needs and more strategic aspirations, such as being able to speak up in their own group meetings and with local government officials. In the same study, the two most frequently cited representations of empowerment were self-confidence and literacy. Both men and women associated being literate with having social status, as well as functional skills.

A literate person "has knowledge", can understand issues relevant to their own well-being, and can share this knowledge for the benefit of the community. He or she has a "voice" in meetings, can access and analyse information, and has the ability to engage more effectively with outsiders as well as officials (DFID, 2002a). According to DFID (2002a), studies in countries such as Ghana, India and others have provided examples of how literacy practices can help people to build community capacity and solidarity, become aware of their rights, and find self-expression and self-esteem. I

view all the literacy-related dimensions highlighted in the DFID report as fundamental aspects of empowerment for greater participation in, and ownership of the development process. However, sweeping claims for literacy as a sole or singular cause of empowerment would be an oversimplification of complex, dynamic, social, political and economic interaction processes that characterises the phenomenon of interest in the current study, the PMA intervention.

Pant (2004) explored the impact of education on women's collectives through Self-Help Groups (SHGs), in terms of their ability to gain control over economic, social and political resources. Among other things, she considers the role of external facilitators used for group formation among communities as crucial in poverty reduction efforts. She argues that the successes groups register in any development venture after their formation greatly depends on the skills, experiences and knowledge of the external agencies engaged in forming the groups. Pant's study is highly relevant to the present study because in Uganda's PMA intervention, CSOs were also charged with the responsibility of forming farmers' groups, often composed of women, for participating in PMA, and the outcome or performance of the groups will depend on the quality of resource people used, methods of facilitation employed, and the materials used.

To enable the above women-dominated groups to succeed calls for a conceptualisation of poverty that takes into account not only the absence of minimum basic needs or lack of income, but also includes a denial of opportunities and choices (Sen, 1999; Preece, 2005a; 2005b). According to Pant (2004), poverty reduction implies enhancing resources, choices, capabilities and the power necessary to enjoy an adequate standard of living and other rights. Her study noted that when provided with access to economic and educational opportunities, as well as the autonomy needed to take advantage of such opportunities, poor rural women are enabled to make strategic life choices to negotiate their poverty by actively and effectively engaging in agricultural production, the commonest livelihood strategy in rural areas. Focus on women in such circumstances is therefore crucial as seen in their role in agricultural production discussed in the following paragraphs.

According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) (1995), the important role rural women play in agricultural production and rural livelihoods cannot be overemphasised. It is also worth noting that despite their tremendous contribution in different agricultural activities, rural women still face multiple challenges. FAO (1995) observes that they are the most hit by the impact of rural-urban migration, which leaves them increasingly responsible for farming and for meeting their households' immediate needs. They are also susceptible to the negative impact of structural adjustment programmes and face the implications of environmental damage as most of them are generally found on the most marginal lands. Yet they bear the primary responsibility for providing household subsistence. They bear the brunt of socio-cultural barriers which further disadvantages them in terms of access to resources, services and opportunities. The ever-increasing population, coupled with the resultant land fragmentation also hits them hard as subsistence producers.

Rahman's (2008) study on women's involvement in agriculture in Northern and Southern Kaduna State, Nigeria, recognises the challenges women face in the agricultural sector and states that there is no doubt that agricultural development requires full participation of women. Rahman (2008) however, maintains that this will only happen when women are perceived as subjects and not as objects of development. The study found that the women in Kaduna State generally had low rates of decision making except on the key roles they play in agricultural production and recommends that improving women's access to information and productive resources such as land, credit facilities and appropriate technologies necessary for enhancing food production and processing, would help to address the above challenges they face.

Carr's (2008) study, "Men's crops and women's crops: the importance of gender to the understanding of agricultural and development outcomes in Ghana's central region" further stresses the important role women play in subsistence agriculture. Carr's study found that households whose heads earned \$ 340 and above, invested in market-oriented agricultural production while households, the majority of which were female headed and earned less than \$ 340, diversified both in subsistence production and market-oriented activities. He noted that production goals among the households were gendered in such a way as to ensure that women produce for the household first

and for their own needs later, which tends to perpetuate the continued dominance of the men over their households.

A study entitled, "Gender differences in agricultural productivity: a survey of empirical evidence" by Quisumbing (1994) found that agricultural productivity can be greatly increased by developing the human capital of women farmers through education and extension, and by increasing their access to physical and financial inputs. The study concluded that women farmers are as efficient as men farmers, once other characteristics and input levels are controlled. Brown and Haddad (1994) also report that women farmers under-perform in agricultural production because they lack access to information, credit, extension, inputs, and markets and this is worsened by the household and child care tasks which limit the time they have available to engage in agricultural production. This underperformance occurs despite the longer hours they work than men in traditional farming systems.

It is important that such factors which constrain women's performance in agricultural production are seriously taken into consideration through gender analysis when planning and designing interventions such as the PMA (see The World Bank, n.d.). For example, the Gambia Women in Development (WID) Project, funded by the World Bank, which aimed at improving extension services for women farmers through: (i) supporting production of radio programmes, videos, and posters on women's activities, (ii) supplying video equipment and films to thirty villages; and (iii) promoting functional literacy and income-generation skills through a skills development programme, resulted in a dramatic increase in the women participants from 5 percent to over 60 percent in crop extension activities (The World Bank, n.d.). Similarly, a project which aimed at promoting women's access to agricultural credit in Pakistan by recruiting and training husband-wife mobile credit teams, and mobile women credit officers to be assisted by women village assistants, helped the rural women overcome: (i) the social constraints that prevent women from travelling to bank offices for financial services and working with male credit officers, (ii) cumbersome application procedures; and (iii) inhibitions of women bank staff about travelling alone in the countryside. It is important to note that in all the challenges highlighted in the forerunning discussions, the role literacy plays appears to be a factor that cannot be ignored.

In their paper, entitled “Facilitating farmer-to-farmer learning and innovation for enhanced food, nutrition and income security in Kamuli District, Uganda”, Mazur et al. (2006) highlight illiteracy as one of the critical challenges being faced in dealing with farmers. They report that determination of literacy levels in relation to training and expected work on the one hand, and identification of the sources of slow adoption and adoption rates among some members of farmers’ groups on the other, was a serious challenge in the farmer – to – farmer learning in Kamuli District. They note that the approach of working with farmers’ groups rather than individual households is based on the assumption that “group strengthening will increase the likelihood of achieving more sustainable development” (Mazur et al., 2006, p. 3). This also seems to be the motivation behind PMA farmers working in groups. It should be noted that groups have their own challenges, and using groups to promote an intervention cannot therefore be taken as a blueprint for success.

While increasing agricultural production could be one of the appropriate options for raising rural incomes, Mazur et al. (2006, p. 4) note that “marketing of agricultural produce has not generated sufficient incomes for small-scale farmers in developing countries, in significant part because of privatisation, liberalisation and the international markets’ playing field that is distinctively unlevelled because production and marketing subsidies in developed countries”. Kindness and Gordon (2001, in Mazur et al., 2006) make a similar observation about the role of agricultural subsidies offered to producers in developed countries, which places small-scale farmers in developing countries in a difficult position.

In addressing the problem of non-formal agricultural education, it is important to take note of Iowa State University’s Volunteer Efforts for Development Concerns – Makerere University’s Farmer-to-farmer Learning Programme, which is empowering rural farmers in Kamuli District to improve their livelihoods. Their approach to training Rural Development Extensionists and Community Nutritionist and Health Workers, which combines theoretical instruction and practical teaching, described in detail in Mazur et al. (2006), appears to offer lessons that could be of help in PMA training programmes.

4.5.5 Literacy and entrepreneurship

The modernisation of agriculture as a means to eradicate rural poverty can only be meaningful if the population has all the requirements that will enable them to successfully operate small scale enterprises. Teaching small scale rural subsistence farmers to begin to focus on production for market instead of only meeting their household consumption needs, demands that they have business management skills. This is very clear in the meaning given to the term “modernisation of agriculture” in Odwongo, in which subsistence farmers are required to look at agriculture as a business and not just as a way of life (Odwongo, 2001; 2003). Although the idea of turning subsistence farmers into commercial producers sounds appealing, not all of them are endowed with the skills, abilities and knowledge to efficiently and effectively manage a business. The situation is particularly bad in rural areas, in which poverty and illiteracy go hand-in-hand (Agnihotri, 2007).

The negative impact of illiteracy on business management has been mentioned in different forums. Tempelman (2000) points out that numerous international forums, such as the Beijing Platform for Action and its regional preparatory conferences, have highlighted that illiteracy and lack of basic business management skills are part of the reason why many economic activities fail. Noting that these economic failures aggravate poverty among the population, the Beijing Platform for Action decided to incorporate literacy into their Framework of Action.

Relating Tempelman’s observations to poverty reduction interventions, it means that where certain members of groups have basic literacy and numeracy skills, emphasis should be laid on short training programmes on literacy, numeracy and simple book-keeping. This will enhance the management skills of micro business entrepreneurs among those who need it most, particularly women. Tempelman (2000) argues that simple book-keeping courses will not only increase participants’ returns from their productive activities, but also improve their self-esteem, general well-being and status in the community.

According to Lusardi (2007) and Tempelman (2000), increased self-esteem helps the targets of the intervention to build their confidence, and opens up the possibilities of

further development. Moreover, numeracy and simple book-keeping training offers further opportunities for acquiring a "professional status" and thus contributes to improving access to formal banking systems or to rural organisations such as micro-finance institutions, from which loans can be borrowed (Lusardi, 2000). It is important that the social and economic support programmes include managerial capacity building of the individuals and groups they aim to assist, as this is the only way that such programmes can achieve a lasting effect.

In the context of rural Uganda, the attempts to commercialise smallholder agricultural practices as a rural poverty reduction strategy would call for increased attention to teaching the rural subsistence farmers simple small-scale business management skills as well as a culture of savings. The policy of commercialising subsistence agriculture will necessitate the establishment of rural microfinance institutions which are expected to serve the farmers in the rural areas.

As poverty reduction through agricultural development requires a change in orientation from subsistence to commercial production, complying with business management principles and ethics becomes inevitable. DFID (2002) reports on an initiative by CARE International, who introduced an Integrated Pest Management Programme in Sri Lanka. In the programme, farmers are trained in pest identification and control through biological as well as chemical means. This intervention automatically demands that farmers acquire literacy and numeracy skills. Since such skills were relatively rare among the farmers, an NGO, Association for Development and Peace through Community Action (ADAPCA), initiated a programme aimed at equipping farmers with the much-needed literacy and numeracy skills.

The above NGO's agricultural literacy instruction comprised of identification, measurement, record-keeping, and form filling skills, within an experiential learning programme. Since a large proportion of PMA participating farmers lack literacy skills, such an intervention, which emphasises the development of skills based on participants' daily life activities and "real materials" as Rogers (2006) and Purcell-Gates et al. (20001) put it, would greatly contribute towards the success of the PMA intervention in Uganda.

According to Women of Uganda Network (WOUNET) (2001), the majority of the subsistence farmers (whom PMA targets) are poor people faced with many constraints that keep them poor, such as lack of knowledge and skills, lack of credit, lack of information and knowledge about what to produce and how to produce to earn more money, HIV/AIDS, malaria, insecurity, and poor yields. The most important features of their poverty include not having enough food, lack of money to meet health and education costs, low yields, few productive assets, lack of essential services, large families, and lack of support from the communities they live in.

In her paper entitled “Household saving behaviour: the role of literacy, information and financial education programs”, Lusardi (2007) examines how illiteracy, lack of information and financial education programmes affect people’s retirement plans in the US. Her study found that a lack of awareness and financial literacy among the US population disorganises them in terms of their retirement plans, and she argues that this affects people’s ability to plan, save and secure comfortable retirement. She attributes this to the fact that people are not aware of the pension options available to them, and the rules governing social security benefits.

She further argues that with financial systems becoming more complex, people have to deal with new and more sophisticated financial products for which they are ill-prepared. The study further indicates that most individuals lack knowledge of basic financial concepts such as the working of interest compounding, the difference between nominal and real values, and the basics of risk diversification. In order to express the gravity of the problem of illiteracy among the pensioners, she writes:

Given the increased complexity in financial instruments, the evidence of illiteracy raises the question whether consumers will appreciate and take advantage of the opportunities offered by the financial markets or will more easily fall prey of scam or unscrupulous brokers (Lusardi, 2007, p. 31).

Although Lusardi (2007) does not directly address issues of illiteracy in the context of rural areas and in a developing country, the issue of financial literacy and a savings culture is highly relevant to my study. The farming direction rural subsistence farmers are expected to take in Uganda requires some form of financial literacy to handle the complex transactions involved, as well as some aspects of savings.

DFID (2002a) reports that SOLVE, a Nepali NGO, established a number of women's savings and credit groups in the east of the country. These groups comprise a Chairperson who manages meetings, a secretary who writes the minutes, a treasurer who does the book-keeping, and other general members. It was found out that in many of the groups, only a few of the women (those who tended to be the better off in the village) had basic reading, writing and numeracy skills, and therefore took on the key committee positions. The other women felt marginalised and at risk of being cheated by committee members. They asked SOLVE if they could be trained in reading, writing and book-keeping skills so that they too could take on these functions. Literacy in this context challenged differential power relations in the community, as well as contributing to small enterprise development.

The discussions in the above studies are relevant to the present research on PMA because of their focus on one of the most critical aspects, the issue of business and financial management skills training. In my view, this determines the degree of success in the management of the commercially-oriented agricultural enterprises the rural subsistence farmers are involved in under PMA. This view is based on the reality on the ground, where the majority of rural women involved in PMA activities not only lack the basic skills of small scale business and financial management, but also have limited access to the financial institutions.

4.5.6 Literature on literacy and livelihoods

This section highlights some of the challenges faced in accessing literature on literacy and livelihoods-related programmes. Although availability of information plays an important role in documenting experiences and needs of different groups and communities, there is a definite lack of literature on literacy and livelihoods training related programmes, as has been noted by Okech et al (1999); Oxenham et al. (2001); Katahoire (2001) and Oxenham (2004).

In their powerful study sponsored by the World Bank, Oxenham et al. (2001) examine approaches to combining livelihood training with literacy instruction, and discuss the challenges they faced in accessing literature on the impact of livelihood training on

production, productivity and standards of living. Katahoire (2001) reported having gone through similar experiences while conducting a study on “strengthening livelihoods with literacy: cases from Uganda”. Her study was an annex to the above mentioned study by Oxenham et al. (2001). Katahoire notes that it was very difficult to access literature about the documentation of literacy and training experiences of the NGOs involved in literacy and livelihoods related programmes in Uganda.

Katahoire (2001) notes that while there are many literacy programmes and projects currently being implemented in Uganda, it was evident in the course of their study that there was little systematic documentation of literacy programmes in the country. She particularly remarks on the lack of documentation of literacy programmes which could have helped those not directly involved in the programmes to learn about them and draw lessons from their experiences. She expresses the challenges she faced in the course of the study as follows:

Many of the reports available were scanty indeed, with hardly any analytical descriptions of the programme. Systematic documentation of the impact of the literacy programmes was also almost non-existent. Particularly difficult to obtain were reports on literacy programmes run by local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) (Katahoire, 2001, p. 153).

In examining the contribution that Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) is possibly making to each of the MDGs, Oxenham (2004) used published literature, grey documents from governments, international agencies and NGOs, to assess what the experiences of the last two or three decades have suggested for planning programmes of ABET in relation to poverty reduction where the skills of literacy and numeracy were included as important, if not central elements of the intervention.

He reports that despite the stream of reports and assessments of a number of major ABET projects that the World Bank has supported in four countries since 1977 (two in Africa, two in Asia), he could not claim that his paper was comprehensive because of the continuing scarcity of solid studies of the efficiency, outcomes and impact of ABET. He observes that most of the documents he came across tended to describe

only intent, inputs and processes, and to omit outcomes. He notes that while some emphasised cases of success, others tended to refrain from full and balanced appraisals. Whereas some of the evaluation reports relied on qualitative, impressionistic approaches, and found quantities unnecessary, others tended to adopt quantitative approaches, but failed to identify their limitations and to analyse the quantities fully. Some prefer to couch modest quantitative gains in terms that tend to overstate them.

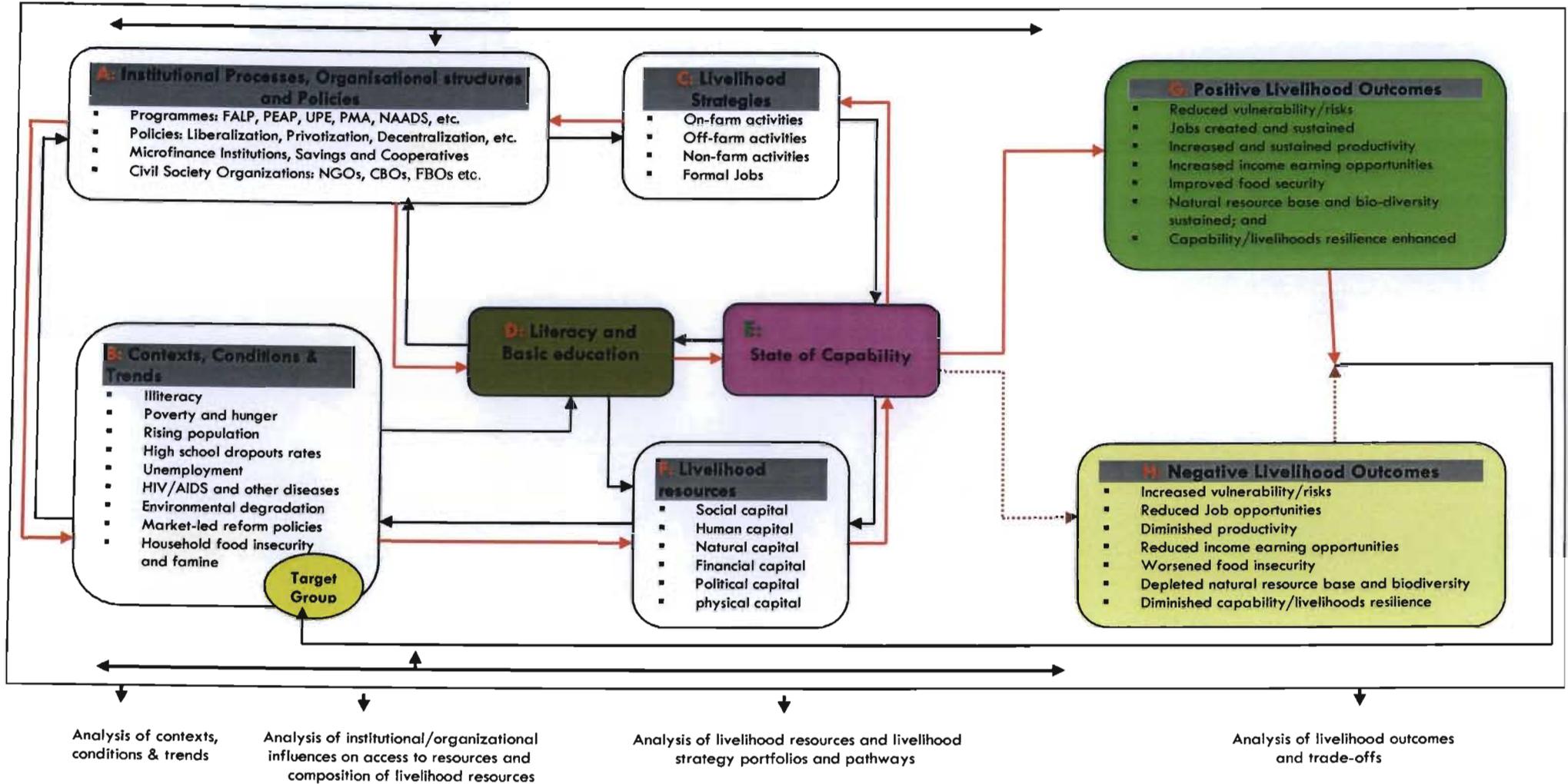
In light of the scarcity of literature on literacy and livelihoods training, I strongly believe that documenting experiences of the participating farmers in their respective groups may contribute towards addressing the gaps in the area of literacy and livelihoods programmes.

The challenge of lack of documentation reported above is a serious one, because well-documented experiences offer opportunities for learning and taking corrective measures in the course of programme implementation, as well as the design of new ones. This study therefore offers an opportunity to inform policy makers, programme implementers, trainers, the farmers themselves and CSOs about the real challenges being experienced by the target group, so as to help to chart a remedial course of action. Findings from this study would go a long way towards helping the concerned authorities to come up with solutions and design projects that could help alleviate the problem of rural poverty.

4.6 Conceptual framework

In this section, I present the conceptual and theoretical frame of reference that informs the study. The main ideas that were used for the construction of the framework are drawn from the capability approach (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000) and sustainable livelihoods framework (Scoones, 1998). A diagrammatic representation of the framework, intended to enhance an understanding of the discussions in the study, is presented in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16: A Conceptual framework



Source: adapted from Scoones (1998, p. 4)

4.6.1 Description of the conceptual framework

This study is informed by the capability approach developed by Amartya Sen. This approach, according to Maddox (2008, p. 185), has “consistently promoted literacy as an important social entitlement, a key determinant of well-being and a goal of human development.” The capability approach to poverty analysis identifies literacy as a crucial means to capability enhancement, because it recognises illiteracy as “a significant avoidable form of capability deprivation” (Maddox, 2008, p. 187). This approach to poverty analysis presents literacy as a necessary condition of well-being and human development (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Dreze & Sen, 2002). Literacy therefore occupies a central position in equipping people with necessary skills for effectively engaging in appropriate livelihood strategies and thereby contributing towards the attainment of a sustainable livelihood (see Cameron, 2005).

In the framework represented in Figure 16 above, which is adapted from Scoones (1998, p. 4), Literacy and numeracy (represented by box D), are located in the middle of the three important elements of the conceptual framework. These elements are: Institutional processes, organisational structures and policies (represented by Box A); Livelihoods resources (represented by Box F); and Livelihood strategies (represented by Box C). The main argument presented in the framework is that efficient and effective utilisation of livelihood resources through engaging in appropriate livelihood strategies, which is contingent on the state of one’s capability (represented by Box E), greatly depends on the nature and strength of the institutional processes, organisational structures, and poverty friendly policies that determine the final livelihood outcomes (represented by Boxes G and H) (Scoones, 1998; Krantz, 2001).

This framework presents the view that for the poor farmers immersed in their vulnerability contexts (represented by Box B) to get out of their current state and attain a state of capability (represented by Box E), they need to make a living by utilising a number of the livelihoods resources (represented by Box F), namely: social capital, human capital, natural capital, built or physical capital, financial or economic capital and political capital (Scoones, 1998; Bebbington, 1999; Flora et al., 2004; Cameron, 2005). In PMA, such resources may include: money/funds, access to

politicians, physical infrastructure, natural resources, human beings, knowledge and skills, and farmers' groups. Such resources are in most cases unevenly distributed and are closely linked to levels of education.

In the context of the PMA intervention, it is possible that a few educated individuals occupying powerful positions in different organisations may monopolise access to such livelihood resources. Making a living through the PMA process entails interacting with different institutions, policies, individuals and resources, which according to Bebbington (1999) are governed by the logics of state, market and civil society. This is especially true in a situation of unequal power relations. In the case of PMA, the institutional processes, organisational structures and policies (as represented by Box A) greatly influence and determine groups' and individuals' access to resources and services, including provision of literacy.

According to Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000), literacy, basic education and adequate healthcare services are important means to human capability enhancement. In PMA, the most important resources needed to provide these crucial means are controlled by institutional processes, organisational structures and policies in Box A. If there are no adequate resources to provide literacy and basic education for the PMA target group, those already trapped in a range of vulnerability contexts (represented in Box B), will continue to live in a state of capability deprivation. In such circumstances, it is very unlikely that people will have the freedom to not only select the most appropriate livelihood strategies, but efficiently and effectively manage them to raise their income, improve food security and reduce poverty levels.

In the event that there are enabling and supportive institutional processes, organisational structures and policies that promote equitable access to adult basic and literacy education, it may be possible for the rural poor to access options and resources needed to engage in viable livelihood strategies. This may then lead to a sustainable livelihood outcome (represented by Box G). However, unsupportive institutional processes, organisational structures and policies are likely to perpetuate the state of capability deprivation and limit poor people's opportunities to access the means that would enhance the capabilities necessary for the attainment of sustainable

rural livelihoods. This in turn produces negative livelihood outcomes (represented by Box H).

Understanding the process of making livelihoods is very complex, and involves different players with varied interests, as Scoones and Wolmer note:

The field-level understandings of livelihoods in practice highlight how, in reality the world of institutions and policies are intensely complex and uncertain, power-laden and political (Scoones & Wolmer, 2003, p. 10).

Issues of power and politics make the attainment of theoretical outcomes, such as the ones I name in this study, very difficult. Institutions, policies, and organisations play an important role in determining the final outcomes of livelihood strategies, because their actions to a great extent impact on the distribution of livelihood resources people need to make a living.

From the forerunning discussions, it can be said that when poor people are prepared to actively participate in poverty reduction interventions by way of expanding their capabilities through adequate literacy and basic education programmes, it enables them to attain the necessary freedom required to become more productive and, as a result, earn more income and get out of what Sen (1999) and Preece (2005a; 2005b) call income poverty. Enhanced capabilities tend to go hand in hand with increased productivity and earning power. The enhancement of the capabilities of the poor would enable them to attain sustainable livelihoods, and eventually lead to what Chambers (1997a) calls “responsible well-being” by all and for all. Chambers (1997a) argues that enhanced human capabilities tend to result in livelihood security, which in turn leads to the realisation of a state of human well-being (Chambers, 1997b) and overall sustainable development. Chambers argues that attaining the desired responsible well-being is often difficult because of the complexity associated with understanding livelihoods, which, according to Rogers, Hunter & Uddin (2007) encompass issues of health, secure housing, peace and security, and resource management.

Therefore, the process of attaining human capability needed for enhancement of participation in development programmes demands efficient and effective utilisation

of livelihood resources in order to engage in appropriate livelihood strategies. In the context of the PMA intervention, it would mean using a combination of different resources to engage in agriculture as a business to earn profits and raise income. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to accomplish the different tasks involved in managing a successful business without literacy. Since PMA is concerned with changing the mindset of rural farmers so that they engage in agriculture as a business to boost incomes and drive away rural poverty, deliberate efforts should be made to ensure that all the institutions involved in the poverty reduction intervention are directed towards tackling the multiple dimensions of poverty.

4.7 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, the conceptual and theoretical tools that were chosen to view and guide analysis of the issues that emerged in the course of the study were discussed. Some of the key concepts included: literacy, education, social capital, participation, capabilities, and sustainable rural livelihoods. All of these issues occupy a central position in the PMA intervention in Uganda.

An attempt was made to briefly analyse and discuss certain models and theories, namely: the autonomous and ideological models of literacy, the effective model of literacy, functional literacy and critical or radical literacy. All of these tend to influence development interventions. The construction of the conceptual framework that informs the study was based on the capability approach, and drew complementary ideas from the concept of sustainable rural livelihoods. This was necessitated by the fact that the main agenda of Uganda's PMA, which is the focus of this study, is rural poverty eradication.

An attempt was also made to review literature that is relevant and related to the topic of study where literacy and numeracy skills were required for active participation in agricultural and rural development interventions. The contexts appeared to be characterised by high levels of interaction with written materials and extensive usage of English, with target groups that are mainly unschooled.

The purpose of the chapter was to immerse PMA in the context of the ongoing global discussions about the link between literacy and development. This was done in order to relate them to what is happening in Uganda. Marrying the global and local contexts of the development initiative helps to put the research problem at hand in an appropriate perspective, and enhances the understanding of what modernisation of smallholder subsistence agriculture in the context of the rapidly globalising world means for the target group, the majority of whom are unschooled and lack literacy and numeracy skills.

In all the literature that was reviewed, it was argued that literacy appears to influence people's lives in all spheres. Some of the common observations made about literacy was that it could:

- Give the rural poor the spirit of assertiveness and a collective voice to articulate their needs (DFID, 2002a)
- Make both direct and indirect contributions to agricultural development through facilitating the adoption of new technologies necessary for agricultural production and productivity enhancement (Kaliisa, 2001; DFID, 2002a; 2002b)
- Form a solid foundation for further education and training that can facilitate entrepreneurship skills development (Stromquist, 1992; Holme, 2004)
- Empower participants for active participation in individual and group activities (Torres, 2006)
- Create opportunities for accessing information and acquiring knowledge, skills and positive attitudes required for seeking and utilizing health services and market opportunities that are critical for an agricultural development intervention, such as PMA (Stromquist, 1992; DFID, 2002a).

A population that cannot access information on market opportunities will never succeed in an agricultural development initiative that has a significant commercial dimension, as is the case with PMA. However, there appears to be a consensus that whereas literacy is a powerful tool in the development process, it is not sufficient on its own. Eisemon & Nyamete (1990), Oxenham et al. (2001; 2002), Preece (2005b); and Walingo (2006) all seem to suggest that efforts to help people acquire literacy and

numeracy skills for effective participation in developmental activities need to go beyond the traditional understanding of literacy that is limited to the acquisition of reading and writing skills only.

In the course of reviewing literature for this study, it was apparent that most of the studies that I came across did not address the issue of literacy and numeracy skills in relation to participation in development initiatives in general and agricultural development in particular, using experiences of adult learners directly. Most of the conclusions regarding the role of literacy in agricultural development and poverty reduction have been based on experiences from formal schooling, not non-formal adult literacy education/learning. Furthermore, a large number of the studies that have attempted to explore the relationship between literacy and agricultural productivity enhancement tended to be based on quantitative approaches to research. This is inappropriate for the current study, as it is based on an exploratory design and immersed in an interpretive paradigm.

In all the relevant literature reviewed, it was relatively hard to come across studies that approached the issue of literacy and agricultural development from a human capability perspective. One of the purposes of this study is to immerse literacy in the capability approach in order to highlight it as a critical ingredient for attainment of substantive freedoms necessary for effective participation in development interventions and the general life of a given community. Contextualising literacy as an ingredient for attainment of freedom would also promote livelihoods learning as an on-going process, which Rogers et al. (2007) argue would prepare people for the present (learning to be) rather than preparing for the future (learning to become).

Finally, the use of the capability approach in guiding analysis and discussion in this study was useful and relevant because of its emphasis on the intrinsic value of literacy, as well as on its instrumental role in enhancing wider capabilities. I argue that if capabilities indeed comprise what a person is able to do and be, then any poverty reduction intervention should strive to provide the necessary ingredients and opportunities to enable the person to attain those capabilities. Since PMA, the focus of this study, aims at improving the quality of life of the rural poor, the expansion of the capabilities of the target groups becomes a crucial aspect of the programme. The

capability approach therefore offered an opportunity to examine and understand the impact of literacy/education on the quality of life of the rural poor, and how their wider freedoms impact on their educational aspirations and achievements.

Sen (2003, cited in Maddox, 2007b, p. 4) associates the instrumental benefits of literacy with “women’s well-being, access to employment, economic development, influencing people’s legal rights and entitlements, and political participation”. All the instrumental benefits Sen mentions are critical in terms of the aspirations of the poor people whose livelihoods the government of Uganda wishes to improve through PMA. The capability approach is relevant because it considers literacy as one of the factors needed for expanding the central human capabilities necessary for attainment of freedoms and effective participation. By using the capability approach, the study therefore supports Maddox’s (2007b, p. 8) argument that “despite its rich ethnographic insights and theoretical sophistication, the New Literacy Studies provides only limited explanations of the ways illiteracy produces disadvantage, and how literacy impacts on the process of poverty reduction”. This study therefore approaches issues of poverty and literacy from a new direction.

The use of the capability approach in this study further helps to strengthen the assertion that literacy is a vital tool for self-defence in communities where social interactions include written media (Dreze & Sen, 2002). This is further strengthened by Maddox’s (2007b, p. 15) study, in which he observes that “access to resources, information and entitlements are influenced by textually mediated encounters which can disadvantage non-literate people, making them dependent on brokers and mediators”. This study produced similar results and concurred with the conclusion Maddox (2007b, p. 16) drew that “the ways that illiteracy impacts on well-being are likely to vary according to institutional cultures, people’s level of dependency on literacy based practices, their access to mediation (networks, institutional forms of mediation), and the status of minority literacies and languages.” The capability approach I used was effective in that it enabled me to gain useful insights into issues surrounding literacy, poverty and participation.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the context in which this study was conducted. In this chapter, the various methodological dimensions of the study are described and discussed. Special emphasis is laid on:

- The study population, area, sample and sampling strategy
- The research paradigm, design and methods
- The research instruments and their validity and reliability
- The ethical considerations in the study
- The research process
- How data was analysed
- The limitations of the study.

The choice of the research approach, sample size, methods of data collection and research instruments employed in the study were greatly influenced by the research context already described. The following section focuses on the description of the study area, population and sampling, and explanation of the reasons for each of the choices.

5.2 Study population, area and sample

5.2.1 Study population

A study population refers to the total number of all the cases from which the sample is selected (Hart, 2006). According to Nichols (1991), the target population of a study is the full group of people or units the researcher is interested in. In other words, a study population refers to the total sum of individuals or cases from which the researcher draws a representative fraction to base his or her research on.

The population for this particular study consisted of the following individuals and groups who, in different ways, interact with the PMA process in Manibe Sub-County:

- Participating subsistence farmers who are members of the farmers' groups in the sub-county

- Non participating subsistence farmers in the sub-county
- Individual farmers' trainers involved in training farmers in the sub-county
- Employees of NGOs involved in training farmers in the sub-county
- Government officials involved in the implementation of PMA in the sub-county

The decision to focus on the study population specified above was based on the fact that they all directly or indirectly interact among themselves and with other policies, structures, institutions and processes in Manibe Sub County Local Government (SCLG). All the SCLGs in Uganda in which there is a PMA component play an important role in PMA implementation in terms of decision-making and controlling PMA resources. In the course of such interactions over the years, the research participants were therefore expected to have accumulated some valuable experiences that they could describe for the researcher to document, in order to facilitate the realisation of the set objectives of the study

5.2.2 Study area

The study area is the specific geographical location the researcher focuses on in the course of collecting data for his or her study. In this study, Manibe Sub-County was chosen as the area for this study. The sub-county is located within Ayivu County, Arua District in the Northwestern region of Uganda (see Map of Uganda, Figure 4 presented in Chapter Two). Manibe Sub-County was particularly chosen among many other sub-counties for conducting this study for the following reasons:

- It is a typical rural sub-county situated in a district whose population experiences high level of poverty. Arua District Local Government (2006) reports that 68% of the population in the district is poor. According to Nakalema (n.d.), Wendo (2005) and UBOS & ILRI (2005), poverty in districts like Arua and Moyo has dramatically increased, and more than 75% of the people in northern Uganda are living in absolute poverty. It was therefore important to select a poor area like Manibe Sub-County because the focus of the intervention under study is on rural poverty reduction.

- Like many other rural districts in Uganda, the livelihoods of more than 76% of the population in Arua District in general, and Manibe Sub-County in particular, depend on subsistence agriculture (Okech et al., 1999; Arua District Local Government, 2006). In light of the fact that PMA is concerned with improvement in agricultural production and productivity, Manibe Sub-County offered a convenient site for documenting the experiences of predominantly unschooled subsistence farmers of an intervention whose activities seem to demand the application of literacy and numeracy skills for active and meaningful participation.
- Manibe was selected as one of the pilot sub-counties in 2001 to implement PMA for the first time in the district. The other sub-counties that started implementing PMA activities in Arua in 2001 are indicated in Appendix 22. I therefore considered that the subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub-County had accumulated a wealth of experience that this study could document.
- I come from Aroi Sub-County, which had been part of Manibe Sub-County until 2003 when it was split into two. From a logistical point of view, Manibe was easier for me to access than the others. Furthermore, I know Lugbara, the local language in Manibe Sub-County, the people in administrative positions in the sub-county, and the geography of the area very well. This meant that I would not have problems with negotiating access. Besides the relative ease of access negotiation, my knowledge of Lugbara was an asset in the study because it helped me to understand the details and subtleties of what the participants were saying during the interviews and group discussions. This further helped to cut down costs that I would have incurred in translation if I could not speak the local language in the research area.

However, this last point has its own challenges, since I found myself in the position of a researcher investigating what Chilisa & Preece (2005) describe as a social world of which I was a part. I therefore had to avoid taking certain things for granted, which called for reflexivity on my part. In such circumstances, Hall (1996, p. 29, cited in Cohen et al. 2007, p. 310) suggests that “researcher’s views should not hold precedence over the participants’ views.” Cohen et al. (2007) stress that what is

required in this circumstance is self-conscious awareness of the effects that the interactions between the participants and the researcher are having on the research process, and how their values, attitudes, perceptions, opinions, actions, and feelings are feeding into the situation being studied.

According to Chilisa & Preece (2005), reflexivity plays an important role in qualitative research. They argue that reflexivity helps the researcher to check on emotional tones such as laughter, sadness, anger, relationship with interviewees (their perceptions about the researcher), difficult or embarrassing moments in the course of interviewing, and surprises in the interviews. They add that keeping track of all these issues helps the researcher to avoid letting his personal opinions overshadow the views of the interviewees in the study.

5.2.3 Study sample and sampling strategy

A study sample refers to a small portion or segment of a population with similar characteristics selected for a study as a representative of the larger population (Cohen et al., 2007). Sampling is therefore the process by which a portion of the desired population is selected for a study (Hart, 2006). This study was based on a relatively small sample of 54 participants, which for quantitative researchers would not be representative enough. However, small exploratory studies are not about representativeness and generalisation of the findings, but generation of detailed information or what Chilisa & Preece (2005) term “dense description”, in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of the phenomena under study (Arber, 1998). Amin (2004) supports the use of small samples and argues that a small sample helps the researcher to reduce the cost and time needed to gather data for an investigation and allows for more thorough investigation, which is not possible with large samples.

Different studies adopt different sampling techniques. Most often, the sampling strategy a researcher adopts is influenced by the type of study. For this exploratory study, a purposive sampling strategy was adopted. Purposive sampling means that the individuals who participate in a given study are selected for specific reasons unlike in random sampling where every individual or case has an equal chance of being selected to take part in the study (Bell, 1999; 2005).

In selecting the study participants, a number of factors were taken into consideration and these included the need to accommodate males and females, schooled and unschooled people, participating and non-participating subsistence farmers, participating farmers who were doing relatively well and those who seemed to be struggling, and possession of specialised knowledge and information about PMA. There was also the need to ensure that views of participants from most of the parishes in the sub-county, indicated in Table 9 below, were obtained.

When identifying farmers' groups, the factors considered when selecting members for group interviews included: accessibility of their group to the researcher, availability and willingness of the members to take part in the study when requested, and years of experience of the group in undertaking PMA activities in the sub-county.

The purposive selection of the participants in this study was undertaken after an extensive review of the available documents about farmers' groups and their activities, as well as a series of informal interactions with the subsistence farmers in the sub-county. To complement my personal decisions on who should and should not be selected to take part in the study, I worked with the help of the following three people, all of whom played important roles in the affairs of Manibe SCLG, as well as the implementation of PMA.

- **A Local Council (LC) I official:** He was a High School leaver serving as a Secretary for Defence in one of the villages in Manibe Sub-County. I used him to assist me in the process of selecting subsistence farmers who were to participate in the study. He helped to guide me during the field work period because he had a lot of experience with different households in the sub-county. He knew the locations of most of the farmers. He helped me to make appointments with farmers and also took complementary notes for me while interviews were in progress. Although the small size of my sample did not necessarily require the presence of an assistant, selecting 44 subsistence farmers in eight parishes required the help of someone who interacts with and knows them intimately. His role therefore became crucial in enabling me to select the right subsistence farmers who had the right information needed for the study.

- **NAADS Coordinator:** The Sub-County NAADS Coordinator, who interacts with all the members of farmers' groups on a daily basis on issues of PMA, was in a very good position to know the subsistence farmers in the sub-county in all respects. She was therefore consulted on who should be selected, who should not, and why. Besides having assisted me in selecting farmers' groups, she also participated in the study by giving responses through a questionnaire that was administered to the implementers.
- **Sub-County Farmers' Forum (SCFF) Chairperson:** He was a farmer himself and well versed in all the activities of the different farmers' groups, their locations in the sub-county and the contact persons for each group. His frequent interaction with the farmers was an asset in selecting the active groups and individuals.

Arber (1998) defends the use of purposive sampling in this kind of study by arguing that it is one of the most convenient for undertaking exploratory studies which are mostly concerned with generation of wider and more detailed information that can be used for enhancing the understanding of a given social process, such as PMA. Amin (2004) supports the use of purposive sampling and argues that the strategy helps the researcher to select respondents who give the wanted and relevant information.

The study consisted of a purposive sample of 40 participating farmers from 50 farmers' groups, four non-participating farmers, six implementers and four trainers. The details of the sample in terms of category and gender are presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Summary of participants by category and gender

Category	Gender		Total
	Males	Females	
Participating farmers interviewed individually	8	8	16
Participating farmers interviewed in groups	8	16	24
Non-participating farmers interviewed individually	2	2	4
Trainers	3	1	4
PMA implementers	4	2	6
Total	25	29	54

The units of analysis in this study, which according to Mouton (2001, p. 50), are “individuals or objects that provide the investigator with the required data for a given study” consisted of the subsistence farmers, farmers’ trainers and government officials. In other words, units of analysis are persons or objects from whom the social researcher collects data (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000; Singleton & Straits, 1999). Mouton states that (2001, p. 50), a unit of analysis is “the what” of a study, that is, what “object, phenomenon, entity, process, or event” the researcher is interested in investigating.

The above participants were specifically chosen because of the following reasons:

- Rural subsistence farmers are the core target group of the PMA intervention and are better placed to describe their experiences regarding the intervention, than any other sector of the population. In selecting farmers, deliberate efforts were made to choose representatives from each of the parishes in Manibe Sub-County.
- The implementers were those who I expected to have gained a great deal of experience regarding the theoretical and practical issues of PMA. They interact with the farmers on a regular basis, and were considered to be informed about the challenges farmers face in the course of PMA implementation.
- The trainers, who were, as a matter of policy, charged with the responsibility of providing agricultural advisory services and undertaking formation of farmers’ groups, sensitisation, information dissemination, and agricultural education and training, were more appropriate persons to explain the challenges facing participating farmers than any other. I also expected that the trainers would share their practical experiences regarding the implications of the principles and theories driving PMA implementation.

In summary, the participants were considered for the study because of their knowledge and experience of PMA, which other people did not have. The details of farmers’ groups, as well as the total number of all the PMA participating farmers

registered with the Manibe SCLG from 2000 – 2006 is shown in Appendix 18. In all, the study was based on a relatively small sample of participants described above. The details of the particulars of the individual and group interviewees as well as brief information about the four farmers’ groups whose members participated in the group interviews are presented under the socio-economic characteristics of the study participants in Chapter Six. Table 9 below gives a summary of the information that illustrates the various dimensions of the study area, population and sample.

Table 9: Dimensions of the study area and sample

Levels/Divisions	Broad and Specific Area Focus
Country	Uganda
Region	North western
District	Arua
County	Ayivu
Sub-County	Manibe
Parish(es)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Eleku ○ Ewadri ○ Lufe ○ Odravu ○ Ombaci ○ Ombokoro ○ Oreku ○ Rubu

5.3 Research paradigm, design and methods

5.3.1 Research paradigm

The term paradigm has several definitions. It can be defined as “a set of assumptions about how the issue of concern to the researcher should be studied” (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006, p. 10). It can also be conceptualised as “a cluster of beliefs and dictates which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done, (and) how results should be interpreted, and so on” (Bryman, 1988, p. 4). A research paradigm can therefore be described as all the encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their inquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology, where ontology refers to the nature of reality that can be studied and what can be known about it, epistemology refers to the nature of relationship between the researcher (the knower) and what can be known, and methodology refers to how

the researcher may go about practically studying whatever he to she believes can be known (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

There are three broad research paradigms, namely positivist, interpretive and social constructivist or critical paradigms, described in detail in Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999), within which a researcher can locate his or her study. Each of the paradigms has implications for one's study. For example, a positivist paradigm would lead one to engage in quantitative studies in which objectivity is emphasised, an interpretive paradigm would lead to a qualitative study in which subjectivity or confirmability is emphasised, and a social constructivist or critical paradigm would lead to studies driven by criticality and action-orientedness. Since a research paradigm guides the researcher in deciding what should be studied and how, it has a great influence on the researcher's decisions regarding the study design in terms of research questions, sample size, and data collection and analysis methods to be employed (Kelly, 1999).

In view of the nature of PMA, I decided to employ an interpretive research paradigm. An interpretive paradigm is useful in the study of social reality that consists of subjective experiences of the external world, for which an interactional epistemological stance towards the reality and the use of methodologies that rely on subjective relationships between the researcher and the participants is ideal (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). This was important to me because the issues of interest in the study are fluid, dynamic and context specific. Hence, an interpretive research paradigm was used because it is flexible and permits free interactions with the research participants in the course of capturing the lived experiences of those involved in the phenomenon being studied.

5.3.2 Research design

A research design can be described as the structure that holds together one's research and enables one to address one's research questions in ways that are appropriate, efficient and effective (Hart, 2006, p.313). Durrheim (1999) observes that a qualitative research design is open, fluid, changeable, and not defined in purely technical terms.

The significance attached to a qualitative design arises out of the fact that research is an iterative process that requires a flexible and non-sequential approach (Durrheim, 1999; Henning, Rensburg & Smit, 2004). According to Mouton (2001, p. 55), a research design seeks to answer two critical questions: (i) “what kind of study will you be doing?” and (ii) what type of study will best answer the question that you have formulated?” It is not a methodology, but a framework of action that lays down how one intends to conduct the research, and focuses on what kind of evidence is required to address the research questions adequately (Mouton, 2001, p. 56). Research design serves as “a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research project” (Durrheim, 1999, p. 29). It maximises the “eventual validity (credibility) of the research findings” (Mouton & Marais, 1990)

In light of this, I employed a qualitative research design to guide the processes of data collection and analysis, with a view to realising the set objectives of my study within the available resources at my disposal. This view of research design is in agreement with the meaning Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch & Cook (1965 in Durrheim, 1999) provide, in which they conceptualise it as plans that guide “the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure” (Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch & Cook 1965, p. 50, cited in Durrheim, 1999, p. 29).

In general terms, I chose a qualitative research design because qualitative studies like mine are best conducted within designs that are “more open, fluid and changeable, and are not defined purely based on technical terms” (Durrheim, 1999, p. 31). Kevin Kelly argues that qualitative studies emphasise “a turn towards ‘contextual research’ which is less immediately concerned with discovering universal law-like patterns of human behaviour that applies to all people in all contexts and is more concerned with making sense of human experiences from within the context and perspective of human experience” (Kelly, 1999, p. 398). He adds that qualitative approaches to research have a promising response to the need for contextual social science that speaks from the perspective of those being researched and constitute an effective antidote against hegemonic discourses which have tended to swallow up voices of the excluded and the marginalised in the quest for universal explanations (Kelly, 1999, p. 402).

Kelly argues that (1999) in a qualitative approach, it is difficult to apprehend human experience without understanding the social, linguistic and historical features which give it shape, and that human experiences can best be understood from within their context in an empathic manner (Kelly, 1999). Unlike quantitative researchers who consider qualitative studies inferior, Bingman (2000) argues for the importance of qualitative studies to understand meaning in people's lives, as they are more sensitive than quantitative studies.

In specific terms, I chose a qualitative design or approach for the exploration of the PMA process for the following reasons:

- The PMA processes have not been extensively studied, especially from a literacy perspective. The programme is claimed to be a new intervention with no similar initiative elsewhere to learn from, and it is expected to chart its own course and develop its own experience (Obaa et al., 2005; Odwongo, 2001). Therefore, this kind of phenomenon could best be studied using qualitative methods that are flexible and interactive, such as interviews.
- My study aimed to generate data by asking “how”, and “what” research questions, which are not suitable for quantitative methods normally based on a rigid and ‘blueprint’ type of research design. PMA is a social process and therefore requires methods that can permit free interactions between the researcher and the researched.
- PMA is being implemented in a broad multi-sectoral framework involving multiple polices, resources, and stakeholders who have varied interests and expectation. This means the environment in which the programme operates and the dynamics involved in the interactions between the institutions, individuals and groups are complex. Understanding what actually happens in such an environment called for the adoption of an exploratory approach immersed in the broader qualitative research tradition. Blaikie (2000) and Singleton and Straits (1999) hold similar views and maintain that social phenomena that are complex and have not been widely studied can best be analysed and understood when approached from an exploratory perspective.

Smith & Osborn (2003, p. 53) point out that interpretive analysis, where the use of interactive methods of data collection are essential, is especially useful “when one is concerned with complexity, process and novelty”. This is precisely what this study is concerned with.

- An exploratory research design immersed in an interpretive research paradigm was adopted for this study because of the flexibility qualitative and interpretive approaches offer to the researcher when in the field. This suits the study of social realities that are dynamic, fluid and can change anytime, depending on the prevailing circumstances in the field (Holliday, 2002; Durrheim, 1999). Creswell (1998, p. 15) further emphasises the importance of using qualitative research design when he says: “the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting”.
- PMA is a typical example of a social reality in which changes occur all the time. Studying such a dynamic process would not be convenient if subjected to a rigid technical design requiring quantitative methods and techniques, which according to Durrheim (1999, p. 32) are “restrictive and unsuited to much explorative and inductive research which does not begin with general theories to be tested”. Since my study essentially aimed to produce a rich and detailed description of the PMA process, it was more convenient to use qualitative methods than quantitative ones.

5.4 Research methods and instruments

There are a number of methods and tools at the disposal of a researcher to collect and analyse the data needed to achieve the intended goals of a given study. It must be noted here that there is a tendency to use the terms “method” and “methodology” interchangeably, when they do not have the same meaning. According to Meeto & Temple (2003), “methodology” refers to an approach used to conduct research, such as an ethnomethodological or narrative approach, and “method” refers to the specific techniques and procedures used to carry out a given study, which may include a survey, in-depth interviews, and group discussions. Durrheim & Terre Blanche (1999,

p.480) also refer to methodology as “the study of procedures used in research to create new knowledge.” Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 3) define a method as “the way in which data is collected”, and methodology as “the research design which encompasses both world view and method.”

I used the term “method” in this study to refer to the specific procedures and techniques I employed to collect and analyse the data for drawing conclusions and making recommendations.

Although unforeseen circumstances forced me to use semi-structured questionnaires to obtain data from trainers and implementers, I mainly employed qualitative methods to collect and analyse data in the course of the study. Quantitative techniques of data collection and analysis were therefore used to complement qualitative methods. Whereas the decision for the choice of qualitative methods was based on the research paradigm and design adopted, the incorporation of quantitative methods was for pragmatic reasons made in the field.

It is important to note that using a single method to collect data may not produce all the intended results. For this reason, I adopted an eclectic approach to data collection, in which I drew from a variety of methods within the interpretive research tradition. Kelly (1999) terms this methodological triangulation, which he argues is advantageous in that it helps in crosschecking sources of data and methods in order to offset the potential weaknesses associated with the various methods and data sources. As Bell (2005, p. 115) explains, “no approach depends solely on one method any more than it would exclude a method merely because it is labelled ‘quantitative’, ‘qualitative’, ‘case study’, ‘action research’, or whatever.”

Meeto & Temple (2003) support the above view and argue that social reality cannot be unproblematically described from one correct perspective, hence the need to approach it from different angles. Taylor-Powell & Steele (1996) maintain that using a multi-method approach to data collection is helpful because it is linked to the idea of triangulation, which is based on the premise that each method has its own biases and deficiencies.

The study was therefore based on multiple methods so as to offset the disadvantages of favouring one method over the other. In the following section, each method that was employed to collect data for the study is discussed in relation to how it was applied in the field, as well as the advantages and disadvantages associated with it.

5.4.1 Data collection

Data for this study was collected using multiple methods and their related instruments as summarised in Appendix 7. Initially, my intention was to collect data using in-depth interviews as the main method⁶. These would be divided into individual and group interviews. The interview method was to be complemented by analysis of PMA and related documents, observation of meetings of farmers' groups, training sessions as well as FALP classes, and photographs taken in the field.

However, due to the prevailing conditions in the field, a number of decisions that were proposed in relation to the above method and research instrument for data collection had to be modified. These included the following:

- I had intended to focus on how the activities of PMA are linked to FALP classes in Manibe Sub-County and vice versa as part of my observation. However, this could not take place in the field because at the time of piloting the research instruments, I was not able to locate a single adult literacy class. Although the research participants were asked questions relating to adult literacy programmes, the observation of FALP classes had to be changed during the field work period.
- The initial idea underlying this study was to focus on two pillars of PMA: agricultural advisory services and agricultural education. The study was intended to be based on a sample of 30 participants: 20 participating farmers as individual interviewees, and ten implementers. However, circumstances in the field made the implementation of certain aspects of the initial proposals difficult. During the piloting of the research instruments (see Appendices 1 –

⁶ The interview guide for PMA officials, farmers' trainers and a few literate subsistence farmers were left in English because the individuals chosen in this category were able to speak English fluently. There was therefore no need to translate the instrument from English into Lugbara. However, for the majority of participating and non-participating subsistence farmers who could not speak and understand English, the interview guide had to be translated from English to Lugbara.

6), I was advised to modify the questions concerning agricultural education because much of what had been done with regard to that PMA pillar was in the formal primary education sector, and not in the informal sector. I therefore had to modify questions that had specifically targeted issues to do with agricultural education under PMA.

- My interactions with the participants in the pilot study suggested that it was not a good idea to leave out the collective views of members of farmers' groups since all the participating farmers were operating as groups. It became crucial to organise groups to take part in group interviews so that their collective views could be captured. This necessitated bringing on board four groups consisting of a total of 24 subsistence farmers.
- Since I anticipated doing a qualitative study at the proposal stage, I never envisaged administering questionnaires to any of the research participants. However, while in the field, farmers' trainers and government officials associated with the implementation of PMA did not want to do face-to-face interviews. They agreed instead to fill in anonymous open-ended questionnaires and for pragmatic reasons it became necessary to modify the interview guide into an open-ended questionnaire so as to get the views of the farmers trainers and officials involved in the implementation of PMA.

After taking into account the methodological adjustments explained above, five methods of data collection were employed in the study, with in-depth interviews being the main method. Each of the methods used in the course of the study is discussed in the following sub-sections.

5.4.1.1 In-depth interviews

The use of interviews as a data collection method has become an important aspect of social research. As Kvale (1996, p. 11, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 349) observes, its use marks a departure from seeing human subjects as simply manipulable and data as somehow external to individuals, to regarding knowledge as generated between humans, often through conversations. An interview represents an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of a mutual interest which shows the centrality

of human interaction in knowledge production and emphasises the social situatedness of research data (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this study, I use the term “interview” to refer to face-to-face conversations I engaged in with a respondent (in the case of an individual interview) or a group of respondents (in the case of group interviews) with the sole aim of generating detailed information concerning the PMA process.

Generally, interviews are said to be important in research because they are very flexible and suitable for people who lack literacy skills. Interviews allow researchers the opportunity to probe and exhaust the interviewee’s knowledge on a specific subject matter. Cohen et al. (2007) maintain that: “the interview (method) is a flexible tool for data collection, enabling multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard. The order of interviewing may be controlled while giving space for spontaneity, and the interviewer can press not only for complete answers but also for responses about complex and deep issues” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 349).

With regard to the complex issues Cohen et al. present above, Patton elaborates as follows:

We interview to find out those things we cannot observe...we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe behaviour that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people can organise the world. We have to ask people questions about these things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us enter other people’s perspectives (Patton, 1990, p. 196, cited in Kirunda, 2005, p. 135 – 136)

According to Smith & Osborn (2003, pp. 53 – 57), interviews allow the researcher and participants to engage in a dialogue whereby questions are modified in light of participant’s responses and the investigator is able to probe interesting and important areas which arise.

However, in-depth interviews have their pitfalls. For example, Cohen et al. (2007) observe that interviews are time consuming, expensive, open to interviewer biases,

and may be inconvenient for respondents. They add that interviewee fatigue may hamper the interview, and that it may be very difficult to attain anonymity. They are also unsuitable for large samples, and require a considerable degree of skill on the part of the researcher in terms of construction. Cohen et al. (2007) also point out that the responses generated through interviews may be unstructured and therefore present challenges in data analysis.

In this study, two types of interviews were employed: individual and group interviews. The interviews conducted lasted from 60 – 90 minutes on average. Each type of interview used in this study is discussed in the following sub-sections.

- ***Individual interviews***

I conducted one-on-one interviews with 20 participating farmers (see Appendix 1 for the interview guide). The background information on the individual interviewees and a summary of their particulars are given in the Findings chapter and Appendix 16 respectively. They took place at the interviewee's home or field/farm where he/she was working, as per their suggestion.

Before each of the interviews, I introduced myself and the local council official mentioned in Section 5.2.3. I clearly explained the purpose of the study and went through the content of the consent form before asking them to sign or put their thumb print on it.

The interviews were conducted in Lugbara, the local language of the people in the research area. I ensured that the interview environment was as informal as possible so that the interviewees could feel free to speak their minds. With full permission of the interviewees, all the interviews were audio taped and transcribed later and synchronised with the field notes. The ethical issues highlighted in this chapter under 5.4.3 were strictly observed.

Many scholars have defended the use of individual face-to-face interviews as a method of data collection in social research. The advantages are numerous. For instance, Leedy and Ormrod (2001), maintain that face-to-face interviews help the researcher to establish a rapport with potential participants and therefore gain their

cooperation. Interviews are flexible and therefore allow the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and, when appropriate, seek follow-up information. According to Gerson and Horowitz (2002), interviews allow room for the unexpected and uncover the unknown. Cohen et al. (2007) add that interviews which are guided by an outline (interview guide) increase the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent.

The key disadvantages of individual interviews relate to their impracticability in dealing with huge samples, and the time required for doing them. According to Cohen et al. (2007), interviewer flexibility, though an advantage on the one hand, may turn to be a disadvantage on the other. For instance, the flexibility in sequencing and wording questions can result in substantially different responses, thus reducing the comparability of responses.

In this particular study, I employed individual in-depth interviews because the focus was on the exploration of a complex and dynamic social process. in which “what” and “how” questions requiring an interactive type of data collection method were used (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000; Gerson and Horowitz, 2002; Lincoln and Denzin, 1998; Schwandt, 1997; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Interviews were found to be appropriate for this study because an overwhelming proportion of the category of research participants lacked literacy skills, and the best way to get information from them was through freely interactive talking.

Individual interviews also helped me to achieve a rich and holistic understanding of the PMA situation in which the rural subsistence farmers have found themselves (Dawson, 2002; Mason, 2002; Wisker, 2001). This helped to produce what Chilisa & Preece (2005) term a “dense description” which is necessary for readers to understand the context of the study. This, of course, is very important for purposes of transferability. Because of its flexibility, the interview method gave the participants an opportunity to say all that they wanted to say about their experiences with PMA (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

- ***Group interviews***

Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 151) define a group interview as a “discussion-based interview in which multiple research participants simultaneously provide data on a specific issue.” It is a qualitative method of data collection whereby respondents are placed in groups in a free environment, and are encouraged to interact about the research topic, which is presented by the researcher in the form of flexible open-ended questions similar to focus group discussions (FGDs). FGDs are carefully planned discussions, based on groups of six – ten members, aimed at obtaining perceptions of group members on a defined area of interest in a free and non-threatening atmosphere (Morgan, 1998). Pratt & Loizos (1992, p. 55) stress the point that the purpose of group interviews is to “encourage collective response and to identify differences of opinion as well as areas of consensus within the group”.

Group discussions are helpful in research because they take advantage of group dynamics to produce new, additional and unique data, as lines of communication develop between the participants and the researcher or the moderator as well as within the group (Morgan, 1998). This is very important because there are some issues individuals are reluctant to discuss when they are alone. Such issues can more easily emerge when people come together in a group. Morgan (1998) argues further that focus group discussions produce rich and in-depth information that would have taken an ethnographer a very long time to collect, thus giving the researcher an opportunity to listen to and observe how respondents interact with each other over research issues within a limited timespan.

Watts & Ebbutt (1987, in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 373), argue that group interviews are useful where a group of people have been working together for some time or common purpose, or where it is seen as important that everyone concerned is aware of what others are doing. This was a suitable method for this study because the target group for PMA work in groups, and therefore had a lot in common to share through this study.

Bogdan & Biklen (1992, p. 100, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 373) add that: “group interviews might be useful for gaining an insight into what might be pursued in

subsequent individual interviews”. In this way, group interviews generate ideas that can be interrogated further through individual interviews.

However, group interviews have certain shortcomings as well. According to Hart (2006, p. 358), the multiple responses gathered through group interviews are usually unstructured and therefore can create difficulties in recording and transcribing them. Other disadvantages associated with group discussions include the researcher having limited control over the group, the difficulties involved in forming the groups, the fact that little attention is often paid to personal matters, and the difficulty of organising and analysing the responses gathered. Cohen et al. (2007) point out that if not well controlled, group discussions may produce “group think”, and this discourages individuals who hold different views from speaking out in front of the other group members.

The group interview meetings held with a total of 24 subsistence farmers from four farmers’ groups were conducted at the venues chosen by members based on convenience in terms of the distance each member had to travel from their respective homes. Most of the meetings were held in participants’ homes chosen participatorily by the group members.

The content of the group interviews focused on general/personal information about the members of the group, socio-economic background of the members, experience in and knowledge about PMA, information about farmers’ groups, reasons for participation and non-participation, information on FALP, PMA and other literacy-related issues, records management, enterprise selection, coping strategies of “illiterate farmers”, and training and technology demonstrations.

The group interview guide, which covered the above issues, was used flexibly to guide discussions and not as a rigid instrument in which the order and sequence of the items were to be followed strictly. Probing questions were raised to clarify issues that were not clearly stated and group participants were also encouraged to ask questions about issues they did not understand. The guide therefore provided an interactive atmosphere between the interviewer and the group participants.

All the group interviews were audio taped and transcribed after the end of the field work. The interviews aimed at capturing rich descriptions of phenomena and their settings. Again, the ethical issues highlighted in this chapter were strictly observed. Every effort was made to ensure that discussions did not drag unnecessarily. Special attention was paid to size and composition of the group, the psychological state of the group, and socio-economic and cultural factors, which according to Maundu (1995) have a strong bearing on the quality and quantity of information provided. In the group interviews, I attempted to ensure that no individuals dominated the discussions, which helped to minimise the effect of “group think”. Those knowledgeable elderly, young or shy members of the groups were also encouraged to participate fully.

A summary of the background information about the farmers’ groups is provided in the Findings chapter and Appendix 17 respectively. Six members (with both males and females represented) from each of the four groups took part in the group interviews. In most cases, the female participants outnumbered their male counterparts. The details of the participants who took part in the group discussions, and the list of parishes in Manibe Sub-County were presented earlier in Table 8 and 9 respectively.

As described earlier in 5.2.3, members who took part in group interviews were purposively selected for the group interviews based on: accessibility of their group to the researcher, availability and willingness of the members to take part in the study when requested, and years of experience of the member’s group in undertaking PMA activities in the sub-county. This was done after an extensive review of the available documents about farmers’ groups and their activities on the one hand, and interactions with the subsistence farmers in the study area on the other. My personal decisions on who should and should not be selected to take part in the group interviews were supplemented by consultations with LC I officials in the Parishes, the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator and the chairperson for the Sub-County Farmers’ Forum (SCFF).

The group interviews were crucial to this study because farmers’ groups are considered to be the cardinal elements for farmers’ empowerment in the implementation of PMA (NAADS, n.d). Group interviews not only helped to cross

check information obtained from other sources, but they also encouraged group members to discuss matters and come up with common positions on issues of interest, especially the challenges they face trying to meet their expectations in the PMA intervention in relation to their literacy skills. It also helped me to make effective use of time, since I was able to use approximately 90 minutes per group.

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5.4.1.2 Documentary analysis

In this study, I used documentary analysis as one of the methods. The instrument that guided the analysis is shown in Appendix 4. Hart (2006) observes that documents come in many formats and include official documents (such as reports, minutes, statistics), personal documents (such as diaries and letters), literary documents (such as poems and novels) and many forms of ephemera (such as e-mails and electronic discussions). The use of documentary evidence in research is a common practice (Bell, 2005). According to Bell (2005), a document is a general term used for an impression left on a physical object by a human being, and these may include: photographs, films, videos, slides, and other non-written sources. Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 159) extend the list of documents to include: “minutes of meetings, dairies, letters, official documents and reports”.

The use of documentary analysis is very important, because data from documents offer insights and an understanding of the officials of the agency or the kind of institution under study (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 183). According to Bell

(2005) documents may be used as the main source of data or as a complementary source to the main source of data. Besides using them for their own merit, I also used the documents in this study to corroborate the views from PMA officials.

The main advantage of the use of documentary analysis according to Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999, p. 154) is that it is in some ways easier than doing interviews or participant observation. Their reason for this assertion is that one does not have to “think on one’s feet” as in an interview, nor engage in the tedious process of transcribing everything. They add, however, that documentary materials are not always easy to come by, and that some research projects, particularly those concerned with historical issues, require painstaking and time consuming archival searches. Fortunately, this was not the case with this study.

Since PMA has generated many documents, I used documentary analysis to triangulate my data sources. Minutes of farmers’ group meetings and the Sub-County Farmers’ Forum meetings, progress reports, activity records in the sub-county offices, and communiqués to farmers’ groups were analysed alongside data from other sources. A comprehensive list of some of the key documents I examined in this study discussed earlier in Chapter One, is presented in Appendix 15.

Although I experienced some difficulties in accessing some of the documents from PMA head office, on account of their library being closed because there was no librarian, it was relatively easy to access them in the district and the sub-county offices. In addition, a number of the documents were also available online. The documents greatly assisted me in developing a thoughtful understanding of those activities within PMA that place literacy demands on the unschooled rural subsistence farmers, thereby impeding their active participation in the intervention. Furthermore, the programme documents helped me to access to certain information that my interviewees did not necessarily know or have access to.

5.4.1.3 Observation

Observation, which was one of the methods used in this study, is an important procedure of data collection. The observation checklist or guide used to aid data

collection in this study is presented in Appendix 3. According to Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 155), researchers conduct observations to enable them to undertake an elaborate discussion of a specific issue, corroborate findings, and triangulate or complement data gathered through focus group discussions and individual interviews.

According to Russell (1995), there are two strategies for observing behaviour: obvious and reactive, and unobtrusive and non-reactive. He explains that in reactive observation, people know that they are being observed or watched and may decide to play to their audience. The obvious danger in this type of observation is that the researcher records exactly what people want him/her to see, and not the behaviour that goes on when he/she is not there. It therefore does not observe a natural state of affairs. However, this mostly tends to happen in situations when participants are hiding something. Bell (2005, p. 184) points out that “observation can be useful in discovering whether people do what they say they do, or behave the way they claim to behave”.

In this study, I made people aware of my mission, explained to them the purpose of my study and assured them of the utmost confidentiality with which data collected from them would be treated. I did this by explaining to the participants what was contained in the consent form that was translated into the local language. I therefore conducted what Bell (2005) calls a reactive observation. I directly observed the various processes and activities to find out the level of literacy skills required to accomplish the PMA tasks. Some of the evidence was also vividly captured in the form of field photographs. Unlike the farmers’ trainers and government officials who did not want to do face-to-face interviews for fear that they might be identified, the rural subsistence farmers never showed any signs of trying to hide anything.

In the course of data collection, I used a checklist (Appendix 3) to observe a two day farmer training and technology demonstration sessions, a one day Manibe SCFF semi-annual review meeting, one half-day Farmer Forum Procurement and Executive Committee meeting, and a range of farmers’ group meetings at parish levels.

The focus of the observations was on attendance in the meetings, time keeping, participation by males and females members, tasks involved in these meetings,

language used for conducting the meetings and writing as well as reading minutes, the kind of materials used and the language in which they were prepared, the level of interactions with written materials in the training and meetings, and methods of teaching or facilitation commonly used. The observations were helpful in establishing the different literacy demands or practices of various aspects of the PMA process.

It is important to mention here that data collected with the aid of the observation schedule during the fieldwork period were supplemented by what I observed and captured photographically as explained below, during the informal visits and I made to the people in the research area, where I held informal talks and conversations. Such data helped to clarify certain issues in the actual fieldwork.

5.4.1.4 Photographic method

Photographs are an important way of capturing information in research. According to Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999, p.1), photographs in social science research are important because they help to capture events objectively. In other words, photographs have the advantage of capturing information or phenomenon in their real states as they occur (Garner & Uren, 1973). They can therefore be used to prove or disprove certain claims regarding a particular phenomenon under investigation, which is helpful in ironing out discrepancies found between different data sources.

In this study, I used photography as a complementary method to capture events in which the use of written materials and the requirements of reading, writing and calculation skills were evident, in order to demonstrate the difficulties certain people face as a result of their lack of literacy. The photographs were also helpful in exposing the differences in traditional and modern farming practices, as presented in Figures 20 and 21 in the Findings chapter.

As explained in Harper (1994), I used most of the field photographs to augment what participants revealed through interviews and questionnaires. The photographs were captured with the aid of a digital camera, equipment that was at my disposal throughout the data collection period.

It is worth mentioning here that for every photograph taken, I obtained full consent of the individual or group whose photograph I wanted to take. I did this by explaining thoroughly the purpose of the study and why I felt it was important for me to use the photographs in the thesis.

5.4.1.5 Questionnaire method

According to McNabb (2002), a questionnaire refers to a set of questions that are in most cases sent to the respondents, who are asked to answer them in a particular order and return to the researcher. It is one of the most commonly used methods of data collection, especially in surveys. Hart (2006, p. 357) defines a questionnaire as “a series of structured questions which address a specific topic or issue and are used as the basis of the survey approach.” Like the interview method, there are different types of questionnaires, which also serve different purposes.

As Newell (1993) describes, questionnaires, particularly those used in postal surveys, have the advantage of being able to reach a large population cheaply since interviewers are not required. She also adds that questionnaires solicit responses that are easy to code, analyse and compare, and respondents can answer the questions at their own convenience. The anonymity they offer gives the respondents the confidence to respond truthfully.

However, the main disadvantage associated with mailed questionnaires is the low response rate associated with them, and the lack of interactivity which makes the method inconvenient for those with no or limited literacy skills (Newell, 1993).

Hence a questionnaire was used in this study to address an unanticipated problem that arose in the field. Ideally, the small nature of the sample for this study would not have warranted the use of the questionnaire method. However, its usage became inevitable because the intended interviewees who were government officials and farmers’ trainers concerned with the implementation of PMA were not willing to take part in face-to-face interviews, probably because of the latent political overtones of the intervention they were involved in. However, after some discussion, they were able to accept the use of a semi-structured and open-ended questionnaire on condition that

they remained anonymous throughout the study. The anonymity the questionnaire method offers to such participants made me include it as a complementary method to the interviews.

The questionnaire employed in this study was designed in English. English was chosen as the medium of communication in this instrument because the target group comprised of PMA officials, farmers' trainers and local government officials who had relatively sufficient levels of education to use the language without any difficulty.

5.4.2 Development and pre-test of research instruments

This section discusses the development of the research instruments and how they were piloted for purposes of ensuring dependability, credibility, transferability and authenticity, as suggested in Chilisa and Preece (2005), Bryman (1988; 2001) and Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999). The research instruments are described below.

5.4.2.1 The research instruments

In order to aid the various data collection methods that were employed in this study, a number of research instruments were developed. These included:

- An in-depth interview guide
- A group discussion guide
- A observation schedule
- A documentary analysis guide
- A questionnaire.

The main instruments that were administered to the research participants were the interview guide for individual interviews, and the group discussion guide for group interviews. These were complemented by the documentary analysis guide, observation checklist, and a questionnaire. The different research instruments I have listed above can be seen in Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

The items included in these instruments were tailored to facilitate the realisation of the set objectives of the study that were pursued in the form of various questions. Being

an exploratory study, closed questions were avoided on the instruments, so that the process of soliciting information was not restricted by a rigid guideline. For example, a lot of flexibility in the interviews was permitted so that the instrument acted as a guide, and allowed me to direct the course of action as circumstances demanded.

5.4.2.2 Piloting the research instruments

Pre-testing an instrument is an important process both in quantitative and qualitative studies. According to Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 116), an instrument should be tested with a sample population that is identical to the population in which the actual study will be carried out. Piloting an instrument is aimed at finding out whether there are unclear or ambiguous terms on the instrument and seeking participants' suggestions accordingly. Generally, research instruments are piloted for different reasons, but principally to increase their reliability, validity, and practicability (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). They assert that piloting helps to: "check clarity of the items on the instrument, elicit feedback about the validity of the instrument, eliminate ambiguities and difficulties in wording of the items, identify omissions, redundant and irrelevant items on the instrument, get the exact time taken to finish an interview, and identify items on the instrument that might need further clarifications" (Chilisa & Preece 2005, p. 341).

Before I went into the field, I prepared a tentative interview guide, group discussion guide, documentary analysis guide, and observation checklist in advance. In accordance with the suggestion Chilisa and Preece (2005) make, I then piloted the instruments using ten individual interviews and two group interviews. The questionnaires were administered to five respondents. The data collected through this pilot study was intended to ensure that the instruments measured what they were intended to, so that they could come up with credible and dependable results and conclusions.

The piloting of the instruments took place in Adumi Sub-County. Adumi is one of the sub-counties that was admitted into the PMA programme in 2004 (see Appendix 22); it has groups that shared similar characteristics with those in the actual study area.

The problems that the pilot study revealed about the research instruments, in the form of questions that were ambiguous, leading, or misleading, were corrected before they were administered to the actual research participants in Manibe Sub-County. In the course of pre-testing, I also modified the documentary analysis and observation checklist continuously. The pre-test of the research instruments therefore, enabled me to rephrase, refine and enrich the basic items/questions on the guides as well as add an additional method and instruments. This was particularly the case with questions relating to:

- The agricultural education pillar of PMA
- Farmers' groups and how they operated in the intervention
- The relationship between PMA and FALP.

As reported in 5.4.2.1 above, it was necessary to add a questionnaire as one of the supplementary tools to be used in the process of data collection. The summary of the research questions, participants, methods employed to get information from them, and the appropriate research instruments are shown in Table 10 below, as well as in Appendix 7.

Table 10: Summary of participants, methods and instruments⁷

Participants' Category	Method	Instrument	Number of participants
Farmers	Individual in-depth interviews	Interview guide	20
	Focus Group Discussions	Focus Group Discussion guide	24
Farmer Trainers	Questionnaire	Questionnaires	4
District and Sub-County Officials	Questionnaire	Questionnaires	6
	Observation	Observation guide	-
	Documentary analysis	Documentary analysis guide	-
Total			54

⁷ Two other instruments used: observation guide and documentary analysis guide, were not applied or administered to the participants. This is why they are not allocated specific numbers of participants in the above table.

5.4.4 Validity and reliability in qualitative research

The concepts of validity and reliability have been a matter of debate among scholars, in quantitative studies as well as qualitative ones. Different scholars have approached the concepts from different perspectives, depending on the paradigms they are associated with. In this section, the two concepts are discussed in order to show how the issues of reliability and validity were addressed in this particular study.

5.4.4.1 Validity

Bryman (2001) asserts that the validity of a given study is concerned with the appropriateness of the construct used to measure a concept. He focuses on the appropriateness of the conceptual tool that is used to measure the given concept. For Bryman, the key issue concerning validity is “whether a measure of a concept really measures that concept” (Bryman, 2001, p. 72). However, Purcell-Gates rejects the idea of approaching the validity of a study from the point of view of a measure or construct. She approached it from the point of view of data. Her focus is on whether the data collected by the construct is correct or valid. Openjuru (2008, pp. 90 – 91) presents an interesting example in which he likens Bryman’s and Purcell-Gates’ perspectives on validity to collecting data on intelligence using a tape measure. He illustrates the two positions by saying that Bryman would be concerned with whether “the tape measure is an appropriate device for measuring intelligence”, while Purcell-Gates would be concerned with whether “the data on intelligence collected using a tape measure are valid”

While there are different ways of conceptualising validity, it all seems to boil down to how true and useful the conclusions of a given study are in the context in which it was undertaken. For Durrheim & Wassenaar (1999, p. 61), the validity of a study is “the degree to which the research conclusions are sound”. Hammersley (1992) provides a qualitative perspective on validity when he states "an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorize" (p.69). In other words, whether one takes Bryman’s position or that of Purcell-Gates, the emphasis on validity must be guided by the focus of the research, since the use of wrong instruments leads to wrong results and the use of invalid data sets leads to wrong findings and unsound or incorrect conclusions.

Although validity is mostly emphasised in quantitative studies that are located within a positivist research paradigm, which tends to emphasise theory testing and generalisation of the findings onto the entire population, it is equally important in qualitative research, where generalisation and theory testing are not the prime objectives of interpretive studies. Durrheim & Wassenaar (1999) argue from the perspective of some qualitative researchers when they say, “some research is better than others and ... that research can be evaluated according to its credibility” (p. 62). Credible research, they argue, produces findings that are convincing and believable. They suggest that credibility in qualitative studies can be achieved through triangulation. Fitzpatrick and Boulton (1994) share similar opinions concerning the use of triangulation to attain credibility, a concept which they describe as the use of as wide a range of sources as possible to support statements or findings of a study. Purcell-Gates (2004) recommends the use of a similar strategy for attaining credibility. In this study, a number of methods, such as interviews, analysis of documents, observation, and questionnaires, as well as various instruments, were used to gather data. Different conceptual tools were also employed to guide discussions in the study. The main aim of employing methodological and conceptual triangulation was to identify gaps, differences, similarities and discrepancies in the different data sources, so as to arrive at conclusions that are believable and trustworthy.

5.4.4.2 Reliability

The reliability of a study, according to Durrheim & Wassenaar (1999, p. 63), refers to “the degree to which results are repeatable”. Like validity, it is quantitative researchers who are more concerned with reliability since they assume that they are operating in a stable and unchanging environment, which will allow them to come up with results that are repeatable. However, qualitative researchers operate on the assumption that the contexts in which studies are conducted are so unstable and dynamic that they do not give room to produce results that can reliably be repeated. They believe that individuals, groups and organisations normally behave differently and express different opinions in changing circumstances and contexts.

Qualitative researchers argue that findings of qualitative studies should not be judged in terms of reliability and propose that they should instead be judged on the basis of their dependability, where dependability refers to “the degree to which the reader can be convinced that the findings did indeed occur as the researcher said they did” (Durrheim & Wassenaar, 1999, p. 64). They argue that dependability in interpretive studies is achieved through “rich and detailed descriptions that show how certain actions and opinions are rooted in and develop out of contextual interaction.”

Similarly, some qualitative researchers recommend that:

...the researcher needs to provide dense background information about the research participants, research context and settings (so that) those reading the study can determine whether there are similar settings to which findings of the study could be applicable or transferable (Chilisa & Preece, 2005, pp. 170 – 171).

This study aimed to produce a rich description of the PMA process and that is why it had to adopt an exploratory research design based on a relatively small sample that gives room for undertaking a detailed analysis of the experiences of the research participants. This was partly achieved through taking detailed field notes and keeping accurate records of them, for purposes of making reference to unresolved discrepancies that emerged in the course of analysing the data for the production of deep description of the context under study (Mouton, 2001).

I also tried to achieve dependability or trustworthiness or authenticity suggested by Bryman (2001), as a means of ensuring reliability by making sure that the data pieces I collected were as accurate as possible. The accuracy or credibility in this study was achieved through what Chilisa & Preece (2005) call member check. Member check, according to Chilisa & Preece (2005, p. 167), is one of the criteria used to establish credibility of a given study. They say it can be done formally or informally by verifying with the research participants, themes and patterns that are developing in the course of data collection and analysis. In other words, it is a process by which the researcher checks with the participants (two to three times when it is deemed necessary) to ensure accuracy of the data collected and establish a collaborative effort between the participant and the researcher in the course of the interview. Member checking helps the researcher and the interviewee(s) to reach consensus on some

issues which may lack common understanding, thereby helping to enhance the validity of the conclusions of the study.

Informally, I tried to achieve accuracy or credibility by verifying with participants the themes and patterns that emerge in the course of data collection and analysis. I also made sure that at the end of every interview, everything that had been said was summarised and presented to the interviewees, so that they could verify if it was a true reflection of what they had said in the course of the interview (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

Formally, I organised a meeting to validate my data by sharing my preliminary findings with the research participants and other interested people in the research area. Figure 17 below shows a meeting where I shared my tentative findings with members of the farmers' groups from the sub-county and other people interested. The meeting took place at Joseph's College, Ombaci, in Manibe Sub-County. A good number of those who participated in the data validation meeting were those who took part in the farmer training and technology demonstration workshops. They were therefore, able to correct what I had had recorded wrongly during my observations of the training sessions.

Bogdan & Biklen (1992, p. 48, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 148) consider reliability as "the degree of accuracy and comprehensiveness of the coverage". The interactions through member checks and data validation meeting, illustrated in Figure 17, were therefore useful for me to ensure accuracy in the data I collected. They were also helpful in filling gaps in the data, thereby enriching it to produce a dense description of the context of the study. The dense description, according to Chilisa and Preece (2005), also contributes towards dependability of the study findings.

Figure 17: Data validation meeting at Ombaci S.S



Source: Field photograph taken for the researcher by one of the members in the above meeting on April 23, 2007

5.4.3 Research ethics

In this study, issues of research ethics, detailed in Bell (2005, pp. 55 – 58) and Chilisa & Preece (2005, pp. 233 – 234), were adequately addressed. To begin with, ethical clearance concerning this study was sought with the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST). The research was approved, a clearance letter written and a research identity card was issued by the same authority, which allowed me to move into the research area. The research approval, clearance letters, and the identity card, copies of which are shown in Appendices 9, 10 and 11 respectively, were used to secure access with the authorities in the district and the sub-county.

While in the field, the major principles of research ethics, which relate to autonomy, nonmaleficence and beneficence, as detailed in Cohen et al. (2007, pp. 76 – 77), were strictly adhered to. Before taking part in the study, the participants were thoroughly briefed about the nature and purpose of the research, the tools and equipment that were to be used, the degree of confidentiality with which the responses would be treated at the time of reporting the findings of the study, the voluntary nature of their

participation and their freedom to withdraw from the research at any time. This helped me to address the major challenge I met in the field when the implementers and trainers were not willing to participate in face-to-face interviews. Since it was their right to do this, I had to seek alternative methods that were acceptable to them. Failure on my part to follow the above procedures would have meant that I abused the participants' right as stipulated in the consent forms.

The importance and benefits of the study to the community were clearly explained to the participants, who were also assured of their safety. Participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions about anything they did not understand about the study. They were also asked to grant their consent to participate in the study by signing the consent form, which was prepared both in English and Lugbara (vernacular). A copy of the English version of the consent form can be seen in Appendix 14.

5.5 Overview of the research process

After I conceived the research problem, in mid 2004, I made a reconnaissance visit to Manibe Sub-County in Arua District to verify which sub-counties are involved in the implementation of the PMA programme, and the years in which they were admitted. The sub-counties are listed in Appendix 22, and it was from this list that I selected Adumi Sub-County for piloting my research instruments. The visit also helped me to identify an assistant whose duties and tasks were detailed under the section that dealt with study sample and sampling strategy. With the help of this assistant, I also visited a number of the parishes to see some of the farmers' groups and identify people who were likely to be important in the course of the study.

Thereafter, I returned to the University of KwaZulu-Natal and formulated my research proposal, which was critiqued by peers and presented to the Faculty of Education Higher Degrees Committee for approval in June 2005. After this, ethical clearance, both in South Africa (see Appendix 8) and Uganda, was obtained.

After securing research clearance, I visited the research area again and finalised my access negotiation with the relevant authorities. One such important person was the

Resident District Commissioner (RDC), whose authority was critical for me to be able to conduct my study.

With the RDC's consent and the successful negotiation of access with other gatekeepers, I proceeded to refine the research instruments, train the research assistant and pre-test the research instruments so as to identify and correct any deficiencies. With the aid of the knowledge about the anticipated research participants, gained through study of certain documents and the help of the sub-county authorities, my assistant and I selected and confirmed the research participants.

After the selection of the participants, fieldwork commenced in August 2005, but was interrupted by a serious bus accident towards the end of November, 2005 (see Appendices 43, 44 and 45). I was forced to suspend my study partially until July 2007 when I had recovered. A copy of the letter of permission from UNCCST to extend my data collection period is presented in Appendix 12.

Data collection was conducted from August – November 2005 and from July – October 2007. Thereafter, I organised the data and started compiling the report. A more detailed summary of the milestones in the research process can be seen in Appendix 13.

5.6 Data analysis

Data in this study was collected using a multi-method approach involving both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Although the bulk of the data generated through interviews, observations and documentary analysis was analysed using qualitative methods as described in Creswell (1998), Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999), De Vos (2002) and Chilisa & Preece (2005), data generated through the use of semi-structured questionnaires was analysed with the aid of quantitative techniques.

Qualitative data is usually analysed differently from data in quantitative studies. Chilisa & Preece (2005) point out that as soon as the data collection process in qualitative research starts, so must data analysis. In discussing the difference between qualitative and quantitative data analysis, they argue that:

unlike quantitative research, where the data analysis starts at the end of the data collection, in qualitative research, the analysis is tied to the data collection and occurs through out the data collection, as well at the end of the study (Chilisa & Preece, 2005, p. 172).

According to Chilisa & Preece (2005), the purpose of tying data analysis to the entire process of data collection is twofold: (i) it helps to make decisions concerning the purpose of the study, such as the research questions and setting of the study; (ii) it helps to inform the researcher about the emerging themes, patterns and issues that require probing, as well as questions that need to be asked. Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999) contend that qualitative data analysis, unlike in a quantitative study, is not concerned with statistical analysis, but with analysis of codes, themes, and patterns in data.

The outcome of qualitative research varies with the approach used. It may produce a rich, deep description of the phenomenon being studied, sometimes with direct quotes from the research participants, and this provides rich illustrations of the study themes. It is important to note here that qualitative data analysis produces results that contribute to an understanding of a given phenomenon, and does not lend itself to empirical inference about a population as a whole.

Data in this study was mainly analysed using the methods derived from the qualitative research tradition, which is suitable for a study that is immersed in an interpretive research paradigm (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999; Leedy and Ormrod, 2001; Lee and Fielding, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Groenewald, 2004). Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999), Denzin & Lincoln (1994) and Denzin (1994) support the use of qualitative methods of data analysis and argue that such methods help to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantifications and measurements.

In summary, I therefore chose to use this method of data analysis because it was convenient for analysing the type of research questions used in this study which generated responses that were difficult to quantify. As Merriam & Simpson (1995), Terre Blanche & Durrheim (1999) and Chilisa & Preece (2005) describe, qualitative

data was analysed continuously from the start of the study. Continuous analysis was undertaken because in an interpretive research tradition, there is no clear-cut point at which data collection stops and analysis begins. I used an open coding method to break down data into patterns, themes or categories, in order to create a meaningful story from the volumes of data collected. The different themes, codes or categories that emerged in the course of data collection were identified and marked across all types of data generated from all the instruments. The purpose of marking the theme codes or categories was to identify areas of similarities across all the instruments so that the frequencies of each of them could be established. It was also intended to integrate similar data themes and categories into coherent stories that were later compiled into the final report.

Each group of similar themes was processed separately to help me refer to the interview notes containing information about them, so that I could read and re-read them to make sense of them during the writing time (Fouche, 2002, p. 343). Checking similarities in codes across all data collection instruments helped me to gauge the credibility and confirmability of the research findings (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). In the process, the different steps described in Creswell (1998) and Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999), which involves reading the data, generating categories and themes, coding and grouping them under different code headings, and carefully interpreting the data pieces in the course of compiling the whole account of the phenomena that was studied, were followed. In this way, qualitative data analysis was a continuous process throughout the study (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999).

Quantitative data for this study from the semi-structured questionnaire, which was administered to the respondents by the researcher in person as described in 5.4.2, was analysed using simple quantitative methods. The questionnaire was pre-tested to make sure that the items included in it were clear, consistent, correctly worded, and unambiguous. This was intended to ensure that the instrument would be able to measure what it was intended to measure and produce similar results when administered to different people at different times.

When the questionnaires were returned, the responses were thoroughly checked for completeness, typed out, organized in systematic patterns, coded and grouped under

similar code categories or sub-headings. Hardyck & Petrinovich (1975, p. 43) define coding as the process of developing either a numerical or a content category system for classifying responses. It can be very simple, as in the situation where responses are classified either as positive or negative, or it can be quite complex in order to present a variety of diverse views given by respondents. In a study of this kind where what and how type research questions were used, coding can therefore be said to refer to the process of combing the data for themes, ideas and categories and then marking similar passages of text with a code label so that they can easily be retrieved at a later stage for further comparison and analysis. Coding the data makes it easier to search the data, to make comparisons and to identify any patterns that require further investigation.

The frequencies of the responses to specific items on the questionnaires regarding issues such as respondents' socio-economic background and their level of knowledge on the theory and practice of PMA, the nature of PMA activities, dynamics in farmers' groups, problems facing farmers and their coping strategies; and government's response to the challenges facing farmers were tallied and turned into figures to determine the distribution of the responses. The responses were tabulated. Numbers, fractions and percentages were used to express the distribution of different views regarding the participation in the PMA intervention. The data was analysed manually using papers, pens and pencils. Some scholars argue that it is possible to analyse data manually, especially if the source of quantitative data comes from less than 200 units of analysis or one is not familiar with the relevant computer software such as SPSS⁸ (see Basita, 2003). I did not opt for computer based analysis because this was a very small sample of ten respondents and the reason for introducing the use of the questionnaire was not envisaged at the initial stages of the study.

5.7 Limitations of the study

This study had certain practical challenges and methodological limitations which have some influence on the findings. These difficulties are summarised as follows:

⁸ The argument for analysing quantitative data was obtained from "The manual method of analyzing quantitative data. Online and retrieved December 6, 2009 from: http://www.oup.com.au/__data/.../Supplementary_Materials_for_Chapter_15.pdf

- PMA is a nation-wide programme, and within Arua District it is being implemented in more than 15 sub-counties, as shown in Appendix 22. This study focused on only one sub-county and used a sample of 54 participants to capture the experiences of the subsistence farmers participating in PMA activities. To quantitative researchers, the sample may not provide a representative picture of all the rural subsistence farmers who are the expected target group of the intervention. However, the goal of this study was not to generalise its findings to the larger population. It simply aimed to provide a detailed description and analysis of the PMA process, which could be used to enhance an understanding of it, and possibly inspire others to undertake larger studies in the near future. In addition, as Durrheim & Wassenaar (1999, p. 63), suggest, the findings of the study might, under context specific circumstances, be applied or transferred to other groups in similar contexts.
- In the initial plan, in-depth interviews were expected to be the main method for collecting data. This was to be complemented by documentary analysis, observation and photographic method. This proposal partially failed to work in the field because the PMA implementers and trainers did not want to do face-to-face interviews. I later discovered that PMA is complicated by some political undertones, and as a result the implementers and trainers did not feel free to engage in face-to-face interviews because of the political consequences it might have on their careers. Since the design of the study was flexible, I changed the method of getting information from the implementers and trainers. With their full consent, I designed semi-structured open-ended self-administered questionnaires, which they agreed to fill in on condition that their identities were not revealed. This would not have been possible if I had adopted a rigid quantitative research design.
- Questionnaires are ideally used for large samples. From a quantitative research viewpoint, and that means to quantitative researchers, its usage within a sample of 54 participants was not helpful. However, in this particular case, it was used as a complementary method to capture the views of a few participants who would otherwise have been left out of the study.

- One of the critical processes I had hoped to observe in this study was the process of enterprise selection. However, the period of my fieldwork did not coincide with the schedule for that particular activity under PMA. It is possible that many PMA participating farmers could have raised complaints about the enterprise selection at an early stage, which means that I may have missed some important insights into the process. However, through my observation of farmers' group meetings and SCFF semi-annual review workshops and meetings, I was able to get a feel of some of the tasks that farmers engage with in their enterprise selection meetings. I complemented my understanding by drawing from a study by Obaa (2004) and Obaa et al. (2005), which analysed the enterprise selection process of certain farmers' groups in Mukono District in Central Uganda.
- I had also hoped to observe how PMA activities are linked to FALP programmes. This turned out to be impossible, because I could not find any FALP class in the research area, despite numerous attempts to do so. However, general questions about adult learning related to issues of acquisition and application of literacy skills in the course of participants' engagement with PMA activities were covered in the interviews.
- Lastly, while conducting my fieldwork, I was involved in a near fatal bus accident while on my way from Kampala to Arua, in which my left arm was left permanently deformed. This event, which took me to five different hospitals in Uganda and the National Spinal Injury Hospital (NSIH) in Kenya, had negative consequences for my work. It delayed my study and forced me to conduct my fieldwork in two phases separated by 17 months (See Appendices 43, 44 and 45 respectively for details).

5.8 Chapter summary and conclusion

This chapter focused on the discussion of the research paradigm in which the study was located and the research design that guided the entire research process. Also, the different data collection methods, research instruments and equipment that were used in the course of the study were described. Generally the study was immersed in an

interpretive paradigm and employed a qualitative and exploratory research design. The choices of the specified methodological parameters employed in the study were dictated by the uniqueness, dynamism and complexity of the PMA process for which an interpretive research approach was found to be the most suitable.

Data for the study was collected from a sample of 54 participants who were purposively selected. The main method used to collect data was in-depth interviews and this was complemented by analysis of PMA and other related documents, direct observation of farmers' meetings and training sessions, photography, and open-ended questionnaires.

The above listed methods were found to be suitable for this qualitative study based on a small sample because such socially oriented exploratory studies require interactive methods. Although the sample for this study was reasonably small, there was no fear of a lack of representativeness because the purpose of the study was not to generalise the findings onto a larger population. Rather, the study aimed to produce a rich description of the PMA process, based on the lived experiences of the target group as they struggle to participate in the different activities within the intervention. It must be stated that generalisation of the findings of the study onto a larger population should only be undertaken with caution. The main emphasis of this study at this stage should not be on generalisation of the findings, but rather on dependability, transferability and credibility of the results.

The various methods that were employed to address ethical issues in the course of collecting, analysing and reporting the findings of the study were also described. Special emphasis was laid on the major principles of research ethics, autonomy, nonmaleficence and beneficence. An attempt was also made to highlight the practical as well as the methodological challenges experienced in the course of the study and describe the strategies that were employed to neutralise their potentially negative effects on the findings. The next chapter focuses on the presentation, analysis and discussions of the findings.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of the study's findings. It begins with a brief description of the socio-economic background and context of the research participants before presenting the key findings. Before ending with a summary of the key issues in the chapter, a critical analysis of the findings of the study is presented.

6.2 Background of the research participants

In accordance with the tradition of qualitative research, this section gives a description of the specific context of the study participants in order to produce a “dense description” which, according to Chilisa and Preece, “helps those reading the study to determine whether there are similar settings to which findings of the study could be applicable or transferable” (Chilisa & Preece, 2005, pp. 170 – 171). It should be stressed here that for purposes of protecting and maintaining anonymity, all the names of the research participants used in this report are pseudonyms.

6.2.1 Individual Interviewees

Socio-economic background information such as residence, gender, age, marital status, number of children and religious affiliation⁹ of each of the 20 participating farmers who were interviewed individually is presented below.

6.2.1.1 Ruzalia

Ruzalia, a participating farmer, is a resident of Ombokoro Parish, Manibe Sub-County. At the time of the interview, August 8, 2005, she was 43 years old. She is a Catholic and a single parent who looks after five children. Her children were aged 6, 9, 11, 14 and 16 respectively. Her mother tongue is Lugbara. She managed to complete S.4 at Warr Girls' Secondary School where she also learnt to speak Alur.

⁹ Religion was considered as one of the important factors in the context because of the role it plays in literacy learning (see Parry, 2000).

She can read and write very well in Lugbara, Alur and English. She taught in a primary school for some time. However, she had to leave the job because her salary was not being paid which made survival very hard for her and her children.

She said that she takes care of her children by doing part-time or casual jobs such as working in other people's fields and fetching water for other people for pay. She said, "*Lejaleja mani ngari ni ama aza ko afa amvuari ma ombgo erezu*", meaning "The part time jobs I do for different people help to supplement my subsistence agricultural activities."

6.2.1.2 Ritaa

Rita, a participating farmer, is a resident of Oreku Parish, Manibe Sub-County. She is a Catholic, and married with six children aged from 5 – 19. Her husband, who looked to be in his early sixties, is a subsistence farmer. At the time of the interview, August 13, 2005, she was 50 years old. She has never gone to school. She said that she can neither read nor write in any language. She speaks Lugbara as her first language. Like her husband, she does not have any formal employment. The survival of the family is dependent on subsistence agriculture. Of her six children, only three are attending school, but with a lot of difficulties. "We do not have money to push the children," she told me.

6.2.1.3 Ludia

Ludia, a non-participating farmer, is a resident of Agoruvu Village in Oreku Parish. She is a Catholic and married with nine children, of which six are already married. The remaining three children were aged 18, 20 and 23 respectively. At the time of this interview, August 19, 2005, Ludia estimated her age to be 68. She was not sure of the age of her husband.

Most of her children never went to school because of the family's inability to afford school fees for them. She said their failure to afford education for their children deeply troubles her. Ludia never went to school herself. She is unable to read and write in any language. Her mother tongue is Lugbara. She said she did not go to school because her parents believed that girls who went to school would become

prostitutes. In her youth, schooling for girls at that time was equated to going to learn bad manners that could cost a girl the chance of getting a good husband. “I wonder why I had to be born in that generation,” she said as she looked away. She depends on subsistence agriculture as the only livelihood strategy option for her and her family.

6.2.1.4 Loy

Loy, a resident of Eleku Parish, is a non-participating farmer. She is a Catholic and married with six children whose ages ranged from 3 – 21. She was 43 years old at the time of the interview, on August 25, 2005. She estimated her husband’s age to be roughly 52. She dropped out of school when she was in P. 6. She can read and write in Lugbara and English, although not very well. She speaks Lugbara as her first language. She does not have any formal employment and depends on subsistence agriculture for her and her family members to make a living. The greatest challenge she faces, she says, is how to educate her children. She said that she wished she were able to educate her children in order to compensate for her own lack of schooling.

6.2.1.5 Gladys

Gladys, a participating farmer, is a resident of Eleku Parish. She was 47 years old at the time of the interview, on August 31, 2005. She is a Catholic, and married with five children. Her husband, who appeared to be in his early fifties, dropped out of P. 6, and is a subsistence farmer. She has never attended school and said that she cannot read and write in any language. She speaks Lugbara as her first language. She is not formally employed, and depends on agriculture and retail trade. She sells agricultural produce in the nearby market to enable her family to survive. She said that her children were still attending primary schools where they are not paying fees, but that they will not continue when they reach a level where they will be asked to pay fees. She said her lack of education causes many difficulties in group activities, which makes her feel out of place.

6.2.1.6 Jennifer

Jennifer, a participating farmer, is a resident of Lufe Parish. At the time of the interview, September 9, 2005, she was 55 years old. She is married with eight children, and is a Protestant. Her husband, who appeared to be in his early sixties, was a P. 7 leaver. Although she does not know how to write, read and interpret any other texts in any languages, she said that she can read the Bible in her local language. Asked where she learnt to read, she replied, “I learnt to read the Bible from the church when we were being prepared for baptism”. She speaks Lugbara as her first language. She is not engaged in any formal employment. Her family depends on subsistence agriculture. None of her children received education. She said that of her eight children, two of them joined the army, three went to work as casual labourers in sugar plantations, two girls got married and the remaining child, who is about 15 years old, stays at home and helps the parents with farm work.

6.2.1.7 Zillah

I conducted an interview with Zillah, a participating farmer, on September 14, 2005. She was 44 years old at the time of the interview. She is a resident of Lufe Parish. She is married with seven children, and is a Protestant. She managed to reach P.2, but could not proceed thereafter because of financial difficulties her family was experiencing. Her mother tongue is Lugbara. Although she could not read and write in other languages, she was able to read in her local language. Like Jennifer, Zillah learnt to read while preparing for baptism. She has no formal employment and depends on subsistence agriculture. Her husband also has no formal employment.

6.2.1.8 Beata

Beata, a participating farmer, is a resident of Ombokoro Parish. She was 65 years old at the time of the interview, on 22 September 2005. She is a Catholic, and married with five children. Her husband, who appeared to be in his late sixties, was a subsistence farmer. She said with pain that they lost six other children in their infancy. Beata never went to school. She only speaks Lugbara, her mother tongue. She is

unable to read and write in any language. She and her family depend on subsistence agriculture for survival. Her interest in PMA lies in goat rearing.

6.2.1.9 Naume

I interviewed Naume, a 34-year-old participating farmer and a resident of Odravu Parish, on September 30, 2005. She is a Catholic and a single mother taking care of six children. She lost her husband in a motor accident. Judging by her age and the number of children she has, it can be assumed that she got married at a very young age. She managed to reach P. 7. She said that she could read and write in both English and Lugbara. Her mother tongue is Lugbara. She has no formal employment and her family survives on subsistence agricultural activities. Like Gladys, Naume supplements her household maintenance with the sale of vegetables in a nearby market.

6.2.1.10 Joanita

Joanita, a participating farmer, is a resident of Ombaci Parish. She was 41 years old at the time of the interview, on October 12, 2005. She is a Catholic. She said that her husband abandoned her with ten children, and so she is a single parent. Like Naume, Joanita must have also married at a very young age. She only managed to attain P. 3 which she said did not prepare her to be able to read and write very well. Her mother tongue is Lugbara. She engages in subsistence agricultural activities to help her meet the daily needs of her family. She said she sometimes works in the fields of other people for money.

6.2.1.11 Peter

Peter, a participating farmer who was interviewed on July 2, 2007, is a 45-year-old Protestant and a resident of Rubu Parish. He is married with seven children. He said that his wife is about 37 years old and that their children's ages range from 2 – 13. Four of the children are attending UPE. Although Peter never attended school, he said that he could read and write in his mother tongue. He said that he can use the literacy

skills he acquired during his preparation for baptism. He is not formally employed anywhere. Like many others, he sustains himself and his family by engaging in subsistence agriculture. He said that he used to work as a night watchman in the town, but he lost the job three years ago.

6.2.1.12 Thobaius

Thobaius, a non-participating farmer is a resident of Oreku Parish. He was 55 at the time of the interview, on July 4, 2007. He is a Catholic and married with 11 children. He estimated his wife's age to be 39. Their last-born was one year old and the first-born was aged 21. The majority of the children never went to school, but three of them are attending UPE.

He has never been to school and he cannot read and write in any language. His first language is Lugbara. He has no formal employment and depends on subsistence farming for sustaining his household members. "I supplement my income with casual work I do for other people in their fields," he said. He said he knows about PMA, but does not think that it would help to solve his problems.

6.2.1.13 Charles

Charles, a participating farmer, is a resident of Odravu Parish. He was 36 years old at the time of the interview, on July 7, 2007. He is a Protestant. He has never been to school. However, he said that he has some reading skills, especially in Lugbara. "I can only write my name," he said. He speaks Lugbara as his mother tongue. He is married with two children who have not yet started attending school. His family depends on subsistence agricultural practices, as he has no formal employment. He said he gives some money to his wife to buy vegetables from people, which she then sells in the market to supplement the little they get from their small fields.

6.2.1.14 Mustafa

Mustafa, a participating farmer, is a resident of Ewadri Parish. He was 37 years old at the time of the interview, on July 10, 2007. He is a Catholic and married with three children. He holds a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy, but has no formal employment. His first language is Lugbara, and he is fluent in English. He is also an elected member of Manibe Sub-County Local Council III. This is a more or less part-time non-salaried position, in which people depend on “sitting allowances”. His household members survive on subsistence agriculture, but he also does some retail trade, where his family sells things like soap, salt and sugar which some people in the village need.

6.2.1.15 Oliver

Oliver, a participating farmer, is a resident of Rubu Parish. He was 30 years old at the time of the interview, on July 13, 2007. He holds an ordinary diploma in business studies, commonly called Uganda Diploma in Business Studies (UDBS). He is a Catholic. He is married with five children, of whom three are attending UPE. He said he got married at the age of 17. He is fluent in English, and reads and writes very well in more than one language. His mother tongue is Lugbara. Although he holds a diploma, he has not yet secured any formal employment. He is optimistic that, one day, he will get a job.

6.2.1.16 Solomon

Solomon, a participating farmer, is a resident of Ewadri Parish. He was 28 years old at the time of the interview, on July 16, 2007. He was one of the youngest among the research participants. He is a Protestant, single, and has no children. He was able to complete P.7, and can read and write in Lugbara and English. “It was very difficult for me to continue with studies because of school fee problems,” he said. He does not have any formal employment. His livelihood depends on subsistence agriculture.

6.2.1.17 Fenahasi

Fenahasi, a 61-year old participating farmer who was interviewed on July 19, 2007, is a resident of Odravu Parish. He is one of the mini-case studies whose experiences in PMA are referred to later in this chapter. He is a Catholic. He stopped his education at S.3 because of a lack of money for school fees. He joined the Ugandan Army in 1972 and served for eight years. He can read and write well in four languages: Lugbara, Kiswahili, Luganda and English. His mother tongue is Lugbara. He is a widower with five children, four of whom are in different secondary schools, and one who is completing primary school. Since leaving the army, he has never been formally employed. He sustains his family through subsistence agriculture.

6.2.1.18 Paulo

Paulo, a participating farmer who was interviewed on July 25, 2007 is a 49-year-old resident of Ombachi Parish. He is a Catholic. He stopped his education at S.5 and did not continue with his education because of school fees problems. He can read and write in three languages: Lugbara, Kiswahili and English. His mother tongue is Lugbara. He is married with six children. He said that his wife, who dropped out at P. 5, is about 38 years old. Three of their children are attending UPE. He does not have any formal employment. He said he is trying to work hard so that he can continue his education. His family survives on subsistence agricultural practices.

6.2.1.19 Robert

Robert, a participating farmer, is a resident of Rubu Parish. He was 66 years old at the time of the interview, on August 1, 2007. He is a Catholic and dropped out of school after P.3. He can barely read and write in any language. He speaks Lugbara as his mother tongue. He is married with seven children. His wife appeared to be in her early fifties. Three of the children are already married, one is finishing P. 7, and the rest are not in school. He has no formal employment, and his family survives on subsistence farming.

6.2.1.20 Monday

Monday, a non-participating farmer, is a resident of Ewadri Parish. At the time of the interview, on August 6, 2007, he was 39 years old. He is a Protestant. He never went to school. He can neither read nor write in any language. His mother tongue is Lugbara. He is married with five children, three of whom are attending UPE. His wife appeared to be in her early thirties. He has no formal employment, and the livelihood of his household depends on subsistence agriculture.

6.2.2 Group interviewees

A total of four farmers' groups with six members from each were selected to take part in group interviews for this study. Background information on the groups is presented below.

6.2.2.1 Eleku Poverty Eradication Group

Eleku Poverty Eradication Group is located in Eleku Parish. It was registered with the Manibe SCLG in 2002. The main purpose of the group is to engage its members in commercial agricultural production under the PMA programme. The three major enterprises the group members chose are groundnuts, beans and maize. At the time of its registration with the sub-county, the group had a membership of 31. On the registration list, the 31 people consisted of 15 non-disabled male adults, seven non-disabled female adults, six young people¹⁰ and three persons with disability (see Appendix 18). The six members who participated in the study were: Resty (one of the mini-case studies referred to in more detail later), Gertrude, Milika, Jumar, Lino and Jason. The group interview took place on September 6, 2007.

¹⁰ Members in groups referred to as “young people” are those individuals in the ages ranging from 15 – 20 years of age. This is not an official definition, but what I observed in the groups while in the field.

6.2.2.2 Meridi Market Women's Group

The Meridi Market Women's Group is located in Ewadri Parish. It was formed in 2004, after the group members deserted the different PMA groups to which they had officially belonged. The group is not registered with Manibe SCLG because it is an initiative started by people who opted to operate outside the official government intervention. Therefore, the group does not depend on government to carry out its activities. The main purpose of the group is to engage its members in small scale business management focusing on buying and selling of agricultural produce such as vegetables, beans, maize, potatoes, and groundnuts.

Although members of Meridi Market Women's Group engage in growing some crops on an individual basis for their household consumption, their main activity focus as a group is on buying agricultural produce from others and selling it in Meridi market. This is in contrast to the focus of the Eleku Poverty Eradication Group, whose members take part in both growing and selling of agricultural products.

The group started with 20 members and the present membership of the group is 29. Some members broke away and formed their own group. The group has only two male members. Of the 29 members, the six people who were selected to participate in the focus group discussions were Florence, Bezzar, Rakiel, Gutru, James and Richard. Their group interview was conducted on September 12, 2007.

6.2.2.3 Mingoro Women's Group

Mingoro Women's Group is located in Lufe Parish. The group was registered with Manibe SCLG in 2002. At the time of registration, it had a membership of 29 people, comprising six able-bodied adult males, 19 able-bodied females, three young people and one person with disability. The group was formed to engage in commercial agricultural production under PMA, and the main enterprises its members are involved in are poultry, apiary farming and onions. The six members who were chosen to take part in the focus group discussions were Musa, Ruben, Iriata, Bella, Gotiliva and Ritaa. Their group interview was conducted on September 27, 2007.

6.2.2.4 Oreku Women’s Group

Oreku Women Group is located in Oreku Parish. It was registered with Manibe SCLG in 2002. The main purpose of the group is to engage its members in commercial agricultural production. Like the Mingoro Women’s Group, the principal enterprises the group members are involved in are onion, poultry and apiary. At the time of its registration, the group had a membership of 20, comprising one able-bodied male adult, 15 able-bodied female adults, four young people and no persons with disability. The six members selected to participate in the focus group discussions were Alice, Ginah, Nesta, Sylvia, Elina and Joshua. The group interview was conducted on September 18, 2007.

6.2.3 Other respondents

Six implementers and four trainers involved in PMA in Manibe Sub-County took part in this study. Their composition in terms of category and gender is presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Composition of the other respondents

Category	Females	Males	Total
Implementers	2	4	6
Trainers	1	3	4
Total	3	7	10

Six of the ten respondents were Catholics; the remaining four were Protestants. All of the respondents had tertiary qualifications and were therefore fluent in both Lugbara and English. All of them could speak at least a third or fourth language such as Kiswahili, Luo or Luganda. They were affiliated to different agencies or units such as the PMA/NAADS Coordination Office in the district, the Directorate of Community Services of the district, the Production Department of the district, CSOs hired to carry out farmers’ institutional development, and the Sub-County Local Government.

6.3 Presentation and analysis of the study findings

In this section, I relate the major findings of the study that relate to five important issues: (i) the implementation of PMA; (ii) typical activities under PMA; (iii) farmers' groups; (iv) coping strategies of those participating farmers with limited literacy; and (v) government strategies for addressing illiteracy among the PMA target group. The following sub-sections focus on a description of the factors that have a bearing on participation levels.

6.3.1 Implementation of PMA

This sub-section reports on findings regarding the theory and practice of PMA implementation. It focuses on the language factor in PMA, implementers' awareness of theory and practice of PMA, sources of information on PMA, the different activities under PMA, and farmers' experiences in, knowledge of and awareness about PMA.

6.3.1.1 Experience in, knowledge of and awareness about PMA

The 44 subsistence farmers who participated in individual and group interviews were asked when they first became involved in PMA and for how long. Of the 40 who were involved, 32 joined PMA in 2000, five joined in 2003, and three joined in 2005. The remaining four were non participating farmers with no direct experience of PMA.

When the farmers with direct PMA experience were asked what they knew about the programme, 37 were able to explain what they understood to be PMA. They were able to correctly describe what it is supposed to do for them, what they as the principal target group are expected to do, the ways the different farmers' groups operate at parish and sub-county levels and so forth. However, the remaining three interviewees had difficulty explaining certain aspects of PMA. For example, they understood NAADS, the semi-autonomous agency for the implementation of agricultural advisory services, to be a different and an independent programme outside of PMA, when in fact it is the main strategy for operationalising the second pillar of PMA. They had little idea about most of the enterprises under PMA.

The question about the perception of NAADS and PMA of farmers with direct PMA experience was asked because many people in the villages seem not to know that NAADS is an agency for the implementation of agricultural advisory services, which is one of the priority intervention areas within PMA. When the non-participating farmers were asked about the extent to which they were aware of PMA and NAADS as one of its principal implementation strategies, all four indicated that they were aware of the existence of PMA in Manibe Sub-County. Generally, the majority of the farmers who took part in this study had a relatively high level of awareness about PMA. Those who were directly involved were relatively knowledgeable about its operations in the sub-county and the district.

The responses from the implementers and trainers indicated that they were also knowledgeable about the practice of the intervention. It must be noted here that their understanding of PMA is that of a government programme that is to be implemented within certain rigid procedures.

6.3.1.2 Sources of information on PMA

Farmers were asked how they knew about PMA. 19 indicated that they get their information through local council officials, 11 indicated sensitisation workshops, six said that they obtain their information through other members of farmers' groups, five indicated FM radio stations, and only three indicated getting information from trainers.

The six implementers and four trainers indicated three similar sources of information about PMA. These were FM radio stations, sensitisation workshops and training programmes. They did not indicate anything about Local Council officials on their questionnaires. Neither the implementers and trainers nor the farmers mentioned anything about the leaflets indicated in the PMA Popular Version (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, n.d.) as one of the ways of disseminating information to the public.

When asked how easy it was to get information about PMA from the sources they had indicated, the majority of the farmers said it was easy, while 14 indicated that they had problems. Resty, a member of one of the group interviews conducted in Eleku parish complained about her lack of access to a radio. She said:

Me, I do not have a radio, I also do not get newspapers. Even if I could get, it would still be useless as I cannot read and understand the message. The way people get the information about new programmes in our areas mostly favours educated people who can read well, not a person like me (Resty, in a group interview conducted in Eleku Parish in Lugbara on September 6, 2007).

6.3.1.3 Implementers' awareness of PMA theory

10 respondents, comprising six implementers and four trainers, who were administered the same questionnaires were asked to list the development models assumed in the PMA process. Eight of them left the space for this particular item blank. Only two used terms such as “participatory development”, “empowering approaches” and “bottom–up approaches”. These terms were common in most of the PMA-related documents that I reviewed. In response to the question regarding the literacy model assumed in the PMA implementation, all ten respondents mentioned FALP only. The implementers and trainers seemed to see literacy and development separately, without linkages between them

6.3.1.4 The language factor in PMA

The research participants were asked about the language they use for personal communication and the language that is used for official communication in their area. Their answers were unanimous. All the farmers indicated that they use Lugbara for personal communication. They reported that English, the official language of Uganda, is used for all the official matters and in all the offices. English is also the language used as the chief medium of instruction in schools.

Like the farmers, the implementers and trainers all indicated in their questionnaires that they use English for official purposes and Lugbara for personal communication.

They indicated that they could speak more than one language. One of the most commonly spoken other languages was Kiswahili, a language commonly spoken in urban areas and by the business community and the armed forces.

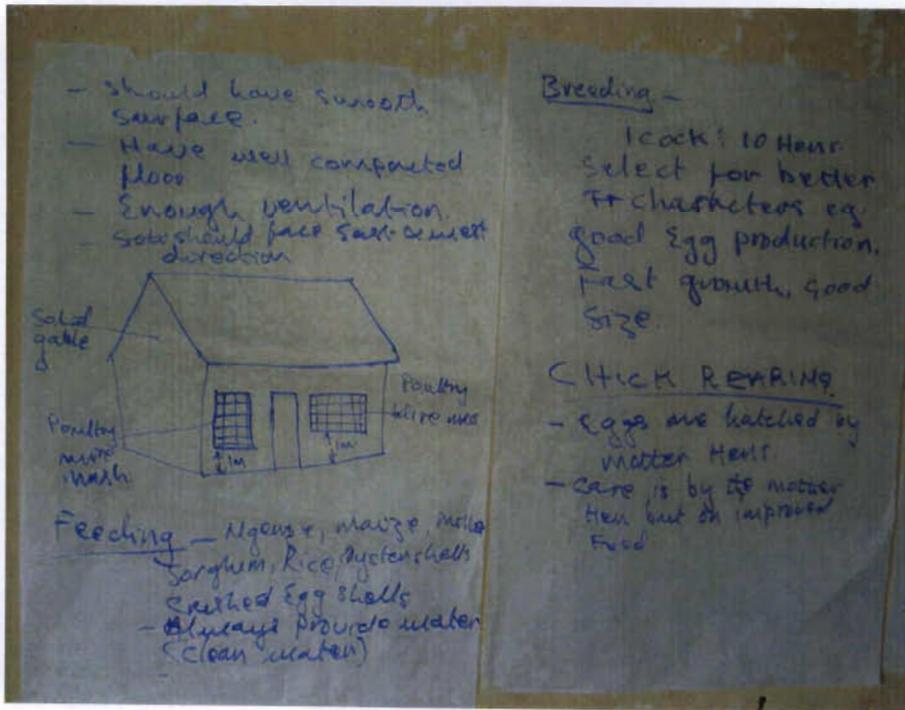
Farmers were asked which language(s) they would wish to use for either reading and writing or learning to read and write. 35 of them said that they would wish to use their local language (Lugbara) to learn how to read. The remaining nine said that where possible, they would prefer English to their local language. When I examined the educational background of the nine who preferred English, they were mostly those who already had adequate reading and writing skills. When I further inquired whether language was a problem for them in carrying out their PMA activities, 34 of them said that they experience a number of difficulties with this issue. Only ten did not express having experienced any problem with language in undertaking PMA activities. Of the 34 farmers who expressed having difficulties with language, 19 of them indicated training as one of the areas in which they experience the problem most, nine indicated enterprise selection, eight indicated proposal and report writing, five indicated meetings at sub-county levels, and three indicated constitution writing and interpretation.

The research participants who had problems with language all complained about the use of English in the areas they reported above. For instance, one of the interviewees pointed out that when important people from PMA Head Office come to the district and are given the opportunity to talk to the PMA target group through the local FM radio stations, they tend to use English, which most rural people do not understand. It therefore emerged that chances to sensitise farmers and the general public on PMA in local languages are limited.

The above claim about the problem of using English in certain PMA activities is supported by the illustration in Figure 18 on the next page. The challenges farmers face regarding language was evident during the observed farmers' training sessions, in which facilitators used English to write down topics and sub-topics of their sessions, as well as illustrate certain things they spoke about on the chalkboard or flip charts. Figure 18 below shows notes on newsprint taken in English during a training session about poultry management, one of the key enterprises under PMA.

Throughout the training sessions, those farmers who did not understand English depended on translation by the few who did. Those with writing skills were always taking notes as the facilitator talked, and those who lacked writing skills depended on verbal explanations given by their colleagues who were translating for them. For such training participants, even if everything taught in the session was translated, it would still be impossible to remember every aspect of the lecture, as compared to those who were able to take their own lecture notes. Many training participants who did not know English were lost during the course of the lectures, and therefore missed most of what was being conveyed.

Figure 18: Diagram to illustrate a poultry unit



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher during a farmers' training and technology demonstration on April 23, 2007 at Manibe Sub-County Headquarters

When I informally asked the facilitators after the training session why they were mostly using English, their response was that it was mandatory for auditing purposes, and that was why they were not using Lugbara.

There was a discrepancy between what was said and what was being practised by the facilitators in terms of the language issue. Although all the trainers said that they always use the local language of the people to run training workshops, what I

observed was different. It was common for a facilitator to start talking in Lugbara and suddenly shift to English. This caused most of the training participants to lose track of what was being said and some participants even fell asleep.

Also, the handouts that were issued to training participants were prepared in English.

When I asked the trainees whether they actually use the handouts they receive, most of them said that they do not use them. One elderly woman described what she does with the handouts as follows:

I did not go to school, so I cannot use the handouts. I just take them home for my husband. He uses them for wrapping cigarettes he smokes on a daily basis. How do I use the handouts when I am said to be blind? (Informal conversation I had in Lugbara with one of the elderly women participating in a farmers' training and technology demonstration workshop at Manibe Sub-County headquarters on April 23, 2007)

6.3.2 PMA activities

Formal and informal discussions I had with the farmers, implementers and trainers as well as their responses regarding what they do under PMA revealed a variety of activities. The activities are shown in Table 12 below.

6.3.2.1 Types of PMA Activities

Farmers who had direct PMA experience were asked what activities they were undertaking in the various groups. Table 12 gives a summary of PMA farming and process-related activities which farmers' groups undertake in different places.

Table 12: PMA farming and process-related activities

PMA farming-related activities	PMA process-related activities
• Fish farming	• Group formation
• Apiculture	• Farmers' group meetings
• Poultry farming	• Farmers' training
• Piggery	• Technology demonstrations
• Goat rearing	• Enterprise selection
• Dairy farming	• Contract management
• Onion growing	• SCFF meetings
• Irish potato growing	• SCFF progress review workshops
• Bean growing	• Exchange visits
• Groundnut growing	• Agricultural shows/trade shows

The activities mentioned above are similar to the ones that appeared in the various PSPs' end-of-contract reports to the Sub-County NAADS office that I analysed. In Figure 19 on the next page, members of a group in Eleku Parish who chose goat rearing as one of their enterprises were showing off their improved goat breed, which they use to transform the quality of their local breeds in the villages through cross-breeding. My observation showed that the improved breeds are much better than the local ones in the villages in all respects.

Figure 19: An example of improved goat breed



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher in Eleku Parish, on September 3, 2007

6.3.2.2 PMA and the usual farming activities: differences and similarities

In an effort to compare PMA activities with ordinary farming activities, the 40 farmers were asked to explain how different the identified PMA activities were from the ordinary or usual farming practices of rural people. 24 indicated the way things are done under PMA as the major difference, 15 pointed out the market focus of the intervention as the main difference and one person saw no difference.

The main differences the subsistence farmers observed were a focus on production for market, planting seeds in rows, emphasis on the use of chemical fertilisers, introduction of ox traction technology into their farming system, emphasis on activity monitoring and record-keeping, opportunities for training and technology demonstrations, use of improved plants and animal breeds, working in groups, and the contract based extension service delivery system. The emphasis on row planting, focus on market, and the use of fertilisers were also reported by two-thirds of the implementers and trainers in their questionnaires.

The farmers were all in agreement concerning the fact that the differences between PMA and ordinary farming activities mainly appear to be procedural, that is to do with the *way* things were done rather than with changes in what was done. For example, Figure 20 illustrates the difference between traditional beehives and modern beehives. From the figure, it is clear that the shapes of the hives are different, as well as the way the hives are placed in terms of the distances between them. The traditional hives appear to be hung randomly while the modern ones are arranged in a systematic fashion.

Figure 20: Traditional and modern bee hives



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher in Ewadri Parish on July 16, 2007

In Figure 21 below, the difference between random planting of seeds and row planting is demonstrated. Traditionally, people planted seeds randomly, but under PMA this has been discouraged in favour of planting in rows, because of its advantages in terms of ease of weeding and harvesting, as well as minimising wastage of seeds.

Figure 21: Traditional and modern ways of planting and harvesting



Source: Field photographs taken by the researcher in Rubu Parish (above) and Ewadri Parish (Bottom) respectively on August 1, 2007

Figure 22 below illustrates the difference between a traditional poultry house and one currently being encouraged for use among participating farmers.

Figure 22: Traditional and improved poultry houses



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on April 24, 2007

A major difference in the nature of PMA activities as presented in Figures 20, 21 and 22 above is that all the activities that used to be done traditionally and which are now being done differently, to a great extent require the application of some literacy and numeracy skills. For example, the construction of the modern beehives and modern

poultry houses in Figures 20 and 22 require measurements for getting the right dimensions. Modern ways of planting seeds require skills for calculating dimensions and quantities, as well as measuring the required quantities of fertilisers needed for better yields.

6.3.2.3 Literacy demands in PMA activities

The participating farmers were asked to state the areas in the PMA intervention in which they experience a demand for literacy skills. The farmers came up with many activities in which the application of the use of literacy was required. 11 of them indicated training workshops and technology demonstrations where one deals with handouts, name tags, group discussions and presentations; eight pointed out activity report writing; seven mentioned attending meetings where they need to sign, and read as well as understand minutes ; and six reported reading and interpreting instructions on packets and containers of drugs, insecticides, pesticides, and chemical fertilisers; four named filling in Integrated Support for Farmer Groups (ISFG) application forms and ISFG technology access vouchers (see Appendices 38 and 39); two indicated project proposal writing for their group, and another two mentioned reading circulars from Sub-County Headquarters as the most critical areas in which they experience the demand for using literacy.

The demand for literacy is therefore widespread in most of the PMA activities.

Further evidence for this claim can be seen in Appendices 34 – 42 which show copies of:

- Onion production guide
- Minutes of Eleku Young Farmers' Group (EYFG)
- Minutes of Manibe SCFF meeting
- Activity plan and requisition form
- Application form for ISFG funds
- ISFG technology access voucher
- Quarterly reporting forms for farmers' groups
- Forms for data on farmers' groups in parishes
- Enterprise selection process matrix.

This existence of the above documents shows that those who are able to read and write have an advantage over their counterparts who have limited or no literacy and numeracy skills.

6.3.3 How literacy influences participation in PMA

All respondents were asked to state how literacy affects their participation levels in the different PMA activities. All the farmers indicated that lack of literacy minimises opportunities in PMA and inhibits participation levels in different activities. The extent to which literacy affected their participation was not uniform and tended to vary from one person to another. Responses from implementers and trainers were similar, and all indicated illiteracy as one of the serious stumbling blocks in the implementation of PMA. The general view was that those participating farmers with the appropriate literacy skills found things easier than did those who lack literacy skills and were therefore more likely to manage their selected enterprises better.

As reported in 6.3.2.3 above, most PMA activities require the application of literacy and numeracy skills. The effects of literacy or lack of literacy on the participation levels of the target group vary from one individual to the other. It also depends on the nature of the activity individuals are involved in. The different ways in which literacy affects participation levels of the target group is evident in the following PMA activities that I observed:

- A one-day SCFF semi-annual progress review workshop
- A two-day farmers' training and technology demonstrations workshop
- A half-day SCFF general meeting and
- An Oreku Women's group meeting.

A brief description of each of these activities is given so as to highlight some of the issues of interest in this study such as gender, language, group dynamics and power. These issues interact with illiteracy or literacy to affect people's participation levels either positively or negatively.

6.3.3.1 Sub-County Farmers' Forum semi-annual review workshop

Twice a year, each SCFF in each different sub-county runs progress review workshops on different PMA activities. The workshop I observed was for Manibe SCFF, and its purpose was to review the progress made in the different activities for the second half of the year 2006. It took place at the Sub-County Headquarters on December 29, 2006. The workshop was scheduled to start at 8:30 am. However, it only started at 10:10 am, and finished at 5:15 pm.

The workshop was attended by over 60 members who represented different farmers' groups from the eight parishes of Manibe Sub-County. Two-thirds of the participating farmers who took part in this study attended the workshop. Amongst other important people, the workshop was attended by the Arua District NAADS Coordinator, the Manibe Sub-County Chief, the Manibe Sub-County NAADS Coordinator, the Manibe SCFF Chairperson, and the LC III Vice Chairperson, who stood in for the substantive Chairperson for Manibe Sub-County to officiate the closure of the workshop. The agenda for the workshop, written on a chalkboard in English, read as follows:

- Opening prayer
- Introduction
- Official opening of the workshop
- Group discussions
- Presentations of findings
- Reactions to the presentations
- Closure.

The workshop started with prayers in Lugbara and was followed by self introduction. In the introduction, each member stated his or her name, the parish he or she came from, the farmers' group he or she belongs to and where applicable, the position of responsibility held in the group. All this was done in Lugbara. After this, I was introduced to the group by the Chairperson for the SCFF. The introduction caused a lot of excitement and prolonged applause among the farmers, which made me assume that the farmers thought that I was capable of solving some of the problems they were facing in the PMA intervention. However, I had to tell them that I was just a student

collecting data for my doctoral research, and the findings of the study would not translate immediately into a tangible development project.

After the introduction, the workshop was officially opened by the Manibe Sub-County Chief using a mixture of both English and Lugbara. During the workshop, all the officials mentioned above sat at a table at the front of the room. The general sessions in the workshop were chaired by the Manibe SCFF Chairperson, while the Manibe Sub-County NAADS Coordinator recorded the proceedings.

After the workshop was officially opened, the Chairperson went through the agenda on the chalkboard in English and told members that they were to be placed in four different groups to discuss the issues of interest in the workshop. Thereafter, people were asked to repeat the numbers one to four, to determine the group they would belong to. Saying the numbers was done in English. Assigning those numbers to each member was meant to ensure randomness in the membership of the discussion groups.

After assigning topics to the different groups, the Chairperson asked each group to find an area where they would like to do their discussions. They were told to select a group leader and a secretary. The group leader was responsible for moderating the group discussions, while the secretary recorded the discussions and was also charged with the responsibility of presenting the group's findings at the plenary session. The discussions were meant to be done in Lugbara, but those participants who knew English kept mixing Lugbara and English. I also noted that the findings from each group were recorded and reported in English, as shown in Figures 23 – 24 below. The key topics for discussion by each of the four groups, which were written on a chalkboard in English, are presented in Table 13 below.

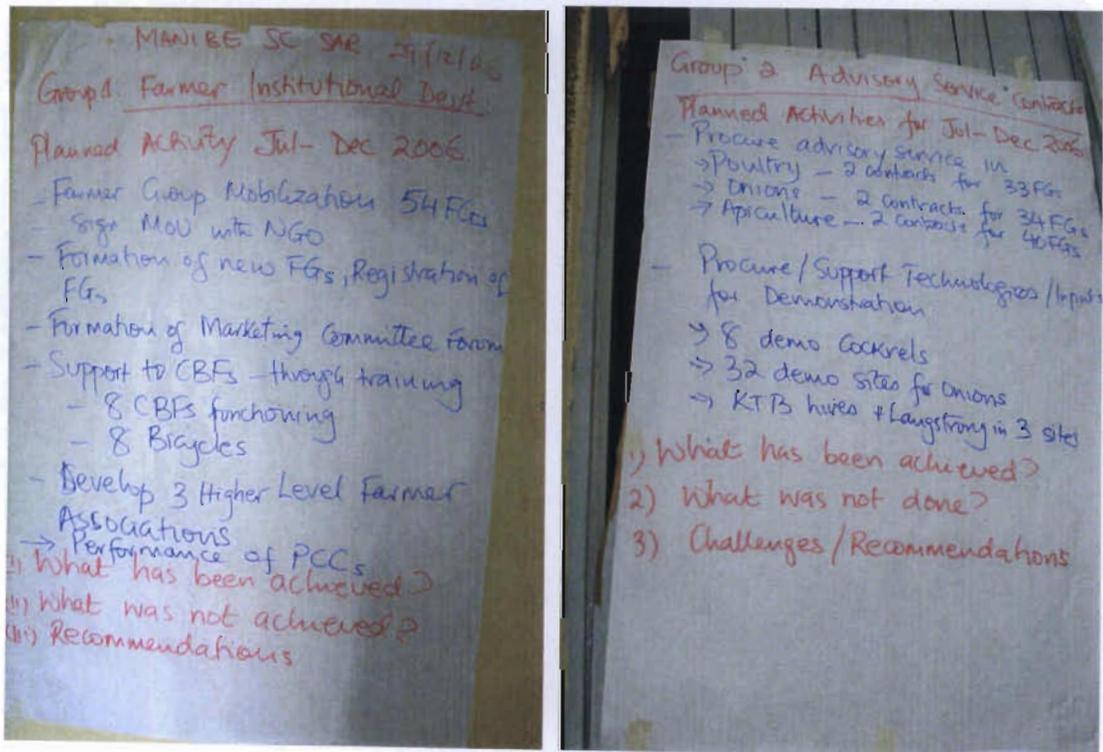
Table 13: Topics for group discussions

Group	Major issue to be Discussed
Group 1	Farmers' Institutional Development (FID)
Group 2	Advisory Services Contracts
Group 3	Institutional support to Farmer Groups
Group 4	Performance Monitoring

Detailed records of what members of Groups 1 and 2 discussed are presented in Figure 23 below. The group discussions were followed by a plenary session in which each group's secretary presented their discussion summaries in English, as shown in Figure 24. Summaries of each group's discussion were written in English on newsprint and glued onto the wall for every participant in the room to see. After all the presentations in the plenary session, time was given for members to react and contribute ideas on each of the issues in order to generate the way forward for the workshop.

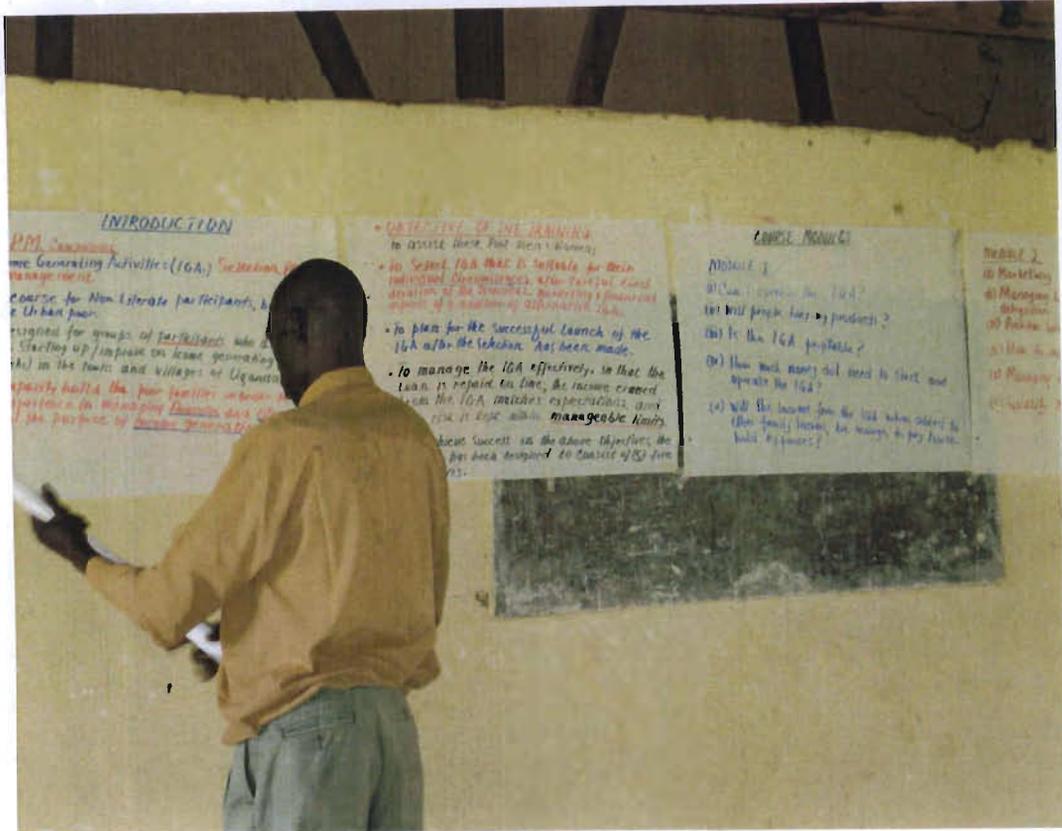
From the forerunning descriptions and illustrations in Table 13 above and Figures 23 and 24 below, it is clear that most of the PMA activities entail a great deal of interaction with written materials. The issues discussed by the different the groups had a lot to do with reading, writing and calculations. For instance, the four discussion topics shown in Table 13 all involve a lot of paper work and calculations, which the training participants with limited or no literacy and numeracy skills could not manage.

Figure 23: Output for group discussion (Groups 1 and 2)



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher during Manibe SCFF's semi-annual review workshop held on December 29, 2006.

Figure 24: Summary of group work



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher during Manibe SCFF's semi-annual review workshop held on December 29, 2006.

Although discussions in the various groups were in both Lugbara and English, all the writing was done exclusively in English, as demonstrated in Figures 23 and 24 above.

In terms of gender participation, it was clear that men were making most of the contributions in the discussions. Most of the female workshop participants tended to be shy and keep to themselves. As reported above, the use of English and lack of literacy skills seemed to discourage most of the female workshop participants from making contributions. I noted that when a leader of a group made a deliberate effort to encourage an unschooled female member in the group to say something even in Lugbara, it would take a while before she spoke. The majority of the women would only make a contribution when they were asked to do so. Such women also tended to look down while speaking, suggesting that they lacked confidence in their own contribution.

A significant matter raised by several workshop participants was the issue of failure of the Community Based Facilitators (CBFs) and Parish Coordination Committees

(PCCs) to submit monitoring reports. The matter was raised by one of the members during reactions to the presentation by the representative of Group 4 in the plenary session. The PCCs and CBFs, the majority of whom were present in the workshop, were accused of failing the government's intervention by neglecting to submit their monthly and quarterly monitoring reports.

In reacting to the accusation that the PCCs were frustrating the programme, some interesting comments were made, all of which related to the challenges associated with lack of literacy and numeracy skills. "PCC reporting forms are complicated and difficult to understand; they should be simplified," said one member. "The CBF for our group is unable to read and write English," said another woman. Another man put it like this:

Most of the members in our group are primary school leavers who cannot read and write well and we have found it difficult to understand the English written on the form. How then, can the blame be laid on us? I wish you had simplified and even translated the forms into Lugbara so that our members could be able to have the slightest idea of what it requires of us.

One man raised a new dimension of the problem associated with the monthly and quarterly reporting, which specifically related to numeracy, when he said:

There is a serious technical problem involved in reporting quantities of production per enterprise in kilograms. This is because we do not have weighing scales, so how do we get the right quantities? So we either underestimate or overestimate, which is not good because it creates suspicion among members who think you want to cheat them and hide something for yourself.

Finally, another member who was a CBF himself, and whose facial expression showed signs of frustration and anger, summarised the problem as follows:

Madam, for me the forms I was given to record the things about monitoring of our activities are written in a language that is not my own. ...I do not

know it and speak it very well. Also the level of the language used on the forms is really too high for me to understand even if I was able to speak it. Why should we be blamed for something we cannot actually do?

The above reactions prompted the District NAADS Coordinator, who was present at the meeting, to recall the forms for a review and possible modification to allow the CBFs and PCCs to do their work more easily. When I examined copies of the forms that were brought (see Appendices 40 and 41), they indeed seemed complex even for a literate person. The amount one is expected to fill in on the forms is excessive, and could easily be too much for a CBF or PCC who more or less works as a volunteer. The complex and technical nature of the forms, which are, worse still, prepared in English, renders them meaningless for unschooled people.

6.3.3.2 Farmers' training workshop

In this section, a description of a two-day farmers' training and technology demonstration workshop that I observed on the 20th and 23rd April 2007 is presented. The workshop was organised by CREAM, a private firm contracted to train farmers in areas of agricultural production. It was held at Manibe Sub-County Headquarters. The training workshop was attended by the representatives of farmers' groups from different parishes in Manibe Sub-County. Also present in the workshop were the Manibe SCFF Chairperson, the Manibe Sub-County NAADS Coordinator, the Manibe Sub-County Production Officer, and the LC III Chairperson who officiated the opening of the training workshop.

Some of the key parameters that I used as my observation checklist, presented in Appendix 3, included:

- Topics that were covered
- Attendance for the training workshop
- Time management by both facilitators and workshop participants
- Gender and age distribution of the training participants
- Level of participation by different segments of the training participants
- Language used for conducting the training

- Training materials used
- Methods of teaching used
- Tasks assigned to the training participants
- Facilitators used.

The training aimed at addressing the following three important topics related to the different enterprises farmers' groups were involved in. These were:

- Enterprise/business selection
- Marketing
- Poultry Management.

The timetable or programme for the training workshop in the course of the two days, written on newsprint and pinned on the wall for the training participants to read, is presented in Table 14:

Table 14: Programme for the farmers' training workshop

Day 1: April 20, 2007	
9:30 – 9:45 am	Registration
9:45 – 10:00 am	Opening
10:00 – 12:00 Noon	Business selection
12:00 – 12:30 pm	Plenary Session
12:30 – 1:30 pm	Lunch Break
1:30 – 2:30 pm	Marketing
2:30 – 3:00 pm	Plenary
3:00 – 3:15 pm	End of Day 1 and departure
Day 2: April 23, 2007	
9:30 – 9:45 am	Registration
9:45 – 10:30 am	Marketing Continued
10:30 – 12:00 Noon	Poultry Management
12:00 – 12:30 pm	Plenary Session
12:30 – 1:30 pm	Lunch Break
1:30 – 4:00 pm	Field Based Demonstrations
4:00 – 4:10 pm	End of Day 2 and departure

The training focused on two modules. Module One was concerned with the selection, planning and management of Income Generating Activities (IGAs). The first day of the training was devoted to tackling the sub-topics under the main topic: Selection, Planning and Management of IGAs. The sub-topics, which the facilitator wrote on a flipchart for participants to read and copy, were:

- Ability to operate an IGA

- Marketability of an IGA
- Profitability of an IGA
- Start-up/ initial Capital required for the IGA
- Total returns from the IGA.

Module Two of the training workshop, which focused on Marketing, was also broken down into specific sub-topics, which included:

- Marketing and customer care
- Managing business – time management and delegation
- Problem solving and decision-making
- Increasing business profits
- Managing business failures and growth
- Quality management and costing.

I noted that possession of literacy skills for the participants was crucial in order to engage with the topics for the training workshop. In the first place, they were written and one needed to read and write them in one's note pad, secondly they were written in English, thirdly, a lot of calculations were involved, and lastly groups had to write down the summary of their discussions on flip charts. It was evident that one's ability to read, write and communicate was crucial for effective participation in the training workshop.

I also noted that while the timetable for the training workshop seemed very organised, the schedule was not actually followed. The training participants had a tendency of arriving late and wanting to leave early. The SCFF Chairperson and a facilitator told me that in order to prevent this, the transport refund and certain allowances were only given to the training participants at the end of the workshop, so that they did not leave before the recommended time. I noted that this tendency of participants coming late and wanting to leave early made trainers rush through their topics. Day one of the training workshop was delayed by an hour and a half. Such delays tended to force facilitators to rush through their lectures and leave the training participants with very little time to discuss the things that were taught.

The team that conducted the training was drawn from CREAM, the private company mentioned earlier. The teaching and learning took place both in the classroom and in the field. The fieldwork focused on technology demonstrations.

When teaching took place inside the classroom, most of the facilitators depended heavily on lectures as far as teaching methods were concerned. In some cases, a question and answer method was used. During the sessions I observed, I saw at least two facilitators reading directly from their textbooks. This created a high boredom level that resulted in some participants starting to fall asleep. When the facilitators made attempts to follow up the lectures with questions and answers, there was poor participation. A few men put up their hands to answer some of the questions, and participation by women was minimal. The facilitators used handouts, textbooks and handwritten lecture notes all prepared in English as their teaching materials despite the fact that most of the training participants did not understand English.

Most of the tasks which the training participants were involved in during the training sessions that I observed had a lot to do with reading, writing and the use of documents in English. This was evident in the topics that were covered as indicated in Tables 13 and 14 above. Some of the tasks included the use of name tags, discussing business profits and losses, and summarising groups' findings on newsprint for presentation in English at the plenary, as shown in Figure 25 below.

Figure 25: A participant presenting group's work in plenary



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at Manibe Sub-County Headquarters on December 29, 2006

However, there was one facilitator who based his teaching on simple and practical demonstration. The session he conducted on April 21, 2007 focused on business selection. Unlike other facilitators who depended on the lecture method, he arranged three different sets of activities namely tea-making, boiling eggs and making porridge as possible businesses participants could select from.

The materials needed to make tea were firewood, matches, water, tea leaves, sugar, tea kettle and cups. To boil the eggs required the raw eggs, paraffin stove, paraffin, matches, water, saucepan, salt and plates. Meanwhile a charcoal stove, charcoal, maize flour, sugar, water, saucepans and plates were required for making the porridge. He provided all the above equipment, ingredients and materials needed for successfully undertaking each of the three activities named above.

Participants were divided into groups and asked to select one of the enterprises which they would then undertake. Thereafter, the facilitator involved the participants through questions and answers, assessing the costs and benefits of the activities in terms of time needed for accomplishing each, the type and cost of energy to be used,

the amount of water required for each activity, and the demand for the end products of each activity.

The assessment of the inputs, costs, time required, expected benefits/profits and demand for the product from each enterprise or business based on simple or locally available materials was done in order to select the most viable enterprise. Thereafter, all the participants were asked to do a cost-benefit analysis of the activities before them and decide which one they would consider to be the most viable in terms of the costs, benefits and demand for the products from their chosen enterprise. Thereafter, he went through the criteria for selecting the most viable business and based his explanation on simple and real life materials.

It should be noted that even in this participatory session which was based on simple, real life activities, there was a high demand for literacy and numeracy skills. Issues of initial costs to be incurred, different things needed to start the business, time, profits and losses all had to be calculated on the chalkboard. Some of the calculations looked very abstract and those participants with limited or no literacy and numeracy skills had nothing to do but observe and wait for explanation and translation, since a lot of English was also involved.

Through informal conversations I held with the four facilitators regarding their educational experiences, I found out that although most of them were university graduates who had degrees in subjects such as agriculture, veterinary medicine, and social sciences, none of them had done an adult education facilitation course. This perhaps explains why they were mostly using lecture methods, contrary to the different methods listed in the PMA Training Manual (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, n.d., p. 8). The use of multiple methods, as described in the training manual, would have reduced boredom and enhanced participation on the part of the trainees.

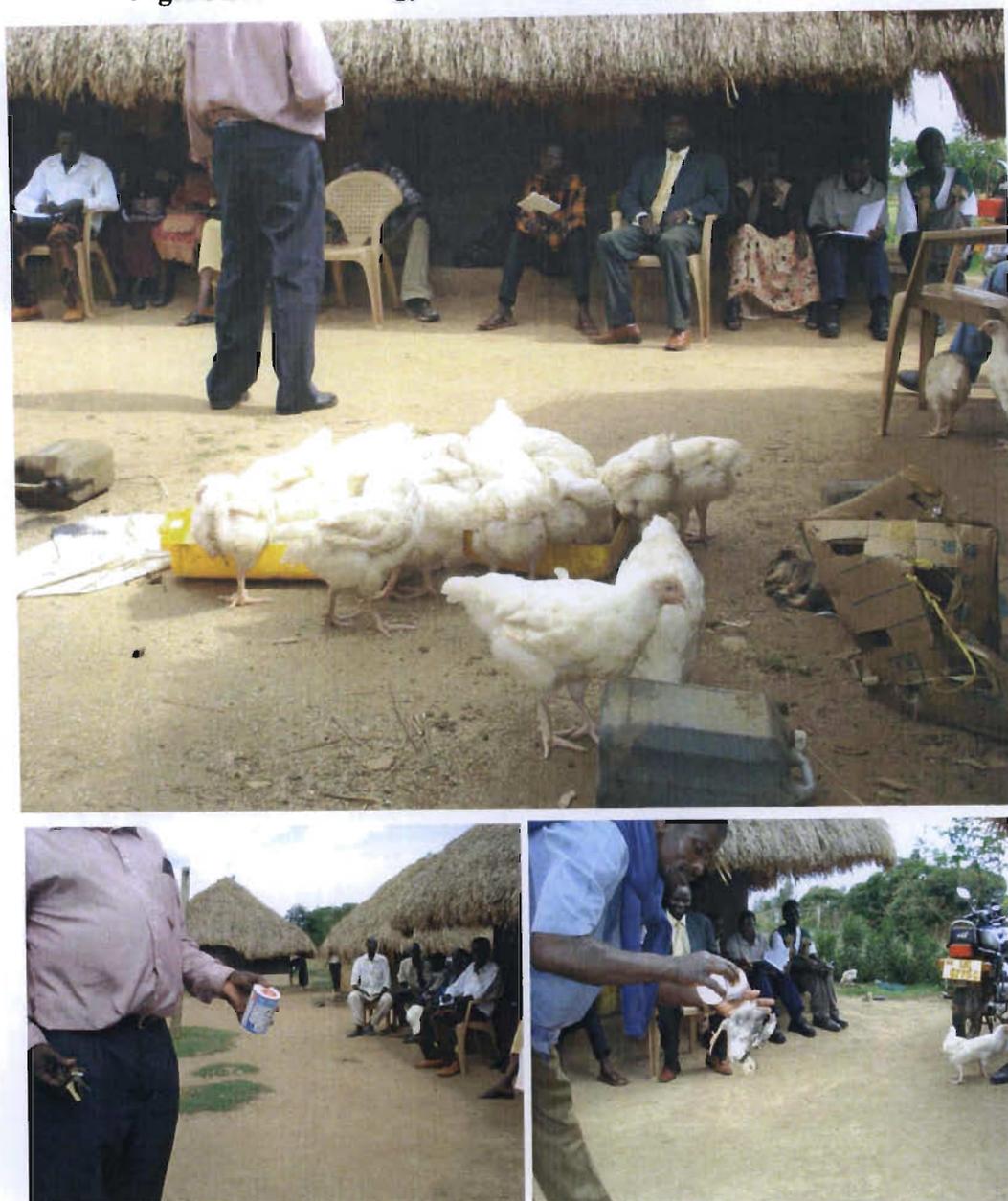
The afternoon of the second day was used to take the participants out for a field demonstration. The demonstration, which took place at one of the model farmer's homes, was based on classroom teaching which focused on the management of a poultry unit, illustrated earlier in Figure 18. The announcement of the visit to one of

the model farmers' home was received by the training participants with joy. This indicated that they felt happier going out than sitting in one place for hours.

While in the field, the training participants were able to see a poultry house, poultry feeds, how chicks were taken care of, and how pests and diseases were controlled by the model farmer. In the demonstrations, some of the training participants were also able to sand-dust some of the birds, as shown in Figure 26 below. Sand-dusting helps to kill lice on the chicks.

By allowing the participants this practical experience, the facilitator aimed to find out whether they were able to correctly apply what they learnt in the class. I noticed that the cover of the container for the chemical used for sand-dusting the chicks, which the facilitator is holding in Figure 26 below, had instructions written in English. To apply the correct quantity of the chemical, one would need to be able to read, and most importantly, to read in English, in order to understand the instructions. Lack of knowledge of English means one could fail to apply the required quantity of the chemical, which could prove fatal for the chicks.

Figure 26: Technology demonstration exercise in the field



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at one of the model farmer's homes in Ombaci Parish on April 24, 2007.

Again, the use of English proved to be problematic. Although all the trainers indicated on their questionnaires and also told me informally that the training workshops are normally conducted in Lugbara, I noticed that the facilitators would start talking in Lugbara and suddenly switch to English. Most of the trainers I interacted with throughout the study could not sustain a discussion in Lugbara. This was probably because there has been little emphasis on mother tongue in Ugandan schools and nowadays, most educated people tend to mix their mother tongue with English.

Judging from the invitation list and the actual number of training participants who reported, the turnout for the training was very good. When I asked some of the trainers whether that had always been the case, they said that it had. However, when I asked the same question of some of the training participants during break time, without the involvement of the facilitators, I got a completely different response. The training participants disagreed with their trainers, and one of them said:

Today you are seeing many people in this training because there will be some allowances at the end of the day. It is a pity that our people do not turn up in large numbers when there are no allowances for such events (A comment about allowances (translated from Lugbara), by one of the training participants on April 24, 2007).

I noted similar remarks in more than three of the end-of-contract reports of the PSPs submitted to the SCLG authorities. It could be inferred from the way the facilitators were rushing through the topics because the training participants always wanted to leave early, as well as the participants' focus on allowances, that both the training participants and trainers were more interested in cash than learning.

6.3.3.3 Agricultural education and training

I asked the 20 individual interviewees and 14 group interviewees whether they had ever taken part in any farmers' training, and if so, how many times a year and what they would normally learn. All of them said that they had taken part in a number of farmers' training workshops, though they could not recall exactly how many times in a year.

Nine of the interviewees said they had attended two training workshops in a year, six indicated three times a year, three said four times, and only one indicated once a year. They mentioned a number of topics the trainers taught them during the training workshops. These included:

- Poultry management
- Apiculture

- Onion production
- Use of chemical fertilisers
- Soil and water conservation management
- Pests and disease control and management
- Modern methods of production
- Post harvest management.

Group interviews generated similar responses. However, when trainers were asked to list the topics they commonly teach during farmers' training workshops, the list of topics I compiled from their responses varied slightly from the ones mentioned by the farmers. The trainers' list included:

- Group formation and group dynamics
- Institutional development
- Constitution writing
- Communication
- Enterprise selection
- Marketing
- Budgeting.

When trainers were asked to indicate who designs or develops the curriculum they use for training farmers, and who determines the topics, the four trainers gave no clear answer. From my personal observation of the training sessions, I noted that the participants seemed to have had little to do with the design of the curriculum and selection of the topics used for the training workshops. The training topics, teaching/learning materials, and guidelines used for the training programmes appeared to have been extracted by the trainers from the PMA Training Manual. As per my assessment, all the topics farmers and trainers mentioned were relevant to the local needs of the participants since they were all concerned with the problems facing farmers and what farmers need to know about PMA.

When I examined the PMA training manual, its focus was solely on sensitisation about PMA. The seven modules in the training manual (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, n.d.) were:

- Communication

- What is PMA?
- What the government is doing under PMA
- PMA on ground
- Farming as a business
- How do I benefit from PMA?
- Roles and responsibilities of stakeholders.

The topics that the farmers listed were mainly farming-related while the list from the trainers comprised of mainly process-related aspects of the PMA process. I also observed that most of the issues to do with process-related activities of PMA were contracted to trainers affiliated with NGOs, while the actual farming-related activities of PMA were contracted to trainers who operate individually. When I asked some of the trainers to give me the teaching guidelines they use for training farmers, the only one I managed to get was the Onion production guide used by one of the trainers (see Appendix 34). The items contained in the Onion production guide were not found in the PMA Training Manual. Like many of the documents, the Onion production guide was prepared in English, and I could not get a version that had been translated into Lugbara. The way it was written also made it difficult for an unschooled person to comprehend.

It appeared that there was hardly any coordination or linkages between the trainers who worked as individuals and those affiliated to NGOs. Each appeared to be working autonomously, which raises issues of quality control and curriculum development. It was difficult to know who was to provide agricultural training, as well as where, how, and at what level.

6.3.3.4 SCFF general meeting

At the beginning of every year, the SCFF calls a general meeting of all the farmers' groups to discuss the various challenges farmers face in their groups, and come up with strategies to address them. The purpose of the general meeting I observed was to give representatives of farmers' groups an opportunity to get feedback from the leaders of the SCFF about the problems faced in the previous activities and develop strategies for the year 2006.

The meeting, which took place on January 13, 2006 at Manibe Sub-County Headquarters Hall, was chaired by the SCFF Chairperson and attended by the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator, who also doubles as the secretary for the SCFF. She recorded the proceedings of the meeting. The meeting was set to commence at 9:00 am, but only actually started at 10:30 am, and finished at 5:00 pm. According to the farmers who attended the meeting, the venue was chosen because it was a general meeting to be attended by representatives of all the farmers' groups from the various parishes who constitute the SCFF for Manibe.

The meeting started with an opening prayer led by one of the members. After the prayer, members were asked to scrutinise the items on the agenda before proceeding with the deliberations. The agenda was written and read in English. The items on the agenda, which were written on the blackboard for approval and adoption and also in the minutes of the meeting as presented in Appendix 36, read as follows:

1. Prayers
2. Communication from the chairman
3. Highlights by Sub-County NAADS Coordinator
4. Reading of the previous minutes
5. Reactions to issues No. 2 – 4 above
6. Election of Procurement Committee members
7. AOB

My observation was guided by a checklist, presented in Appendix 3. Some of the key issues of interest in this particular meeting included:

- Venue for the meeting
- Items on the agenda
- Time management
- Attendance for the meeting
- Language used for conducting the meeting
- Common problems highlighted in the meeting
- Gender distribution of the members in the meeting.

Unlike the SCFF progress review workshop, which was attended by many political leaders and the District NAADS Coordinator, this meeting was only attended by

representatives of farmers' groups and the Executive of the SCFF. Aspects which I observed in the SCFF review workshop, such as official opening, group discussion, and a plenary session for presenting each group's findings, were conspicuously absent in the general meeting.

As in the SCFF review workshop, the members in the general meeting did not stick to the proposed timetable. The meeting started one and a half hours late. However, the attendance was good; it was attended by 74 people. In terms of the gender composition, there was a significant imbalance: 17 of the 74 members (23%) who attended were women, and 54 (77%) were men. The gender composition in the leadership of the SCFF was not any different. The majority of the positions of responsibility in the SCFF tended to be taken up by men. Four of the five Executive Committee members were men.

Although I was told that the meeting was going to be conducted in Lugbara, I saw that the minutes were written and kept in English. In addition, the secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting in English. I did not see any attempt to translate them into Lugbara. In fact, English tended to dominate the discussions throughout the meeting.

The majority of the participants I observed making contributions in the meeting did not sustain discussions in Lugbara. In most cases, they switched between Lugbara and English. From my personal experience, this can be attributed to the importance and status people tend to assign to English as a superior language. I observed that some of the women who did not understand English well were uncomfortable. When I talked to one of the women after the meeting to find out how she felt when discussions switched from Lugbara to English, she had this to say:

When people talk and discuss things in English, I feel neglected and consequently lose interest in the discussions. Sometimes I feel they might even be insulting or talking bad about me and this makes me feel suspicious about the discussion. (A comment (translated from Lugbara) concerning the use of English in meetings by one of the participants, on January 13, 2006).

Common problems that were highlighted during the meeting by the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator included the following:

- Constant changes in procedure for accessing the Enterprise Development Fund (EDF)
- Lack of funds to contract advisory services
- Stringent conditions farmers' groups must meet to access PMA funds
- Ineffectiveness of PCC and CBFs in compiling reports
- Poor timekeeping in farmers' groups' activities such as meeting, training workshops, technology demonstrations and field visits, as well as study tours
- Poor attendance at training workshops.

The Sub-County NAADS Coordinator announced that for farmers' groups to access the EDF, they needed to fulfil a number of conditions. For the farmers' groups to be given UShs 600,000, they needed to have:

- Opened their own bank account
- Had their own savings
- Paid co-funding for the year 2005/06
- Prepared the activity plan for the EDF to be submitted to the sub-county together with the requisition form.

A copy of the activity plan and requisition form can be seen in Appendix 37. Again, it is clear that an unschooled person would find it extremely difficult to engage with these activities. The conditions laid down for farmers' groups to fulfil before they can access the EDF require a great deal of paperwork, which cannot be completed by a person who lacks literacy and numeracy skills.

6.3.3.5 Oreku Women's Farmers' Group meeting

Like any other farmers' group, the members of Oreku Women's Group organise meetings for members to discuss different problems encountered by their group. One of their meetings, which I observed, was held at Oreku Primary School on January 10, 2007. According to the members of the group, the meeting was held at the school because the classrooms have blackboards that they can write on. The meeting was

called to discuss developments in the group's activities. The key issues of interest for me in this meeting were similar to the ones in 6.3.3.5 above. The agenda for the meeting was written on the chalkboard. The items on the agenda for the meeting included:

1. Opening prayers
2. Communication from the chair and reactions
3. ISFGs and their associated technology access documents
4. Co-funding (matching grant)
5. Technology Demonstration Development Site
6. A.O.B

The meeting was intended to start at 9:00 am, but due to a lack of quorum it only began at 11:00 am, and finished at 12:55 pm. It was attended by 19 members.

Like the SCFF general meeting I observed, the Oreku Women's group meeting started with an opening prayer led by one of the women. I did not see LC officials open or close the meeting, as was the case with SCFF review workshop. The meeting was led by the Chairperson for the group and the minutes were read and taken by the secretary. Both the Chairperson and the secretary were women. Unlike the SCFF review workshop and the SCFF general meeting, there were more women than men in this particular meeting. As in the SCFF review workshop and the general meeting, the proposed schedule was not observed. One member who arrived in time had told me that their meetings were always delayed because women have many things to do, and they tend to come late.

The meeting was conducted predominantly in Lugbara, although there were a few members who would occasionally throw in one or two words in English. This contrasted sharply with the meetings I observed at the sub-county.

In terms of the gender composition of the group's membership, only 5 of the 18 members who were present in the meeting were men (see Figure 27 below). When I talked to some of the group members about the participation of the men in their group activities after the meeting, I was told that the men I might have seen on the group list in the sub-county records are not active at all. One of the women put it as follows:

It seems our men are not interested in this NAADS thing. They stopped coming to our meeting soon after we got our registration with the sub-county. I think their interest lies in getting cash now and not working for it. In fact, when they show up in such meetings, one should immediately get the idea that some form of allowance was in the offing and they are trying to eye it (A comment (translated from Lugbara) about the participation of men by one of the women in a meeting, on January 10, 2007).

Figure 27: Oreku Women's Group members after a meeting



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at Oreku Primary School on January 10, 2007

Two other women who attended Oreku Women's Group meeting also told me that most of the activities at sub-county level have benefits such as transport refund and lunch allowances attached which are absent in the meetings at parish levels. This could explain why few men attend.

Amongst the common problems members discussed were failure by members to meet their obligation relating to co-funding, difficulties in accessing ISFGs or the EDF, absenteeism (especially by male members), and lack of funds for members to run their

activities. When I asked a few members after the meeting why it was difficult to access the EDF or ISFGs (see Appendices 38 and 39), I was told the papers one has to fill in so as to process the funds are complicated and prepared in English, and that most of the group members lack the capacity to understand them, so they mostly have to depend on someone else to do it for them.

With 18 of the 19 members of the group being present in the meeting, the overall attendance of the meeting was very good.

6.3.4 PMA farmers' groups

In this section, the role of farmers' groups and how the dynamics involved in their operations impact on their members is presented. Some of the key issues presented include the background of the farmers' groups, rationale for the farmers' groups, their performance over the years, composition of the group members in terms of gender, education, and age, motivation for joining groups, and why certain people have refused to join the groups.

6.3.4.1 Size and member selection

The subsistence farmers were asked to explain the origin of their groups, how many members were in each and what conditions must be fulfilled before joining the groups. According to the 40 participating farmers, the groups had from 15 – 30 members each on average. Responses from the farmers' trainers and PMA officials showed similar figures. When I checked the records of farmers' groups registered with Manibe SCLG, shown in Appendix 18, I got similar numbers. All the respondents indicated that there were no conditions for an individual to fulfil before becoming a member of any PMA group, but conditions do apply to groups before they are recognised by the SCLG.

The purpose of finding out the history of the groups was to establish whether they were specifically created for PMA purposes or whether they existed before the introduction of PMA and just got co-opted. 27 of the participating farmers indicated that their groups were created in order to get farmers together to work under the PMA

programme, while 13 indicated that their groups were in existence before PMA. When I asked whether the four non-participating farmers were affiliated to any other groups outside the PMA intervention, they said yes. They said their groups were informally created and had nothing to do with PMA, and were also not subjected to the conditions the SCLG has set for PMA groups. Such groups included religious groups such as Mothers' Union and Catholic Action, cultural groups such as funeral associations, dancing groups, and drinking clubs.

6.3.4.2 Management of farmers' groups

When I asked the participating farmers to enumerate the conditions the sub-county imposes on each group to be recognised under the PMA intervention, they all indicated the same things. The requirements included:

- A constitution
- A bank account
- A registered certificate issued by the SCLG.

All these conditions to a great extent entail the application of literacy and numeracy skills. I noticed that despite the problem of a lack of literacy among a good number of the participating farmers, they have continued to remain in the PMA programme by employing different strategies. How they cope with the challenges associated with lack of literacy is discussed in Section 6.3.5.

When I asked the farmers to explain how their groups were managed and what guides their management, there were no straightforward responses. However, through piecing together data pieces from various documents, and responses from questionnaires, as well as the varied responses from the farmers, I learnt that different groups were asked to elect their leaders to take care of the managerial issues of the group. The 27 farmers whose groups were created purposely for PMA indicated that some NGOs were contracted to provide institutional development services to the groups. They identified such NGOs who have worked in Manibe Sub-County to include:

- Uganda Humanitarian Development Association (UHUDA)
- The Organization for Community Development (TOCODE)
- Consultancy for Rural Enterprise and Activity Management (CREAM)

- Community Empowerment for Rural Development (CEFORD).

When I asked what exactly the NGOs did for them as a group, all the respondents were in agreement about the role the NGOs played in the initial stages. Some of the roles in summary were:

- Mobilising communities in order to make them form groups
- Facilitating the process of helping them to write a constitution that governs the groups' activities
- Facilitating the process of enterprise selection
- Provision of advisory services to them.

These roles were confirmed when I examined the inception and end of contract reports of some of the NGOs and PSPs. For example, farmers' groups were expected to have a constitution to guide them before they were registered and recognised. Facilitation in the area of writing a constitution was therefore critical, because the subsistence farmers indicated that they could not do it themselves.

6.3.4.3 Rationale for farmers' groups

The participating farmers were asked to explain why they thought they were made to work in groups under PMA, and whether they liked working in groups. All the participating farmers gave similar responses, stated in different ways. After compiling the responses, I came up with the five major reasons. According to the farmers, the government thought that it would:

- Help in pooling efforts and resources together; helping many as a group would be better than helping individuals, which would end up being costly
- Be an effective way of accessing donor assistance, as donors cannot give aid to individuals
- Facilitate the process of trying to solve the problem of lack of markets for the farmers' produce
- Enhance mobilisation of the communities to access the intended services
- Facilitate training of farmers, as it was easier to train groups than individuals.

These reasons were similar to those in a report by DENIVA (n.d.) that sought to establish the relationship between the quality of farmers' groups and the effectiveness of NAADS and other related factors, a copy of which I accessed from the Sub-County Headquarters. Farmers' understanding of the reasons why the government wanted them to work in groups were similar to the ones stated in the PMA Training Manual. These included:

- To combine skills and resources
- Working together makes work lighter and easier, especially when the group decides to get communal plots
- A group approach allows the community to plan together and choose the best option
- Information exchange leads to improved skills and increased production
- Groups have more bargaining power than an individual. "The only power the poor have is in their numbers" (Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, n.d., p. 62).

When I asked whether the participating farmer members enjoy working in groups, their answers were uniformly negative. The three reasons they advanced to explain their attitude towards working in groups were:

- The problem of "freeloaders"¹¹.
- The unschooled getting cheated when it comes to distribution of rewards.
- The contemptuous attitudes some people in the groups tend to have towards the poorest among the group members, which tends to discourage such members from attending meetings.

In general terms, the farmers argued that working in groups was bad because the amount of effort put in by different members of the groups was unequal, which meant that a few people were overworked.

However, the interviewees said that since there were no other options, they had to take what was available. As working in groups appears to be inevitable in the face of a

¹¹ In Lugbara, the term "freeloader" means a person who tries to benefit from group efforts at the expense of other group members who make considerable contributions.

donor-dominated world, where aid recipients need to abide by the conditions set by the donor, their pragmatic views make sense.

6.3.4.4 Performance of farmers' groups

I asked the participating and non-participating farmers to give their general views on how the farmers' groups were performing in the sub-county. A group's performance in this case was simply measured by whether the number of groups in the sub-county were going down or up, or remaining constant. If the numbers of groups were increasing, it would suggest that members were benefiting, which would lead to good performance. If the number of groups went down, it would suggest that the reverse was true. Different words were used to describe the progress the different groups were making. Most of the farmers (30 of the 44) said that the groups were disintegrating, nine said the groups were active, four said the groups were disorganised and one indicated that the groups were dormant. The same terms were used to describe some of the groups in several inception and end of contract reports.

Two-thirds of the responses from farmers' trainers and PMA officials suggested that there was a decline in the number of groups. When I examined a number of the end-of-contract reports which PSPs submit to the SCLG authorities, the term disintegration was also common. Asked whether it was the pre-PMA groups that were disintegrating or those that were formed specifically for PMA, 25 of the 44 interviewees indicated that it was mainly the groups that were formed specifically for PMA purposes that were collapsing, while 19 disagreed and said both categories of groups were disintegrating. A critical assessment of the records of farmers' groups in the sub-county appeared to support the view that some groups no longer existed. This is evident in Table 15 below, which demonstrates the trend in groups' performance from the 2000 – 2008.

Table 15: Changes in number of farmers' groups in Manibe Sub-County

Year	No of Active Farmer Groups	Remark on the Change experienced	The Direction of the change
2001/02	25	-	Starting Year
2002/03	33	8	Increase
2003/04	38	5	Increase
2004/05	44	6	Increase
2005/06	60	16	Dramatic increase
2006/07	50	-10	Dramatic drop
2007/08	45	-5	Drop

Source: Constructed from 2001 – 2008 list of farmers' groups registered with Manibe SCLG

From 2000 – 2006, the number of farmers' groups increased but from 2007, there was a decline. Generally, this shows a downward trend which is not encouraging. When I asked the participating and non-participating farmers why they thought the number of active groups was going down, they gave a number of reasons which included:

- The failure by the programme to meet the expectations of the target group
- The challenges participating farmers face in undertaking most of the activities as a result of their lack of education and hence their illiteracy and numeracy
- Members fearing the matching grants (co-funding)
- Lack of markets for the products farmers produce
- Failure by members to meet conditions set to access the EDF.

One woman among those who said their needs were not being met said:

There is too much talking and too little money coming to us to do farming as business. I think we were deceived. This is not what was told to us at the beginning when they were persuading us to join the programme. How can they do this to us? (Interview conducted in Lugbara with one of the research participants in Ewadri Parish, on September 12, 2007).

In one of the group interviews conducted with members of the Meridi Market Women's Group, who were discontented and had therefore pulled out of the PMA programme in the sub-county, the group's secretary explained their frustrations in the programme as follows:

It seems to me some groups waited too long for the pledge that was made to them to materialise. Although we in different groups had different reasons for leaving and remaining in the PMA programme, our group particularly felt it was not helpful to continue wasting time in the programme when nothing was forthcoming. Sir, that is exactly why we decided to pull out of the programme (Meridi Market Women's Group secretary, in a group interview conducted in Lugbara, on September 12, 2007).

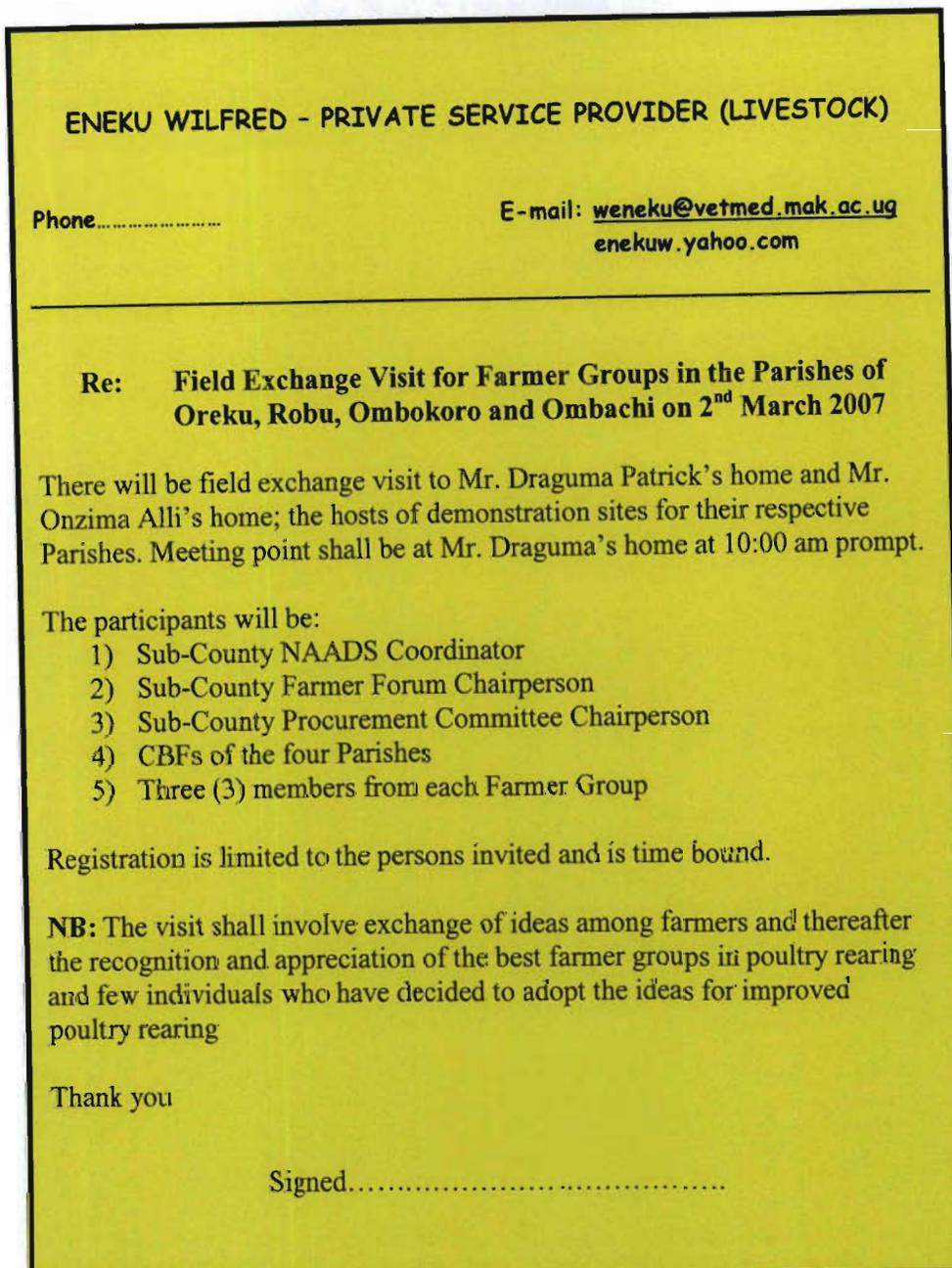
Data from farmers' trainers and PMA programme officials showed other reasons as well. Six of the ten respondents indicated delays in releasing funds for activities such as farmer training and technology demonstrations as the reason for the drop in the numbers of farmers' groups in the sub-county. Three indicated farmers' failure to pay co-funds (matching grants) as the reason for their dropping out. One person cited farmers' complaints during training regarding their failure to understand certain things as a result of their inability to read and write, as well as their inability to understand English.

A 41 year old P.3 dropout, Joshua, made an observation in one of the group discussions conducted in Oreku Primary school in Oreku Parish, which seems to reinforce the above view concerning farmers' complaints. He said:

I think the biggest problem we have in our group is that of communication. Our members in the upper levels of farmer forum are not representing us well. They seem not to bring to us the right information or interpret it very well to us.most of us did not go to school and we do not understand these things written in white man's language (Joshua, in a group interview conducted in Lugbara at Oreku Primary School, on September 18, 2007).

Joshua's comments concerning the difficulties surrounding the use of English are reinforced by a notice one of the PSPs sent to participating farmers regarding an exchange visit which a participant gave me, asking me to "see for myself" (see Figure 28 below which is a retyped copy of the notice).

Figure 28: A communiqué from a PSP to participating farmers



If the message contained in the above notice is not well explained by the representatives whom the group sends to attend SCFF meetings at the Sub-County Headquarters, as Joshua comments, it could easily discourage not only those with limited reading abilities in their own language, but also those who do not know English. It also suggests that the discussions in the field exchange would be in English and would exclude unschooled people.

6.3.4.5 Composition of farmers' groups

There are a number of factors that influence the way people access options and resources as they interact in the course of trying to improve their livelihoods through group activities. Such factors include gender, age, education/literacy, and power which in turn influence decision-making in groups. Since women in rural areas tend to be the most affected by poverty and illiteracy, an examination of the composition of the members of the farmers' groups in terms of gender and education levels or literacy, and how this is reflected in terms of leadership roles and decision-making among the members of farmers' groups was necessary.

Data regarding this particular aspect of the study was mainly generated from trainers and PMA officials, and complemented by documentary analysis and personal observation when I visited some of the groups. One of the items of the semi-structured questionnaires required the farmers' trainers and PMA officials to describe the composition of male and female members in the various groups in the sub-county, with a view to determining which gender dominates the activities and decision-making processes in the groups.

Nine out of the ten respondents indicated that the ratio of male to female is fifty-fifty. According to these respondents, the issue of gender balance was a requirement in the PMA intervention. They pointed out that since farmers' groups were expected to be gender sensitive, the number of males and females in various groups should be more or less equal. Most PMA-related documents emphasise gender sensitivity as one of the guiding principles. However, one of the PMA officials did not agree, arguing that there are more women at lower levels, but fewer women than men at higher levels.

When I visited the farmers' groups whose meetings, I observed, I noticed that on average there were more women at parish levels than men. This is evident in Figure 29 below, in which there are only three men in the entire group. Of the three men attending the meeting, one was attending for the first time since the group was formed.

Figure 29: Meridi Market Women's Group in a meeting



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at Meridi Market on July 16, 2007

To reinforce the above point, the respondent who disagreed with the other nine respondents over the issue of the ratio of males to females at various levels wrote:

...when there are training programmes at the sub-county level, you would find men coming to participate in large numbers, but when you try to go down to the fields to see who is using the skills that were imparted, you would only find women and children working in the fields and you begin to wonder where the men are. Sometimes I feel that the training was given to “the wrong farmer”.

However, there was a unique group: the third on the farmers' group registration list (see Appendix 18), in which the composition of the members is very different from the others. Although this was not one of the groups whose members participated in the group interviews, one of their members, a high school leaver, was selected to take part in the individual interviews. However, I could not verify some of the information he gave me because his group was not among those selected to take part in the group interviews, and I also did not visit the site where activities were based.

When I interviewed the member from this unique group, he told me that the group had 14 members, of which there were two women and 12 men. He said that all the members had completed secondary education. When I crosschecked on the farmers' group registration list, it indicated that the group had 25 members and the column for women was left blank, meaning that the group had no female members. This is a typical example of a group that is likely to access resources with ease because of their level of education, and their being predominantly male. Their benefits are likely to be at the expense of those groups which are predominantly female or have unschooled members.

When asked why PMA implementers and trainers why there were more males participating in PMA activities at higher levels than females, they all attributed it to culture and the level of education attained by different people in the groups. In relation to education levels, the implementers and trainers all agreed that men had better education than women. The one respondent who earlier disagreed with the rest expressed this in her questionnaire as follows:

The low levels of education among females participating farmers in my opinion explains why there are more men participating at higher level PMA activities than women. This is because the higher one tries to go in terms of PMA activities, the more complicated it tends to become in terms of literacy demands the PMA activities place on the members. With low levels of education among the women, most of them tended to remain at lower levels with very little power to influence decisions in the groups, which negatively affects their access to certain resources as compared to their male counterparts.

One respondent noted in his questionnaire that during group's meetings, women normally tend to keep quiet and men dominate discussions. As a result most of their good ideas are suffocated and their voices not heard. I observed this pattern in the SCFF general meeting, the farmers' training and technology demonstrations, SCFF semi-annual review workshop and the Oreku Women's Group meeting.

In my interaction with different groups, I realised that the number of old and young people was very low. This was also reflected in the study sample and supported by responses from the trainers and implementers, who all indicated on their questionnaires that there are fewer old and young people in the farmers' groups than middle aged people. When I tried to find out why this was, varied responses were given, such as lack of time as many of the young people were attending school, laziness, and the youth's distaste for agriculture. "The youth have never seen agriculture as something that can pull them out of poverty," one interviewee remarked.

6.3.4.6 Motivation for joining farmers' groups

In order to benefit from PMA activities, the subsistence farmers were asked to form groups and work together. It is not possible to access PMA services as an individual. Participation in PMA activities therefore necessitates joining a given group of one's interest.

Among the expected target group of PMA, there are those who joined the farmers' groups and those, who for different reasons, did not. In order to establish the factors that motivated some to join and others to abstain, I asked the participating farmers to give at least one reason why they had decided to join the groups, and the four non-participating farmers to explain why they had not.

21 of the 40 participating farmers said that they wanted to raise income to educate their children; eight said that they wanted to increase food production in their homes; six said that they were just responding to the call by the local government officials in the sub-county, in order to try their luck in the new development intervention; and the remaining five said that they wanted to take advantage of the opportunity for training and technology demonstrations offered under the PMA intervention.

Robert, a resident of Rubu Parish, said:

I was thinking that the programme would help me raise my income levels to enable me educate my children since I did not go far with my education. This

came as the only hope for me. I strongly believe that my life would have been different if I was able to complete my schooling. (Robert, in an interview conducted in Lugbara, on August 1, 2007).

Ritaa, a resident of Oreku Parish, joined a farmers' group because her crops were no longer doing well, and she needed new types of seeds. She explained her motivation to join the farmers' group as follows:

All our cassava stalks seemed to have been infected with terrible disease. They dry all the time and can never give good tubers as we used to get and yet we cannot do anything to save the situation. When I heard about the new programme, I was happy that it might be able help solve the problem. (Ritaa, in an interview conducted in Lugbara, on August 13, 2005).

When I further asked the farmers whether they felt their problems had been solved or their expectations had been met through joining farmers' groups, half of the farmers said that, to some extent, their expectations were met. The other half said that their expectations have not been met. Ritaa had this comment to make in relation to what she had expected out of PMA:

I think they tried, some cassava stalks were brought but it was never enough for all those who needed them. People scrambled over it and some never got, but we can now get from other people after multiplication, so somehow my problem has been partially tackled. (Ritaa, in an interview conducted in Lugbara, on August 13, 2005).

Ruzalia thought that joining the programme would mean ready markets for her produce which would enable her to sell her produce quickly and provide a lot of money to make her life and that of her family better. When I asked whether she found what she was looking for in the PMA intervention, she expressed some signs of uneasiness. She said that she was unhappy because although she got involved in groundnut production, she could not sell them as there was no market.

Despite the problems associated with PMA, half of the participating farmers said that they still hoped that the programme would deliver on its promises which would give them a lot of money to spend as they pleased.

6.3.4.7 Reasons for not joining farmers' groups

Both the participating and non-participating farmers were asked why they thought some people had not joined PMA. They mentioned various reasons that make people not join the farmers' groups. Some of the key factors that the participating farmers mentioned related to a lack of interest in working in groups, fear among the unschooled of being cheated while working in groups, fear of the co-funding requirement, lack of markets, and apathy. For example, one of the participating farmers had this to report of what she overheard other people say about farmers' groups:

People here like free things and making them work in groups means a good number of them will just cheat others and not contribute their efforts towards achieving the common goals of the group. It is better if people work on their own so that they can do their best. I too, felt like that at first, but I had no other alternative, but to join a PMA group. (Ruzalia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara in Ombokoro Parish, on August 8, 2005).

The four non-participating farmers also gave a number of reasons for not joining a group. They all said that there were many other people, like themselves, who had refused to join farmers' groups. They advanced a number of reasons, ranging from personal to institutional ones. They all said that they were afraid of being cheated by the educated people in the groups. They also worried that they might be arrested if they failed to repay the loans that they would have borrowed, as well as about their ability to contribute the matching grant (co-funding). Two of the non-participating farmers cited a lack of observable impact of the intervention on those who joined the farmers' groups. The other two indicated their lack of faith in people working in groups as one of the major reasons preventing them from joining any farmers' group.

When I asked the trainers why they thought some people were not joining farmers' groups, they gave the following reasons:

Some farmers feel neglected as their enterprises were not selected because they did not rank high.

In this place, people believe in seeing, so they are waiting to see the results with the few who have started.

Some tell me they do not have money to pay for co-funding and will also not manage to pay back monies they might borrow as loans to engage in business.

PMA/NAADS prioritisation is over narrowed as funds are only availed for the best three enterprises or activities of the group. As a result, those who are not involved in undertaking the selected enterprises miss out. This tends to send mixed signals to some people who then decide to stay out of the intervention as they feel that the process of enterprise selection does not take into consideration individual needs of farmers and groups.

Some of the reasons given by the participating farmers for non-participation were the same as the ones given by the trainers. It therefore appears that many people do not trust group efforts and would wish to work individually so that freeloaders are avoided. Key issues such as enterprise selection, difficulties in accessing the EDF and ISFGs, loan repayment, co-funding, and mistrust of working in groups seem to be some of the major contributory factors in deterring some people from joining PMA farmers' groups.

6.3.4.8 Problems faced by farmers' groups

The 40 participating farmers who took part in the individual and group interviews in this study were asked to identify and state some of the problems they encounter while undertaking PMA activities in order of priority and urgency with which they should be solved. What each person said was recorded in accordance with the number of

times each problem was mentioned. The problems mentioned were grouped under three categories: (i) literacy-related problems, (ii) PMA structure/process related problems and (iii) problems that were general in nature.

The problems which farmers mentioned that were linked to issues of literacy included:

- Lack of funds and difficulties associated with accessing EDF/ISFGs
- Dominance of English in PMA activities
- Inability to plan and make good proposals
- Lack of record-keeping skills
- Lack of education and illiteracy
- Lack of leadership skills
- Lack of arrangements for literacy learning.

Those problems that were specific to the PMA structure/process included:

- Delays in supply of inputs
- Working in groups/failure to check and reprimand “freeloaders”
- Short duration of contracts signed for service delivery
- Uncoordinated work on the part of PSPs.

The general problems mentioned included the following:

- Lack of markets for farmers
- Landlessness, land fragmentation and degradation
- Risks associated with agricultural production.

From the above categorisation of the problems facing participating farmers, there were seven problems to do with literacy, four problems that originate from the PMA structure/process, and three that are general in nature. Among the different problems, lack of funds and difficulties in accessing them, landlessness, land fragmentation and degradation, lack of education/illiteracy were the most frequently mentioned problems, while short duration of contracts, lack of leadership and uncoordinated work on the part of PSPs were least frequently mentioned

Implementers and trainers were asked to list some of the key problems they felt were affecting farmers' participation in different PMA activities. The common responses they gave included poor record-keeping, lack of record-keeping skills, illiteracy and lack of market. One of the items on the questionnaire administered to implementers and trainers asked them to indicate whether the participating farmers actually keep records of their activities, and to give reasons if their response was no. Seven of the ten respondents answered that they sometimes did, while the remaining three indicated that they never did. These three respondents gave the following reasons:

The farmers are illiterate and they cannot write.

They are lazy, so they cannot take time to keep records.

Poor culture of keeping records, they seem to be ok without records.

One of the responses regarding the problems farmers face with record-keeping went into more detail, as follows:

Farmers always have problems about record-keeping and remembering (figures and numbers) things for the previous seasons and years...they do not know how much input were used, how much labour was used, how much was the yield per acre; and how much was the profit or loss. All these require some basic knowledge of writing, numeracy and storage of records in an appropriate "readable" manner. These are the challenges farmers face in appreciating farming as a business.

These responses tended to reaffirm the accusation levelled against Community Based Facilitators (CBFs) and Parish Coordinating Committees (PCCs) in the SCFF semi-annual review workshop regarding their failure to submit their monthly and quarterly monitoring reports, which they attributed to their lack of literacy and inability to understand English. Poor record-keeping also emerged as one of the most common problems facing the subsistence farmers during individual and group interviews.

6.3.5 Coping strategies

In this section, the coping strategies employed by participating farmers with limited or no literacy in the course of dealing with tasks in their commercial enterprises in which the skills of reading and writing are essential are examined and described.

6.3.5.1 How unschooled people cope with literacy demands in PMA

When the participating farmers were asked how those individuals who lack literacy and numeracy skills coped with the literacy demands created by the various PMA activities, 20 of the 40 farmers said that such people use the services of literate neighbours or their own children, ten indicated that they hire other people's services at a fee, six indicated that such people avoid activities in which they are expected to apply literacy and numeracy skills, and four said that most of these people pretend as if there is nothing wrong, because they do not want to be identified as being "illiterate". All the PMA implementers and trainers gave similar responses. It therefore seems that most of those who lack literacy rely on literacy mediators, depending on the literacy skills of other people in the community.

6.3.5.2 Feelings about the coping strategies used by unschooled people

When the participating subsistence farmers were asked to talk about the strengths and problems associated with strategies employed by those who lack literacy skills, none of them saw any advantage in depending on someone else's literacy skills, which they said had a stigma attached to it. They listed a number of problems associated with depending on someone else's literacy skills. These included:

- Not being able to keep records of everything in the mind
- Exposing one's secrets to the public
- Getting embarrassed and humiliated in public places
- Being very expensive, hence life very hard
- Many people being forced to voluntarily exclude themselves from certain programmes out of shyness.

The forerunning list of problems appears to suggest that the price paid as a result of being "illiterate" is high, both socially and economically.

In one of the group interviews, held with members of the Mingoro Farmers' Group, when I asked about unschooled people's feelings about the strategies they employ to cope with literacy demands, the question generated a moment of silence before anyone spoke. Gotiliva, a 36-year-old woman, responded as follows:

I wish I could turn back the clock and my age so that I could go to school and read like other people do, write like others and speak English like others.... Unfortunately, it is too late for me and I do not have the means to change my state of affairs now. Staying without literacy skills makes life hard; those of us who are labelled "illiterate" feel ashamed of ourselves. (Gotiliva, in a group interview conducted in Lugbara, on September 27, 2007).

Similarly, Musa of the same group expressed his feelings about depending on someone else's literacy skills in the following words:

Only fools would wish to remain in the state I'm experiencing now, where I have to beg people to write and read for me my confidential letters, and so on....how can you afford to keep secrets for yourself under these circumstances? We have had very nasty experiences in our group, especially in NUSAF¹² where we lost lots of money for paying those who offered to write for us project proposals to access money from NUSAF and yet at the end, we got nothing. (Musa, in a group interview conducted in Lugbara, on September 27, 2007).

The Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) is one of the government's poverty reduction interventions, specifically targeting the people of northern Uganda. The programme was funded by the World Bank. Its main purpose was to help the local people to engage in various income generating projects. However, communities had to access funds through filling in pre-designed project proposal forms. Those communities or groups whose proposals did not meet the required quality could not

¹² NUSAF stands for Northern Uganda Social Action Fund. It is one of the programmes the Uganda government launched to address rural poverty and also facilitate the people in northern Uganda who have been affected by the rebel insurgency for the last three decades

get the funds. This meant that groups whose members lacked literacy resorted to hiring services of other people in the community to do the work for them at a cost.

When the trainers and PMA officials were asked to describe what unschooled participating farmers say and feel about their lack of literacy, one PMA official wrote about her recent experiences as follows:

The unschooled always listen very keenly and say: “I have no eyes, so I cannot see...” Personally, I have seen that most farmers have someone in their groups or families to rely on for some literacy and numeracy skills. Many farmers confide in their sons and daughters who are in primary schools to help in reading and writing records or keeping facts and figures.

Generally, no respondent wanted to remain in a state of illiteracy. The responses from the questionnaires filled in by the trainers and PMA officials concerning strategies employed by people who lack literacy skills also indicated the use of intermediaries, also known as literacy mediators, for handling tasks that require literacy.

What I observed in one of the training sessions confirms what the respondents said. Those who could not read and write were made to sit near those with literacy skills, so that they could have the written work explained and translated for them. I saw the same thing with members of Meridi Market Women’s Group, as described in detail later in this chapter.

6.3.6 Government strategies for addressing illiteracy

In this section, the findings regarding the strategies government intends to use to address the question of illiteracy among the PMA target group are presented. The section focuses on the state of illiteracy among the target group in the research area, the state of the government’s FALP activities in the research area, plans to address literacy provision on a sustainable basis, and what subsistence farmers say about literacy learning in the area.

6.3.6.1 Illiteracy among the PMA target group

The six PMA implementers and the four trainers were asked whether they thought illiteracy among the subsistence farmers was a serious problem. Seven of the ten respondents said that illiteracy poses a serious challenge in the implementation of the PMA programme. The remaining three said that it did not. Those who disagreed argued that most households have at least one literate person who can share his or her literacy skills with others to solve problems that may arise. They argued that such people help to minimise the fear about illiteracy among participating farmers.

6.3.6.2 FALP activities in the research area

Throughout the process of my research, I continuously attempted to obtain information about FALP activities in Manibe Sub-County. Since government sends money to every district, including Arua District, for FALP activities, I thought that I would be able to observe some of their classes in order to establish the linkages between the activities of these classes and those of the PMA programme.

However, I did not come across a single adult literacy class or group run by FALP or an NGO. When I asked the farmers who took part in this study, whether there were any classes in the sub-county, I got some surprising responses. Of the 44 farmers, 12 said that they had heard about FALP classes in 2000, but none participated in it. The remaining 32 farmers had no idea of any FALP classes in the sub-county. In one of the group interviews conducted with the Mingoro Women's Group, one of the members of the group made the following statement:

My son, with what I am experiencing as a result of not having gone to school, I would have been one of the first persons to seize the opportunity to be in the adult literacy class. Today you would be asking me these questions in wherever the learning would have been taking place. I neither heard nor saw any of the classes in our area here. (A remark from one of the women in a group interview conducted in Lugbara with Mingoro Women's Group, on September 27, 2007)

The above responses were surprising to me because in the records of Arua District's Directorate of Community Services, Manibe Sub-County was indicated as one of the sub-counties in which there are supposed to be FALP classes. There is a Community Development Officer (CDO) or Community Development Assistant (CDA)¹³ posted to the sub-county to take care of such activities. The responses from PMA implementers and trainers, one of whom was the Sub-County Community Development Assistant, all indicated that there were FALP classes in Manibe Sub-County. But when they were asked to state how many of these classes were actually operational, none of them knew the number and they were also unable to state the parishes in which the classes were located. I cannot definitively state that there are no FALP classes, but it is clear that they do not have a strong presence in Manibe.

6.3.6.3 Plans for tackling illiteracy

The PMA implementers and trainers were asked whether there was a deliberate plan to prepare the PMA target group in terms of building their literacy and numeracy skills before the implementation of the programme. Of the ten respondents, six indicated yes, three indicated no and one response was invalid as the space was left blank.

When the respondents were asked to explain how they thought government addresses the problem of lack of literacy and numeracy skills among the PMA participating farmers, four indicated that FALP was supposed to do this; another four indicated that PMA farmers are supposed to make use of the PMA grants to demand literacy services if they prioritised it as one of their needs; and the remaining two respondents indicated that there seems to be no special initiative to address this issue, since the government believes in the concept of a multi-sectoral framework.

These responses indicate that there was no clear arrangement by the government of Uganda to address the issue of literacy skills development directly in the PMA intervention.

¹³ A CDO is used to refer to a person who has a University Degree for the post he or she occupies while a CDA is a person who holds an Ordinary Diploma normally obtained by completing or undertaking two years training after one's high school.

When I asked the farmers' trainers and PMA officials how they thought FALP relates to PMA and whether there are linkages between the two programmes in terms of their activities, six of the ten respondents left the space on their questionnaires blank. Two respondents indicated that they do not see any observable relationship between the two programmes at a tactical or operational level. One respondent wrote the following on his questionnaire:

The only thing I have observed since PMA Programme came into existence is recruitment and posting Community Development Officers (CDOs) to Sub-Counties, but honestly, I do not know how the work they are doing relates to PMA activities. The way I see it, FALP and PMA seem to operate autonomously. What I also hear is that the CDOs are supposed to be in charge of FALP in the sub-county, how that fits within PMA remains a mystery to me.

The above comment was supported by one of the PMA officials as she tried to explain the policy relating to the relationship between PMA and FALP. She wrote:

The policy directive to the local governments was to encourage recruitment of a CDO in every sub-county. Then the CDO automatically becomes a member of NAADS technical committee to perform functions which used to be contracted to the NGOs and CBOs. However, there are no CDOs in Sub-Counties or they are away for further studies. Others are taken up by NGOs who pay better salaries.

In Manibe, they had a CDA because the sub-county had not recruited a substantive CDO, who is supposed to be a university graduate. Although two respondents were able to explain some connections between PMA and FALP activities, the majority of the PMA implementers and trainers were not able to clearly see the connections between the work of a CDO and NAADS Coordinator at sub-county levels. This could mean that the relationship between the two programmes at higher levels is even harder to understand. The responses from the trainers and implementers indicate that there is little or no collaboration or meaningful linkages or synergies between the

PMA and FALP, both of which the government of Uganda claims are critical for the realisation of its poverty eradication agenda.

6.3.6.4 What subsistence farmers said about literacy learning

When I asked the subsistence farmers whether they would be interested in actively taking part in FALP classes discussed above, they expressed a great deal of excitement. All of them said that they would take part in such a programme if it was introduced in their area.

Asked how often they would like to have such a class or how much time they would devote to such a class, 28 indicated that they would wish to have it three times a week for four hours each, ten indicated four times a week and three hours each in the afternoons, six said they wanted to have the classes five times a week for two hours in the evenings. There was therefore a great deal of interest amongst the farmers in enrolling for FALP classes in the area.

More than ten women from different parishes who participated in this study asked me whether I would consider coming back to introduce the FALP classes for them. I told them that while that was a very good and important question, my research would not immediately translate into a project that would yield immediate tangible benefits, but that I would do my best to take their concerns to the responsible authorities in the district. I told them that they should be patient in waiting for a response from the district authorities, as it might not come immediately. Although I discussed the matter with the District Director of Community Services before I left the district, I am not aware of any new developments in the district.

6.3.7 Case studies

This section focuses, in more detail, on the description of four specific cases regarding PMA-related experiences. The choice of these cases was greatly influenced by the need to document the experiences of: (i) a participating successful farmer, (ii) a participating struggling farmer, (iii) a non-participating struggling farmer, and (iv) a discontented farmers' group.

The cases had varied socio-economic backgrounds and their choice was meant to illuminate the key factors that influence participation in the PMA activities. For example, Fenahasi was selected because of his exceptional experience with goats, which did not appear to be happening with any other farmer engaged in goat rearing. Ludia was selected to share her reasons for not participating in PMA activities and establish whether she felt she was doing better than those participating in the intervention. Resty was selected to share her experiences of having no education and lacking literacy skills in relation to how she was faring in PMA activities as compared to those who have reasonable levels of education. Lastly, the Meridi Market Women's Group was selected because of their decision to abandon PMA and engage in small-scale businesses as a group. It was expected that sharing their group experiences outside the PMA programme would be useful in comparing the challenges and opportunities for groups within and outside of the PMA intervention. Sharing the unique experiences was meant to illuminate the relative importance of the role of literacy in influencing participation levels of different individuals engaged in PMA activities.

As a methodological strategy, the cases were expected to depict a holistic portrayal of the individual and group's experiences to better understand the nature of PMA, why certain people are participating, the obstacles people confront in the course of making a living through the intervention, coping strategies of people with limited literacy skills, and the way forward. The cases helped the researcher and will hopefully help readers to gain a sharpened understanding of the dynamics of the PMA intervention and what needs to be done to improve the programme.

This section focuses in more detail on the four specific PMA-related experiences of: (i) a participating successful farmer; (ii) a participating struggling farmer; (iii) a non-participating struggling farmer; and (iv) a discontented farmers' group. The description of such experiences is aimed at strengthening the claims made in the study regarding the role of literacy in influencing participation levels of different individuals engaged in PMA activities. It also provides more in-depth qualitative data for summarising the key issues in the findings of the study.

6.3.7.1 Fenahasi – a successful participating farmer

Fenahasi was 60 years old at the time of interview (July 19, 2007). He is a subsistence farmer who was born in Oluodri, Manibe Sub-County in 1947. He completed P.7 and proceeded to a secondary school but dropped out in the third year of his secondary education, a year before he could finish his Ordinary Level education¹⁴.

He was married with seven children, but recently lost his wife. He is now a widower taking care of five children, most of whom are in school. After dropping out of his secondary education, Fenahasi joined the Ugandan Army under the regime of Idi Amin Dada in 1972. He served there until 1979, when Idi Amin's regime was toppled. Thereafter, he returned home to resume a civilian life and immediately took up subsistence farming as a means of making a living. He explained to me that for a very long time after leaving the army, his entire life depended on subsistence farming. "Things were pretty hard," he said. He told me that he faced a lot of problems in sustaining his family. "I can recall that trying to push my children with their education was a tug of war," he remarked.

However, when a door of opportunity opened for people to join farmers' groups in order to undertake the different PMA activities in 2001, he quickly seized the opportunity. His group chose goat rearing as their enterprise. He said that he decided to join a group because he was facing a hard time, and his survival and that of the entire household seemed to depend on providence. "When I heard that there was a chance to practice agriculture as a business, I could not let that chance go," he said. Together with his group members, he attended several training and technology demonstration exercises on goat rearing.

In 2002, the members each got a she-goat and were told to good care of them so that they could sell the offspring to generate income for their households. Fenahasi said that he tried to follow all the instructions he got during the farmers' training and technology demonstrations. As a result, his goat grew up very healthy and started

¹⁴ Ordinary level of Education in Uganda runs for four years before proceeding to High School which lasts for another two years before one can enter University education or any other tertiary education.

giving birth to triplets and quadruplets¹⁵. I had never heard of such a case in the research area before. Most goats I have heard of only produce twins, and sometimes it is very difficult for the owners of such goats to sustain that kind of production record. Figure 30 below shows two of his goats that had delivered quadruplets and triplets respectively. Fenahasi boasts of seven kids from two she-goats, delivered at the same time.

Figure 30: Example of effective technology adoption under PMA



Field photograph taken by the researcher on April 27, 2007

What makes Fenahasi's story not only interesting, but unusual, is the fact that in a span of less than seven years (2003 – 2008), one of his goats has managed to produce 25 offspring. He said that the goat has so far produced quadruplets four times ($4 \times 4 = 16$) and triplets three times ($3 \times 3 = 9$) since 2003. In a normal situation, a goat would produce at best two kids in a year. That means in seven years, a normal goat in that area would have produced 16 kids. So, Fenahasi's experience stands conspicuously as an extraordinary case, not comparable to any other farmer in the sub-county.

When asked to describe how he felt, Fenahasi smiled and said:

I am very sure I would not have managed to push all my children to schools if it were not for this enterprise I chose. At least I can now afford to buy food for my family, clothing, and also meet the health care needs of my family. I am also able generate more money by helping other people in the

¹⁵ I have found the case of Fenahasi's goats difficult to explain. He himself never gave a better explanation as to why his goats produce triplets and quadruplets. It might just be a matter of coincidence or sheer luck but obviously has nothing to do with his level of education.

surrounding villages to cross breed their local goats at a very affordable fee of US\$ 1000 per goat (Fenahasi, in an interview conducted in Lugbara, on April 27, 2007).

Asked what special treatment he gives to his goats so as to produce the amazing results he has been getting so far, Fenahasi laughed and said:

You see, I do not give anything special to my goats. I only tried my best to follow everything that I was taught during the training workshops and technology demonstrations and feed the goats well. I also make sure that they sleep in a very clean environment and water them very well, so those are the only things I always do and advise other to emulate if they can (Fenahasi, in an interview conducted in Lugbara, on April 27, 2007).

In the context of PMA, Fenahasi is an early technology adopter, also known as a model farmer. His case seems to prove that through PMA, it is possible to drive out poverty. However, a critical assessment of his socio-economic background reveals that he only dropped out of school in the third year of his secondary education. He speaks and understands English well, reads very well and writes well, both in English and his mother tongue. He is the kind of person the local rural people at the time he went to school would describe in Lugbara as “*ba onitaa be oruri*,” or “*ba waraga lapi angiri ri*” meaning “educated” or “literate” or “highly read.”

Fenahasi’s case appears to be that of a person who has used his level of education effectively to redeem a difficult situation. Although some may describe him as lucky, the effective use of his education and literacy skills cannot be ignored. Fenahasi appears to demonstrate the correlation often claimed between illiteracy and poverty on the one hand, and literacy and development on the other. Fenahasi’s story therefore represents the exact opposite of the two cases of Resty and Ludia, who, because of their ‘illiteracy’, either partially (in the case of Resty) or totally (in the case of Ludia), voluntarily withdrew or excluded themselves from participating in certain or all activities of farmers’ groups in their areas.

6.3.7.2 Resty – a struggling participating farmer

Resty is a 58 year old woman who belongs to the Eleku Poverty Eradication Association. She is a single parent looking after eight children, the majority of whom have either never set foot inside a classroom, or dropped out of primary school prematurely. She herself dropped out of school before completing P.1. As a result, she can neither read nor write in any language. She says that she does not have enough land for practising arable agriculture on a sustainable basis, as compared to some of the other members in the group.

However, with what small pieces of land she has, Resty decided to join a farmers' group and participate in PMA activities. The enterprises her group was involved in included groundnuts, maize, beans, and apiary farming. She said she finds life extremely difficult as a single parent, and that she joined a farmers' group to try and get some income. She said her husband abandoned her and went as to work as a migrant labourer in one of the sugar plantations. The following is an excerpt from a conversation I had with her:

Interviewer: You said you stopped in Primary One, is that right?

Respondent: Yes, that was the best I managed to reach.

Interviewer: Why couldn't you continue with your education?

Respondent: Because I was a girl. During our time, however bright you were, so long as you were not a boy, you had no chance of getting support to push on with your education. My father had some animals, but he preferred to support the boys and for me, marriage was the best option.

Interviewer: Were you stopped from joining a group in PMA on the basis of not having gone beyond Primary One?

Respondent: I think in PMA activities nobody cares whether you have gone to school or not. They claim the programme is for everybody irrespective of

your educational level. So you just go and meet your fate there. That is what I am going through now.

Interviewer: Now that you belong to a group, do you face some challenges as far as the group activities are concerned?

Respondent: My son, I do know what to tell you or even where to begin. I think if you do not know how to read and write, you are doomed in this world. There are many things I cannot do in our groups because I am illiterate. For example I cannot lead our group, I deliberately absent myself from training because I do not know English, I cannot apply for a loan on my own and some one must do it for me... Isn't this shameful? For me it is like I have come to the end of the road.

Interviewer: What disturbs you most in PMA activities as far as the issue of lack of reading and writing skills is concerned?

Respondent: I wish I could keep my own records. When we harvested our first groundnuts, we put them in sacks and somebody labelled them for us. They were then taken to the store to wait for buyers. One day we were asked to go and identify our sacks and we found the labels were removed, and I was told that my sack was missing and that someone had stolen it. I lost my whole sack of groundnuts, just because I could not write my name properly on the sack myself. If I had the powers, I would do everything to send my children to school, but unfortunately I can't.

Resty's story is one of frustration. She believes that even if she tries hard, her lack of literacy and education are a permanent barrier to every opportunity that presents itself. She says that being constantly referred to by other members in her group as "illiterate" makes her feel ashamed.

Resty says that her illiteracy forces her to go to the extent of withdrawing or excluding herself from certain group activities, even though no-one openly tells her to leave. It is as though she feels guilty of a crime she never chose to commit. This

illustrates the demoralising stigma attached to illiteracy. Because Resty is said to be “illiterate” by some individuals in her group, she has come to believe that she lacks the ability to adopt the new agricultural technologies being introduced. The small area of land she has, and her fear of being referred to as “illiterate”, makes her exclude herself from a number of PMA activities. She cannot therefore realise her objectives of being in PMA. People like Resty are referred to in PMA as “struggling farmers”.

In one of the farmers’ group meetings I observed, I overheard one of the farmers arrogantly referring to members trapped in Resty’s circumstances as “uncooperative” people whose names should be deleted from the group. This indicates that groups with predominantly unschooled members could be removed from the PMA list, and thus be abandoned to their usual state of poverty.

From a gender point of view, Resty is faced with multiple problems, such as lack of land, caring for her children as a single parent, illiteracy and insecurity. These factors tend to exacerbate vulnerability, and as a result women like Resty end up being the most disadvantaged, even in the face of a development intervention that was meant to help them specifically.

6.3.7.3 Ludia – a struggling non-participating farmer

Ludia is a married woman with nine children. Their livelihood depends on subsistence agriculture. Neither she nor her husband ever went to school, and neither could they afford education for most of their children. They only managed to educate one of their sons up to the level of a Core Primary Teachers’ College (CPTC), where he could have become a primary teacher but was forced to drop out because they could not afford the school fees. To date, he is not formally employed. The other older child dropped out before completing P. 7 and also cannot get a job.

Ludia associates being uneducated with unemployment, and expressed fear that her children will not get jobs just like them, since they missed the opportunity to educate them as a result of poverty in the family. “My husband cannot get any job because he is illiterate, just like me,” she said. She did not join any farmers’ group, not because she did not know about PMA, but because she felt she would get nothing out of the

group efforts. She told me that she knows about PMA and regularly gets information about it through their Local Council officials. “Sometimes they also make announcements about PMA in the church,” she said.

Unlike the Meridi Market Women’s Group who valued working in groups, Ludia reasoned that, “illiterate” as she was, being in a group with people who were educated would be like going to work for them and would mean that she would be cheated in many ways. Her frustration arose from her own self-concept that illiterate people would not understand the PMA process, since they have no power to question certain things about it. She cited examples of training and technology demonstrations in which reading and writing are part of the whole process. She said that she had been told this by people who have attempted to take part in the training workshops. Appearing a bit uncomfortable, Ludia raised a number of issues connected to possession of literacy and numeracy skills. She asked:

How do I become part of a group when I cannot even write my own name? What role will I play in group discussions at the sub-county training workshops in which I hear group members’ contributions made in Lugbara (her local language) are recorded in English? How sure will I be that the meaning of what I contributed in Lugbara has not been changed when our group representative presents the summary of the group’s findings in front of the training participants, as I heard from my friends? ... These are frustrating experiences and they disturb me all the time... I feel like not talking about them. (Ludia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara at her home in Oreku Parish, on August 19, 2005).

Asked whether she knows other people who are not taking part in PMA activities, Ludia said: “Yes, there are indeed many other people who feel like me. In fact, I could say, they are more than those who are taking part in PMA activities”. Ludia argued that people like her feel that they will be cheated because of their lack of education and inability to read, write and most importantly, speak and understand English.

Ludia told me that what she hears from people in farmers’ groups is that some of the educated people in other groups keep telling them that they are illiterate and useless.

As in Resty's case, such comments might have come from a "rural elite" group who have attained a reasonable level of education, and whose actions and attitudes in groups tend to discourage the very poor from freely mixing with others. In most cases, such attitudes make groups split. This leads people with relatively the same level of education, and who share similar aspirations, to separate themselves in order to avoid the intimidation and pride that tends to characterise groups of mixed members. This is what happened with the Meridi Market Women's Group, as described in 6.3.7.4 below.

Other reasons Ludia advanced for not joining a farmers' group included: the programme's failure to eradicate poverty among those who joined them; the process being too bureaucratic, hence scaring people like her away; the issue of "freeloaders"; and lack of markets. I saw in her facial expression some form of resentment towards "freeloaders". She strongly expressed this as follows:

I see no difference between myself and those who joined farmers' groups... for me so long as I work very hard on my own, it can even be better than being in a group where some people do not put much effort in the group work. You actually end up being overworked to get nothing at the end (Ludia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara at her home in Oreku Parish, on August 19, 2005).

When I asked her where she had experienced this, she said that she belonged to other groups outside PMA where such experiences also occur. She said that there are cultural associations in her village in which members commonly complain about other people in the associations who want to benefit while putting in the minimum effort, at the expense of other members. She told me that she was the treasurer of two groups, Catholic Family Association (CFA) and Catholic Action in her church. She outlined her roles as keeping money for her groups, taking care of the physical assets of the groups, collecting money borrowed by members, and giving out money to members as approved by their Chairperson.

When I asked her whether she keeps records of all the transactions she mentioned above, Ludia turned her face away and said:

I am sorry I don't know how to read and I also don't know how to write. But I try to keep the records of monies from the different sources in my head (meaning memory). I use sticks to count money and colours to distinguish different denominations. I distinguish the sources by using different colours of polythene papers, for example, church contributions are kept in a green polythene paper, money for buying assets for the group is kept in a yellow polythene paper and contributions for funeral assistance is kept in a black polythene paper (Ludia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara at her home in Oreku Parish, on August 19, 2005).

When I asked whether she takes this money to the bank, she shook her head. She said that the reason for this is that she is "illiterate", and would end up being cheated. Instead, she keeps her money in polythene papers of different colours and hides them in her house. Asked whether she thought that was safe, she admitted to it being dangerous and said she was already considering resigning the post before getting into big trouble. She said:

I fear one day thieves might break into my house. They will take everything, I am sure. This is why I want to resign and quit completely. With people's houses being broken into all the time nowadays, it is just like I am sitting on a time bomb that will explode any time. ... It is risky, and I need to do something about it. (Ludia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara at her home in Oreku Parish, on August 19, 2005).

Regarding some of the challenges she faced as a result of lack of literacy in relation to her responsibilities in her group, Ludia said:

I face suspicion from members about record-keeping. For instance, when our former secretary embezzled money and members started querying her, she tried to implicate me, but members seriously defended me. I think she did this to me because she tried to take advantage of my being unschooled and therefore, not having written down records of the group's funds I keep

(Ludia, in an interview conducted in Lugbara at her home in Oreku Parish, on August 19, 2005).

From the forerunning description of Ludia's experiences, it is evident that she is frustrated, not because of anyone else's observable actions, but because she labels herself as uneducated and illiterate. As a result she feels that her lack of education and literacy and numeracy skills will not empower and facilitate her to achieve better things out of PMA.

Ludia presents an interesting case. She is performing an important function in her church, in which literacy and numeracy are involved, but she considers herself as "illiterate" and hence excludes herself from participating in a government poverty reduction programme which ideally would have helped people like her. Interestingly, Ludia serves as a treasurer in two groups, but when asked whether she can count money properly, she said that she can only distinguish coins and paper notes by their colour.

When I displayed several currency notes and coins of various denominations of Uganda shillings and asked her to identify them, as shown in Figure 31 below, Ludia was able to identify almost all of them based on their colour and the type of pictures drawn on them. The only one she could not identify was the UShs 50,000 note that had just been released by the Central Bank of Uganda, as she said that she had never seen it before.

Figure 31: Financial management challenges of an unschooled farmer



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on August 19, 2005

From a social practices perspective of literacy, Ludia can actually be termed literate because she can keep records in her memory, identify and count money, and separate the different denominations and her banking containers using colours. She is able to perform these tasks without necessarily having been to school for the minimum number of years that those who subscribe to the autonomous model of literacy school refer to.

Ludia's problems extend beyond theft and difficulties involved in tracing records to include the wider issues of social identity. This was why she was considering resigning her post of treasurer in her church groups. She feels the pain of having not been to school. She cannot bank her money for fear of being cheated by mediators whose skills she would have to rely on. When I asked for her opinion on the idea that people like her could use the literacy skill of mediators, she was not amused at all and dismissed the idea, saying: "I am not interested in this topic". This indicates that she did not want to constantly have to remind herself of the stigma of being called "illiterate".

6.3.7.4 Meridi Market Women – a discontented farmers’ group

The Meridi Market Women¹⁶ were initially mobilised by the sub-county officials to take part in PMA activities in 2002. They said that after two years of waiting and nothing materialising, they decided to leave and initiate their own activity outside of the official intervention by the government. When asked why they decided to quit the government intervention, members of the group pointed out two separate issues as being the contributory factors for their abandonment of the government programme. Their secretary said:

We left the government programme because of the failure by NAADS to meet our immediate needs and expectations as we waited for too long, that is, from 2002 when we formed a NAADS Farmers’ Group to 2004, the time we formed our own group and left the government initiative. The second reason is the politicisation of the NAADS Programme; the intervention has become too political (Secretary for Meridi Market Women's Group, in a group interview conducted in Lugbara at Meridi Market, on July 16, 2007).

Their group, a small fraction of the total population of women in Meridi Market, initially consisted of 21 members, but has grown with time. The group members initiated a business idea and agreed to pay a sum of US\$ 1000 as a start-up capital for their business. They elected a Chairperson, a secretary and a treasurer amongst themselves to coordinate the activities of their enterprise.

After establishing their leadership, they then resolved to redistribute the money amongst themselves and use it to engage in selling different items such as vegetables, fruits, beans, maize, simsim, groundnuts and potatoes in Meridi market. Some of the common items they sell are shown in Figure 32 below. They also resolved that each member returns US\$ 100 to the treasurer every day, so that they can have more money to increase their business. This means that in a day, the group returns to the treasurer a total of US\$ 2,100. When these returns are totalled in a year, it would come to US\$ 706,616. This very high figure indicates the possible advantages of people starting a group on their own initiative.

¹⁶ Although the Meridi Market Women are engaged in selling agricultural produce on a small-scale basis, they are also involved in agricultural production to meet their domestic needs. They buy the items they sell in the market from other farmers.

Figure 32: Meridi Market Women's Group members selling their vegetables

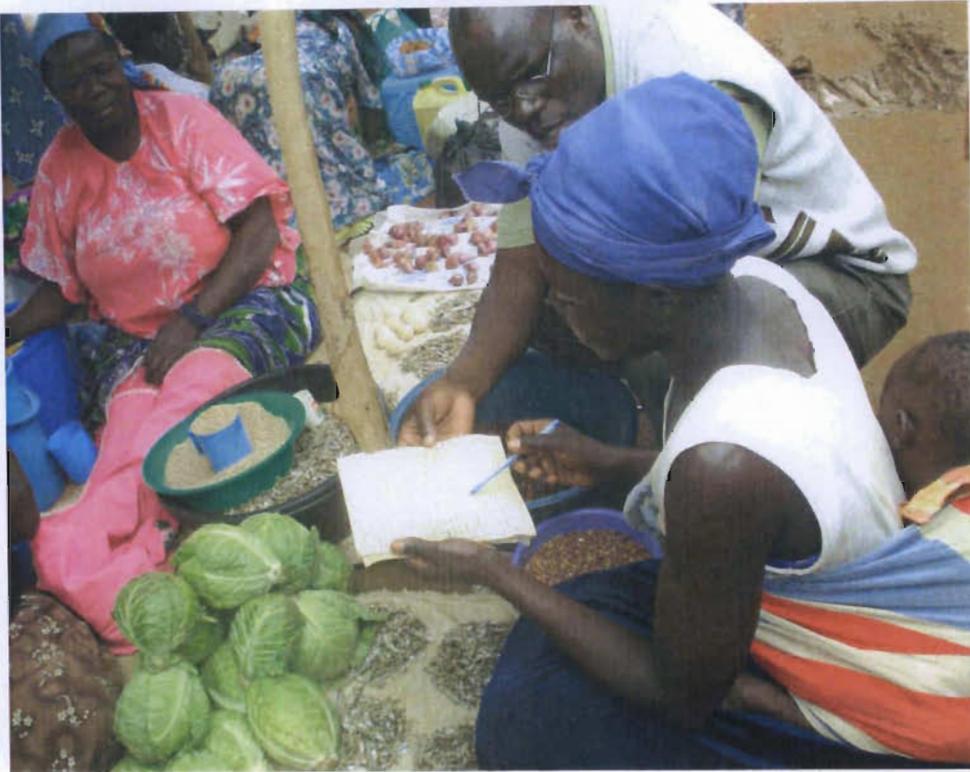


Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at Meridi Market, on July 16, 2007

Most of the women are not educated. They told me that only their secretary had gone up to P.6. As shown in Figure 33 below, she manages the records of their daily returns and borrowings so that they do not lose track of the cash inflows and outflows. When I examined her records closely (see Figure 33 below), they looked thorough in their own way, and I was impressed.

The women said that although they are not literate, they feel free because they are managing their own business without any interference from outside. Asked what their biggest problem was, the women said that their lack of education limits them very much. They reported that some of the women who had a higher level of education than them, and a slightly better level of income, left them and broke away to form their own group. They feel that their lack of education and literacy skills inhibit them in expanding their business, accessing information on market opportunities, and advertising the products they are selling in the market. They also say that they cannot get loans from the bank because they fear they will not be given them, and also that the banks will ask for security which they do not have.

Figure 33: Researcher examining secretary's record-keeping practices



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher at Meridi Market on July 16, 2007

The initiative by this group emphasises the need to support resource-constrained, but productive women's groups who can do wonderful work when barriers to their businesses are removed, as was the case with Prof. Muhammad Yunus' Grameen II in Bangladesh (Dowla & Burua, 2006). Such groups would also offer ideal candidates for a literacy programme that related directly to their work, since the teachings would be based on what Purcell-Gates, Degener, Jakobson & Soler (2002) term authentic literacy learning materials.

6.3.8 Other relevant findings

In the course of collecting data for this study, certain PMA literacy practices embedded in the community were observed. A culture of using signposts to direct visitors to the enterprises of the different groups and the use of a visitors' book was becoming a common community literacy practice among members of the farmers' groups.

Figure 34 below shows one of the signposts of a group whose poultry project was funded under NUSAF, which is one of the government programmes also aimed at

reducing rural poverty in Uganda, and a page of a visitors' book. These books were to be signed in every farmers' group meeting, as well as in certain homes we visited. The visitors' books I saw had columns for date, name, contact address and comments.

Figure 34: A NAADS signpost and a page of a visitors' book



Source: Field photographs taken by the researcher, on January 10, 2007

In some of the homes which my assistant and I visited, sitting rooms were decorated with magazines, newspapers, posters and drawings. A number of the posters had PMA- related information, as illustrated in Figure 35 below.

Figure 35: One of the posters about how to control bird flu



Source: A photograph taken by the researcher on May 12, 2007

When I asked the owner of the house where I saw the poster in Figure 35 above where he got it from, he told me that it was given to him during a technology demonstration he attended at the Sub-County Headquarters. I also saw a similar poster being used in one of the field-based training sessions I observed, which focused on poultry management. In other homes, outer walls had words painted on them in bright colours. Some people painted black, yellow and red stripes around the wall to reflect the Ugandan flag, with the words “For God and my Country” written on them. Others painted the letters of the alphabet on their walls, while others wrote phrases such as “You are most welcome,” and, “Merry Xmas and Happy New Year”. I attributed the emergence of some of the above literacy practices like the use of visitors’ books and signposts to the literacy demands imposed by PMA activities. Such literacy practices are important because they offer an opportunity for children and other members of the community to frequently interact with texts, which can be useful in learning and acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills. Literacy learning based on real life materials, sometimes known as authentic materials, plays a crucial role in learner motivation and retention of literacy skills learnt (Rogers, 1997; Purcell-Gates et al., 2002).

The PMA intervention has also led to the renovation of what used to be commonly known in the 1970s as Community Centres. They used to serve as centres for conducting adult literacy classes, but were all destroyed in the 1979 war that saw the overthrow of Idi Amin Dada. Using resources from PMA, such centres have now been renovated and they could revert to their former use as centres for literacy learning. An example of one of the renovated Community Centres of Manibe Sub-County, where members of SCFF meet, is shown in Figure 36 below.

Figure 36: Recently renovated Manibe Sub-County Community Centre



Source: Field photograph taken by the researcher on December 30, 2006.

6.4 Discussion and analysis of the findings

In this section, the major findings of the study presented in 6.3 above are analysed. The analysis is mainly structured in accordance with the key issues that were used to formulate the research questions. The analysis mainly focuses on the socio-economic background of the research participants, the implementation of PMA, the different activities under PMA, PMA farmers' groups, the coping strategies of the unschooled participating farmers, and the government's strategies for addressing illiteracy among the target group of the intervention.

6.4.1 Background of study participants

There were many more women than men in the study sample. This was caused by the fact that at parish levels, there were fewer male members in the farmers' groups than female members. The contrary was seen in the gender balance of the PMA implementers and trainers, where there were more men than women. This can be

attributed to educational differences that exist between men and women. There are few highly educated women in such positions.

It should be pointed out that although my initial idea in the study design was to have a gender balance in selecting respondents, this became difficult to realise due to gender imbalances in the different farmers' groups and with regard to the implementers and trainers.

This gender imbalance is often attributed to the lower level of education among women, which determines the position they occupy in modern society. In relation to literacy, this view is supported by the observation that in a world where the written word is the most common mode of communication, those who lack the skills of reading and writing are relegated to the lowest positions in society (Stromquist, 1992; DFID, 2002a; Torres, 2006).

The fact that there were very few male members in the various farmers' groups came as a surprise to me, because my initial expectation had been that most of the PMA activities would be dominated by men. In a situation of this nature, it was also obviously not possible to gather a sample group that could be equally split by gender. It also meant that there were fewer male respondents than females in the focus group discussions. However, when selecting participating and non-participating farmers for individual interviews, every effort was made to balance the number of male and female interviewees.

On average, the respondents were mainly in their thirties and forties. The age ranges of the sample suggest that there were few youth and elderly people in the PMA farmer groups.

The minimal participation of the youth in PMA activities is regrettable because, in my opinion, they are the most energetic and are most likely to have the basic literacy and numeracy skills required for effectively undertaking PMA activities which would enable them to attain sustainable livelihoods. The small number of young people in the PMA programme is also problematic because Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

(2000) lists them as one of the PMA target groups, as a result of their vulnerability context. The youth often suffer most from the unemployment problem the country is experiencing. It is likely that the small number of young people in the study sample echoes a larger problem in the whole intervention, especially with regard to the extent to which the young people have access to the necessary resources, services and opportunities required to engage in the PMA activities. The assertion about their very low number in PMA needs to be taken with reservation because it was not the intention of this study to produce generalisable results, but the issue certainly points to something that needs attention.

The majority of the research participants were mature and married with a high number of children. It can be inferred that they took part in PMA activities in order to try and sustain their families. There were very few young people in the study sample, which appears to reiterate the view that the younger generation do not take agriculture seriously as a business venture. Since most of the youth in recent decades have been to school, it could be argued that their failure to participate in PMA activities is not due to lack of literacy and numeracy skills, but other factors such as lack of access to resources needed to undertake PMA activities, unwillingness to engage in physical labour, unattractiveness of agriculture, lack of time, and various challenges facing agricultural education as outlined in Ministry of Education and Sports (2003).

Whereas the above factors could have accounted for the small number of young people in the PMA, no specific reasons have been advanced to explain the minimal participation of elderly people in farmers' groups. However, it is most probable that their age could make it difficult for them to get involved in the labour-intensive PMA activities.

The majority of the farmers had large families – between five and nine children. These households were headed by people in their late forties and fifties, while households with over ten children were headed by people in their sixties. There tended to be fewer people of this age group in most of the farmers' groups we visited. They were more likely to have attained very little or no education than those who were younger.

6.4.2 Implementation of PMA

The majority of the participating farmers, trainers and implementers had a relatively high level of awareness about the practical aspects of the PMA intervention. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the participating farmers in the study sample had been in the programme for a number of years, and had interacted with the programme officials, trainers and other farmers for some time. The few who were unsure about certain aspects of the programme were those who had joined the farmers' groups more recently. They had therefore not had the opportunities to participate in very many training programmes yet.

Although implementers and trainers were conversant with the practice of PMA, the majority of them were unclear about the concepts, theories and models of development and literacy that influence its operations. Most importantly, they seemed not to see the links between literacy and development. A clear understanding of the theories and models of literacy and development that inform PMA is crucial for the implementers and trainers. It would guide them in the course of implementing the programmes so that they could address some of the problems in its design, in order to ensure that the target group are able to benefit from it.

There are a number of sources that the farmers use to access information about PMA. Unlike in Nalugooti and Ssemakula's (2006) study, where the farmers' best method of getting information about PMA activities was through their colleagues, the majority of the farmers in this study mainly get their information through the local council officials. Although it was indicated in one of the PMA progress reports (see PMA Secretariat, 2003b) that thousands of PMA leaflets were being distributed to the sub-counties as some of the sources of information, this was not evident during the course of my research. This could possibly be because the farmers do not use them, due to their lack of literacy. During my data collection period, I noted that churches played an important role in disseminating information to the public about different government programmes, including PMA. However, none of the research participants mentioned this either. No specific reason was given for this, but it could be due to the fact that the local council officials might not be taking such notices to the churches regularly. It is also possible that most of the farmers would have accessed such information through the local council officials before it is repeated in the church.

In terms of language, all the study participants indicated that they use Lugbara for personal communication and that English is used for official purposes. There are two reasons for this. The first is that Manibe Sub-County is predominantly inhabited by the Lugbara people, and the second is that the only language that cuts across all the ethnic groups in Uganda is English. A small proportion of the farmers indicated that they would wish to learn reading and writing skills using English. This can be attributed to the view that most unschooled people have of English as a superior language which they wish they could learn if it were possible. Its significance in the PMA programme can also be attributed to the fact that most of the activities farmers are engaged in force them to regularly interact in domains where written and spoken English is common. This reinforces Yates' (1995) findings regarding women among the immigrant communities in the United States, who had to learn English because they could not avoid it when handling issues of social services, public utilities and healthcare.

However, as had been articulated by various studies, learning literacy in English would be very difficult. A number of studies have emphasised the importance of the role of first language in literacy learning. All argue that it is better to start learning literacy in the first language before advancing to another language (Lyster, 1992b; Klaus et al., 2002; Basel, 2004; Bagwasi, 2006; Yu, 2006; Blanton, 2007). The use of the mother tongue in literacy learning is therefore critical for enhancing learning in PMA.

The PMA officials and trainers were mostly able to speak English, Lugbara and Kiswahili. This was due to their higher education levels and also the fact that in Uganda, Kiswahili is mostly spoken in urban areas and such educated people could have travelled to different places and would have had the opportunity to learn it.

During farmers' training and technology demonstrations at sub-county levels, the dominance of English in teaching and preparation of teaching materials was evident in all the sessions I observed. The situation was slightly different in farmers' group meetings held at parish levels, though it was still difficult to avoid English. Whereas I was told that it was not the intention of the trainers and other participants to allow

English to predominate, its dominant role can be explained in terms of rural people viewing it as a language of power, honour and prestige. The trainers also said that they were instructed by higher authorities to use English so as to ease the work of auditors. What this means is that even if the training were conducted in Lugbara, everything would have to be translated into English when writing reports. Such reports would then cease to be useful for those who do not know English. The problem with the use of English is that most of the intended beneficiaries end up being left out because they cannot understand the messages being communicated.

6.4.3 PMA activities

Members of the different farmers' groups are engaged in a number of activities related to both the practical farming and the processes that are part of the PMA programme. Some of the key farming-related activities include animal rearing such as fish farming, apiculture, poultry, piggery, goat rearing, dairy farming; and growing of crops such as: onions, Irish potatoes, beans, groundnuts, and maize. With the undertaking of these activities comes the requirement to perform other process-related activities: forming farmers' groups, participating in farmers' group meetings, participating in farmers' training and technology demonstrations, engaging in enterprise selection and contract management, attending SCFF general meetings and progress review workshops, and participating in study tours, exchange visits and agricultural shows.

Each group's choice of activity or enterprise is guided by detailed guidelines, one of which is the complex enterprise selection process matrix presented in Appendix 42. The decision to select a particular enterprise is based on the profitability, ease of market, level of risks involved, the level of financial outlay and knowledge. As illustrated in Appendix 42, the selection process is tedious, academic and therefore unfriendly to those participating farmers who lack literacy and numeracy skills. Because they have to follow rigid guidelines, group members are left with very little room for making choices as far as the enterprise of their interest is concerned. Farmers attach great importance to the profitability and marketability of the enterprises, and the ease with which they can be managed. Their choices appear to have nothing to do with the degree of literacy skills required. This seems strange because they could end

up choosing something that they would not be able to implement successfully. However, this could possibly be explained in terms of the fact that they have very little room to choose, as stated above.

The high demand for literacy and numeracy skills for effective participation in the enterprise selection process is a potential source of exclusion for the unschooled. In undertaking the identified PMA activities, members face a number of difficulties, as already mentioned. This has tended to act as a disincentive to members, leading to a decline in the number of farmers' groups. The phenomenon of self-exclusion from PMA activities, as was the case with Resty and Ludia, reaffirms the observation Dreze and Sen (2002) make in which they refer to illiteracy as a form of insecurity. Lack of literacy therefore means lack of freedom to choose to do what one would have most wanted to do. Some of the key problems the research participants pointed out are analysed in the following section.

6.4.4 Problems facing the participating farmers

As has already been mentioned, there has been a downward trend in the number of farmers' groups. Data from farmers, implementers and trainers pointed to many factors that are responsible for this. Generally, the problems that members of farmers' groups face can be summarised or grouped as follows: literacy-related problems, PMA structure/process-related problems, and problems that are general in nature.

The major literacy-related problems farmers mentioned and which were supported by responses from implementers and trainers were concerned with:

- Lack of funds and difficulties associated with accessing EDF/ISFGs
- Farmers' fear of not being able to meet the financial obligation of the co-funding
- Dominance of English in PMA activities
- Inability to plan and design good proposals
- Lack of record-keeping skills
- Low levels of education/illiteracy
- Lack of leadership skills
- Lack of sustainable arrangements for literacy learning.

The key problems associated with the PMA structure were:

- Making the participating farmers work in groups
- Lack of strategies for checking and appropriately reprimanding freeloaders
- Delays in supply of agricultural inputs
- Short duration of contracts signed for service delivery
- Uncoordinated work on the part of Private Service Providers (PSPs).

The general problems included:

- Landlessness
- Land fragmentation and degradation
- Lack of markets for farmers
- Risks associated with agricultural production.

All the above reasons are linked to financial difficulties and low levels of education or illiteracy. It should be pointed out that although the issue of illiteracy was raised by many people, lack of funds for the participating farmers seemed to be the most crucial, because it cuts across all the farming and process-related activities of the PMA intervention. For example, the budget of one of the PSPs (presented in Appendix 33) reveals that the amount of money the contractors get is fairly low and as a result what they allocate for agricultural inputs tended to be too little to do the job. Considering this, it is most likely that literacy-related activities would also get little or nothing in terms of budgetary allocations.

Farmers' lack of access to funds causes them to avoid joining groups because they fear that they would not manage to come up with the money needed for paying their percentage of co-funding. It also prevents them from participating in activities in which they can get cash quickly. The issue of wanting to have immediate cash was observed and mentioned in almost all the groups I interacted with in the course of the study. Complaints about the focus on cash by most of the PMA target group was reported in a number of end-of-contract reports written by the PSPs for the attention of the SCLG authorities. Similar comments about the target group wanting to participate only in events where there are monetary allowances were made during the farmers' training workshop. To reiterate, although illiteracy is acknowledged as a

serious problem facing the target group, their lack of funds was identified as their highest priority problem.

Lack of access to financial resources also adds to the difficulty groups face in meeting the minimum requirement for gaining recognition as a farmers' group in the sub-county. This is reinforced by the findings of a study by Ngaka et al. (2008), where many would-be beneficiaries of a self-help group in Mbale District struggled to join a group because they could not afford the necessary entry requirement. Waswaga (2007) made similar remarks when discussing spatial poverty among the rural poor. The main argument of the farmers concerning co-funding was that PMA was supposed to help them get out of poverty through empowering them with knowledge and funds to engage in productive activities, and not to ask them to pay money to offset some of the costs of the programme. "We are very poor, where do they (the government) expect us to get money to co-fund?" one farmer asked.

The above comments are substantiated by the findings of Friis-Hansen et al.'s (2004) study, which revealed that the empowerment NAADS programmes gave to farmers did not reach the truly poor farmers. The issue of co-funding is, in my opinion, going to widen the exclusion gap between the poor farmers and the semi-commercial and commercial farmers that the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2000, 29) describes. The fear about the negative impact of co-funding on the poor is strengthened by a report by Omar (2005) which indicates that even Israel's efforts to semi-privatise the national extension system has not met with success, so it is possible that Uganda may not be an exception to the rule.

Lack of funds and lack of education tended to influence other activities and processes to an extent that they contributed towards creating a conducive environment for exclusion of those without literacy and numeracy skills. It is therefore logical to argue that since farmers find it difficult to access EDF/ISFGs, which would have enabled them make more money to pay their co-funding, they felt there was no good reason to remain in the programme.

There were other structural problems that discouraged participation or caused people to leave farmers' groups altogether. Many participating farmers complained about lack of agricultural inputs, delays in awarding contracts to PSPs which in turn shortens the contract period, contracts being approved at the wrong time, complicated procedures in accessing ISFGs and EDF, poor coordination of work by PSPs, and making people work in groups in which some members put in too little effort.

Such institutional problems affected farmers negatively. Part of the problem arose from the complex nature of the PMA implementation framework which is multi-sectoral in nature. The complication is partly due to PMA being implemented under the structures of the Local governments, which, according to the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), are characterised by corruption and tended to slow down the speed of work. In a training workshop on how CSOs can contribute towards the success of PMA, they identified "CSOs being requested to pay bribes to get contracts" as one of the threats to the success of PMA (see PMA Secretariat, 2003a, p. 11). When allegations of bribes are made, decisions regarding service provision are delayed, and the farmers are affected. Bahiigwa et al. (2005) and Ellis and Bahiigwa (2003) make reference to the issue of local government workers becoming part of the problem of rural poverty instead of part of the solution. They argue that the actions of officials in the sub-counties are intensifying instead of reducing rural poverty.

6.4.4 Participation in farmers' groups

Participation in groups is influenced by many factors including gender, education, age, socio-economic status and power. The findings of this study reflect a situation in which there were more women participating at lower levels than men and vice versa. There are also relatively fewer young and old people in groups. Men also tended to have better education than women and, as was mentioned earlier, the very old also tended to have little or no education. Those who have little or no education are powerless and vulnerable. Their basic capabilities are deprived and they do not have the substantive freedoms which, according to Sen (1999), would enable them to do what they want to do, say what they want to say, and be what they want to become in the lives of their community or organisations.

When it comes to selecting leaders, men tend to dominate. Although it was stated that education was not a requirement to join PMA, people who were relatively educated tended to have an advantage, because they tended to access resources in different poverty reduction programmes more easily than those who were unschooled and lacked literacy and numeracy skills. Their education level offers them the chance of influencing things and therefore occupying most of the influential positions in the farmers' groups and organisations at different levels. Although not the stated intention of the programme, the unschooled, the very old and the disabled tended to exclude themselves on the grounds that there is very little that they can get from such a programme such as PMA. This claim is supported by the experiences of Resty and Ludia, who both confessed that they exclude themselves because of their illiteracy.

The above issues of gender inequalities are apparent at household levels. Historically, families tended to educate boys; girls were married off. As a result the number of women with relatively high levels of education is very low in rural communities. Issues of literacy and educational levels also tended to be linked to the use of English as the major language in the whole PMA process. Just like Yates (1995) found in Southern Ghana, farmers tended to describe English as a language of power, falsely imagining that those who spoke English could do anything they felt like. Nevertheless, a farmers' group like Oyoo Dynamic, which is basically dominated by educated males and with only two female members, appeared to be better placed to access most of the resources in the sub-county because they can easily manipulate the system using their knowledge and skills. This is possible because every member of that group has a relatively high educational level where the least educated person had an Ordinary Level Certificate.

However, it should be noted that although education plays a vital role in helping people succeed in their different activities, being educated does not offer an automatic ticket to success in PMA. Not all those who were educated were successful in their activities. Ruzalia, an S. 4 leaver, was a case in point. Having completed S. 4 and working as an untrained primary school teacher for some time, her membership in one of the farmers' groups did not change her difficult financial situation to any significant degree. As a result, she ended up working in other people's fields as a casual labourer to sustain her household. Ruzalia's problems can be attributed to her

being a woman and a single parent. It is probable that if she was a man, with her level of education, her story would have been different.

Although farmers' groups play an important role in the PMA process, there were very serious obstacles that inhibit participation of certain members in the various activities of their interest. The problems are related to educational levels, lack of literacy skills, the use of English in most activities, the policy of co-funding and issues of power relations that influence decision making processes in the farmers' groups, and affect access to resources in the PMA framework.

6.4.5 Coping strategies

The responses and facial expressions of the unschooled subsistence farmers I observed when discussing the question of illiteracy demonstrated the stigma attached to the issue, and how this stigma in turn inhibits one's participation in group activities. Engaging in farming as a business is very demanding in terms of business management skills, especially with regard to keeping proper records and using them effectively. Conceptualising farming as a business also means increased interaction with financial institutions, for which literacy and numeracy are necessary. This is certainly a big challenge for the participating farmers who lack literacy skills.

For the participating farmers to manage the task of commercialising agricultural practices, it would mean constant training and retraining in areas of simple book-keeping/accounting, record-keeping, financial management and so forth. Basic literacy is obviously necessary here. There needs to be a deliberate attempt to structure PMA activities in such a way that there is an in-built mechanism to promote literacy learning, which would be based on the real life problems of those involved in the different PMA activities. Basing literacy learning on real materials learners interact with on a daily basis is useful because it enables them to immediately and directly apply the learnt literacy skills (Rogers, 1997; Purcell-Gates et al., 2002). This argument is further supported by Oxenham et al's (2002) and Rogers et al's (2007) studies, in which they argue that literacy learning for livelihoods embedded in a context such as the one in PMA should not be a one-off event, but lifelong and based on materials derived from the local context. Purcell-Gates et al. (2002) refer to such

learning materials derived from local contexts as “authentic learning materials”. Literacy provision should therefore have been part of the PMA design from its inception.

The responses I got concerning participants’ feelings about depending on someone else’s literacy skills were surprising to me because it was contrary to the view held by those who conceptualise literacy as a social practice (Street, 1984; 1995; 1996; 2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; Gee, 1990; 1999; 2000; Baynham, 1995; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Baynham & Prinsloo, 2001; Prinsloo, 2005). Those who view literacy as a social practice maintain that people who lack literacy skills can actually survive without developing their own since they can effectively make use of literacy mediators in their social networks (Fingeret, 1983; Baynham, 1995). Other scholars argue that literacy is a social good and like any other good, it has positive externalities that can be shared within and between households, thereby making it possible for the non-literate to benefit from the sharing of such skills (Basu and Foster, 1998; Foster and Subramanian, 2000; Chakravarty and Majumder, 2005; and Maddox, 2007a).

It was interesting to note that contrary to the above view, all the farmers who took part in this study said that they would like to have their own literacy skills developed. They argued that depending on other people’s skills deprives one of one’s confidentiality, exposes one to the risk of being cheated, is very expensive, and causes one to lose respect in the community. These arguments are clearly aligned with the ones in the capability approach, which promotes literacy as “an important social entitlement, a key determinant of well-being and a goal of human development” (Maddox, 2008, p. 185). They also reaffirm the negative implications of illiteracy on human flourishing and well-being, people’s freedom, agency and social identities (Sen, 1985; 2003; Maddox, 2007b, 2008).

6.4.6 Government strategies for addressing illiteracy

In terms of meeting the literacy needs of the PMA target group, there were no indications from any of the different data sources that plans were underway to address the crucial problem of illiteracy as a matter of priority. Throughout the period of data collection, I did not come across a single adult literacy class or centre in the sub-

county. Although the trainers and PMA officials who took part in the study indicated that such classes and centres exist, none of them knew how many centres there were, or where they were located. There was also an apparent lack of feasible linkages or meaningful collaborations between FALP and PMA at the implementation stage. This is in spite of the fact that all PMA-related documents emphasise the issue of a sector-wide approach to poverty eradication, and the Ugandan government continuously refers to the two programmes as crucial strategies for rural poverty eradication.

Various documents indicate that FALP is supposed to be running in all districts. Manibe Sub-County is one of the sub-counties which is meant to be implementing the programme. However, the subsistence farmers who participated in this study said that they only heard about the programme in 2000, and had never had a chance to take part in it. This suggests that the programme never took off in the sub-county, or was short-lived if it did. Okech et al. (1999) and Okech & Mjanja (2007) indicate in their 1999 evaluation report and 2007 process review of FALP that it was not uncommon for implementers and trainers to get people excited about joining FALP classes, and then vanish before the programme was completed.

These reports suggest that although the FALP classes did exist, not many people in the rural areas benefited from them. As a result, people were ill-prepared in terms of their literacy and numeracy skills. One of the PMA trainers expressed this in an open-ended questionnaire as follows: "Farmers are half supported". This kind of sentiment suggests that the government is not doing enough in the area of literacy provision. Taking into consideration Okech's statement that the present survival strategies in interventions such as PMA depend on plan documents, activity records and formulae, it was crucial to properly prepare beneficiaries, or continuously meet their literacy needs, to enable them to fully and actively participate in the programme. The inter-sectoral framework PMA advocated should have offered an opportunity for other programmes, like FALP, to take the challenge of continuously building the literacy skills of the PMA target group.

One of the reasons advanced to explain the above scenario regarding learner retention was the mismatch between the purpose of literacy provision and why learners need

literacy (Okech et al., 1999; Okech & Majanja, 2007; Rogers, 2006). Whereas some participating farmers may not be deriving maximum benefits from the PMA intervention because of their lack of literacy, some studies suggest literacy learning combined with livelihoods training stands a higher chance of success because the skills learnt are based on the daily experiences of the learners and as a result are applied immediately. Considering the fact that PMA has some NSCGs which communities can use to do anything of common interest to them, it would have offered an opportunity for learners to acquire literacy skills that are applied to the different activities they are undertaking in the PMA intervention.

6.4.7 The case studies

The experiences of three individuals and one farmers' group were presented as case studies in order to give a sense of the role that literacy has in influencing participation in developmental activities, with special reference to PMA. Of the three individuals, the first case was an example of a relatively successful participating farmer, the second was a struggling participating farmer, and the third was a struggling non-participating farmer. There is a need to compare the experiences of the three to assess the extent to which literacy is crucial for people in their attempt to make a living through development interventions like PMA.

It was interesting to note that the few individuals who were dubbed "model farmers" by the PMA implementers were reasonably well-educated. Fenahasi, one of the mini-case studies, was an S. 3 leaver who was capable of speaking fluent English and making use of any vital information he came across. As the World Bank (1996) suggests in its publication entitled "Uganda: The challenge of growth and poverty reduction", this probably helped him to get the agricultural extension messages right.

The two women in the mini-case studies said that their lack of literacy caused them to voluntarily exclude themselves from certain group activities. Their self-exclusion suggests that stigmatisation practised against certain people because of illiteracy is still a major issue that needs to be addressed. In my opinion, these are the people who should actually be benefiting most from PMA. PMA's failure to build the literacy skills of its participants is contrary to one of its stated principles of empowering

farmers to demand services. Lack of this empowerment greatly contributes towards minimal participation in the different PMA activities. This argument reinforces the findings of Musemakweri's (2007) study, in which he concluded that the education given to farmers in Kabale District of southwestern Uganda did not do enough to empower farmers to demand the agricultural advisory services now being offered by the PSPs on a contractual basis.

This study revealed that different people had different reasons for joining PMA and the challenges they faced in the course of trying to engage with the activities varied from one individual to the other. All the farmers who participated in this study alluded to the fact that lack of literacy skills tended to disadvantage them in their efforts to take part in the different PMA activities. Illiteracy also tended to deprive them of the opportunities that present themselves in the context of the PMA intervention, and this also tended to vary from one person to another. These findings align with what Maddox concludes about the impact of illiteracy on individuals. He argues that "the ways that illiteracy impacts on well-being are likely to vary according to institutional cultures, people's level of dependency on literacy based practices, their access to mediation and the status of minority literacies and languages" (Maddox, 2007b, p. 16).

Attempts to find out about the progress of agricultural education and training, responsibility for designing curriculum followed in farmers' training and supervision to enforce quality, yielded no fruit. The implementation of agricultural education and training appears not to have taken place. This is clearly reflected in one of the PMA review reports where it was noted that "agricultural education remains one of the least advances of all the pillars of PMA in terms of new activities reaching fruition" (Ekwamu and Ashley (2003, p. 11). There also seemed to be no collaboration between the people providing advisory services on an individual basis, and those affiliated to NGOs and private firms. The same seems to apply to the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and the Ministry of Education and Sports. This apparent lack of collaboration between the two ministries in terms of their specific roles in the provision of agricultural education is reflected in the recommendation Ekwamu and Ashley (2003, p. 12) make in their PMA review report, regarding the implementation of the agricultural education pillar of the PMA intervention which states the

importance of “...bring(ing) Ministry of Education and Sports and Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development on board”. This suggests that the two ministries are not interacting on the issues of agricultural education and training.

The complexity of the problems facing agricultural education in Uganda, discussed in Ministry of Education and Sports (2003), calls for concerted efforts to understand agricultural education and how best it can be offered at different levels. At the moment, people’s understanding of agricultural education appears to be narrowly focused on formal agricultural education, and yet non-formal agricultural education is also critical for the ongoing implementation of PMA.

However, with no FALP classes running in the entire research area, it is possible that the issue of agricultural education particularly in the non-formal sector might be at a dead end for now. Despite this concern, farmers’ training on specific enterprises has been ongoing, though erratic in nature. What this means is that there is doubt about what agricultural education is, and who is to take the lead in its provision. There is a need for clarity on what constitutes agricultural education, who actually teaches it in the context of non-formal learning, and how it is best taught.

The above discussions and analysis were intended to deepen the understanding of the findings of this study for drawing appropriate conclusions and making feasible recommendations. In the following chapter, the study conclusions, recommendations and policy implications of such recommendations are presented.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed the major finding of the study. The analysis provided a basis for deriving conclusions and recommendations, presented in the next chapter. The study revealed that the farmers, implementers, and trainers were knowledgeable and aware about the practice of PMA. However, the majority of them were not conversant with the theoretical underpinnings of PMA.

The intervention was characterised by different activities, some of which were related to its process while others were directly related to farming. Although literacy was said

to be unnecessary for joining the farmers' Groups so as to enjoy the benefits that accrue from the intervention, accomplishing most of the activities in it required the use of literacy and numeracy skills, particularly in English. This tended to disadvantage the unschooled farmers involved in the various PMA activities. In many instances, it forces them to rely on the literacy and numeracy skills of mediators in the communities. Although the services of literacy mediators in the communities are useful, all the farmers who took part in the study were in favour of having their individual skills developed.

Different groups involved in PMA activities were found to be facing numerous challenges related to administrative procedures, illiteracy, lack of land, lack of skills, lack of markets, and the consequences of the dynamics involved in managing them. Treating the groups as though they were uniform was reported to be contributing towards the disintegration of certain groups. It was also noted that the majority of those subsistence farmers who took part in the study were opposed to working in groups, for various reasons.

Whereas the target group was entitled to training and technology demonstrations, the dominance of English during the training workshops, as the language of instruction and of the training materials, created an uncondusive environment for those who lack literacy and numeracy skills. Lack of funds and other resources, difficulties of accessing PMA grants and fear of not being able to pay matching grants, acted as some of the barriers to participation in PMA activities. Although illiteracy was reported as one of the main contributory factors in impeding participation in PMA, it was not the only factor. The extent to which it affected individuals varied and depended on the type of activity and where it was carried out.

Since participation in the intervention was open to all, the participating farmers who lacked literacy were found to be making use of literacy mediators to navigate their way through the literacy-dense environment of PMA. The services of literate fellow farmers, neighbours, own children and close relatives were reported to be helpful for those in the intervention without literacy skills. Although illiteracy was reported to be a serious challenge among the target group, the study found no observable

arrangements within PMA's sector-wide approach to poverty eradication to resolve the problem.

There were more women than men taking part in PMA activities at parish level, but the reverse was true for activities at sub-county levels and above. Since the majority of the people who lack literacy in rural areas are women, the dominance of women in parish level PMA activities is worrying, because their lack of literacy may cause the PMA intervention to fail to attain its goal of empowering farmers to take control of agricultural advisory service delivery.

Since Chambers (1997a) regards literacy as a means to enhancing human capabilities, which is in turn a means to livelihoods and fulfilment, their enlargement through learning, practice, training, and education are means to human well-being. Relating Chambers' argument to the illustration presented in Figure 16 (on pg 78 in Chapter Four), it can be said that using appropriate literacy, education and training, people who are trapped in a state of vulnerability represented by Box B can, with appropriate policies and programmes from Box A, attain capability enhancement. They should then be able to choose the most viable livelihood strategies and employ the available livelihood resources to further expand their capabilities to attain well-being. Sen (1999, p. 90) emphasises this when he says that enhanced capabilities tend "to expand a person's ability to be more productive and earn higher incomes". Nussbaum (1990) also argues that when a person is provided with the appropriate education and literacy, his or her capabilities are enhanced to a level that makes it possible for him or her to perform higher levels functions.

Thus it can be argued that if people like Ludia and Resty had an opportunity to access literacy and basic education, their capabilities would also be enhanced to engage in viable livelihood strategies, which would eventually lead them to secure livelihoods on a sustainable basis. The enlargement of capabilities of women, who form the bulk of the membership of farmers' groups in the various parishes, would help them to effectively participate in their activities and enjoy the benefits that accrue from PMA. In the long run, this could lead to what Robert Chambers calls responsible well-being by all and for all, which will eventually lead to sustainable development for all. It

could therefore be said that that factors that impede participation in PMA are numerous and can be categorised under five sets of challenges:

- Illiteracy-related factors
- Pedagogical factors that relate to language of instruction and preparing learning materials, teaching methods used, types of training materials used, facilitators/trainers used, tasks assigned to farmers in the course of training, the level of criticality empowerment embedded in the approach to teaching
- Local agricultural production and productivity enhancement constraints such as lack of and access to land, bad land policies, natural calamities, lack of input, lack of markets
- Structural and administrative factors that relate to the operational framework that guides the PMA implementation process
- External factors that relate to the market oriented neoliberal principles that guide the implementation of the intervention.

In the following chapter, the study conclusions, and recommendations based on the findings summarised above are presented.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of the conclusions and recommendations of the study in terms of how they relate to the key issues pursued in the study. They include:

- The research participants' understanding of the practice of PMA
- The implementers' and trainers' understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of PMA
- An examination of the typical PMA activities in relation to the literacy demands they make on the target group
- An analysis of the role of farmers' groups and how the dynamics involved in their operations impact on the members
- An assessment of the strategies unschooled participating members employ to cope with the challenges they face in an attempt to engage with activities in PMA that require literacy
- An examination of the strategies the government uses to address the issue of illiteracy among the PMA target group.

The recommendations based on the conclusions from this study are presented and their possible policy implications are highlighted. Also addressed are suggestions for further research into areas that this study did not cover extensively. In the following section, the conclusions from this study are presented.

7.2 General conclusions from the study

This study aimed at exploring the lived experiences of the rural subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub-County, Arua District of Uganda, with specific reference to the PMA intervention. It focused on an examination of whether subsistence farmers' literacy enhances or inhibits their participation levels in the different activities of PMA. Data collected and analysed through interpretive methods generated the findings that were

presented in the previous chapter. The analysis and discussion of these findings raised a number of important issues, a few of which are highlighted in the conclusions upon which the policy recommendations are based.

The findings generated from the study mainly relate to issues of:

- Literacy and pedagogy
- Women's participation in the PMA intervention
- PMA process or structure
- Factors that are external to PMA relating to natural forces or global socio-economic and politico-ideological factors.

7.2.1 Literacy and pedagogy issues

The literacy and pedagogy related conclusions of this study revolve around the literacy demands imposed on the participating farmers by the different PMA activities. They are stated as follows:

Most of the activities and tasks in the PMA intervention involve a high level of interaction with written materials, for which possession of literacy and numeracy skills is crucial. Lack of literacy inhibits active and meaningful participation. Those who are literate are more empowered to act from an informed position and have a better chance of succeeding in what they do than those who lack literacy. The case of Fenahasi, discussed as a mini-case study of a successful farmer, is a typical example. The difficulties associated with a lack of literacy cut across all PMA activities. For instance, accessing financial support requires that groups write up a proposal for which literacy and numeracy skills are required. Equally important in PMA is activity monitoring and reporting, for which a high level of literacy is also critical. It is therefore beyond the scope of the participating farmers with limited or no literacy skills. This was evident in the cases of Resty and Ludia, whose experiences of being unsuccessful farmers were documented as mini-case studies.

Although illiteracy and low levels of education in rural communities certainly have a role to play in inhibiting participation levels in development interventions like PMA, they are not the only factors that can be blamed for the dissatisfaction and minimal participation of the rural subsistence farmers in the PMA programme in Manibe Sub-County. There are other critical issues that play a role as well. For example, the

apparent minimal participation of the youth, described in the previous chapter cannot solely be attributed to a lack of literacy and numeracy skills, as most of today's youth possess the basic literacy and numeracy skills that would enable them to seize such opportunities to improve their living conditions. The minimal participation by the youth in the PMA programme could easily set the stage for the inheritance of poverty and illiteracy from one generation to the next. This does not bode well in a nation which is struggling to achieve the MDGs and make poverty history (Sachs, 2005).

The process of enterprise selection under PMA is not only tedious, but also bureaucratic, academic and therefore very frustrating for unschooled, poor subsistence farmers. The process, based on guidelines that target the most commercially viable enterprise for a particular sub-county, tends to treat all groups as though they are uniform, and yet inter- and intra-group differences do exist. The complicated formula used for weighting and ranking enterprises intimidates those participating farmers who lack literacy, thereby depriving many of them of a choice of enterprise that would potentially have been the most commercially viable option for them (see Appendix 42). The process appears not to be taking into consideration the comparative advantages that different people have over others, and also seems to ignore the fact that most of the people the intervention targets lack literacy and numeracy skills.

The training of farmers is intended to facilitate uptake of the new agricultural technologies developed, enhance farmers' skills, and lead to the realisation of the set goals of PMA. The success of the training and technology demonstrations depends to a great extent on three factors: the language of instruction and preparation of training materials, the training methods used, and the extent to which the tasks assigned to the trainees demand extensive interactions with written texts. The unintended dominance of English for conducting the training and writing the training materials, and the extensive use of written materials to accomplish most of the tasks trainees are assigned renders the training inappropriate for those who lack literacy and numeracy skills. Over-dependence on the lecture method by most of the facilitators makes such training unattractive to the target group, the majority of whom not only lack literacy and numeracy, but are also adult learners who need participatory and experiential methods of teaching and learning. Unless deliberate efforts are made to encourage the

use of appropriate adult education methods of teaching, and ensure that training materials are written in the appropriate local languages, the rate of adoption of the new agricultural technologies in PMA will continue to remain miserably low. The three factors – language, methods and materials – play a hugely significant role in determining the success of the training programmes and technology demonstrations for the farmers.

Since PMA is intended to make subsistence farmers change their mindset in order to engage in agriculture as a business, record-keeping becomes a critical component of effective enterprise management. The issue of records management obviously becomes a problem, due to the fact that most of the participating farmers do not possess the skills to do it effectively. It is therefore difficult to imagine making headway in agricultural modernisation as a strategy for reducing rural poverty without addressing the question of illiteracy. Literacy and numeracy skills are crucial for record-keeping and enterprise management, and ignoring them in a very important intervention like PMA will never facilitate the achievement of the goal of commercialising subsistence agriculture as an effective strategy for rural poverty reduction.

Literacy has several intrinsic and instrumental values, and its incorporation in all poverty reduction interventions is crucial. Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon which transcends ages and cultures, and the literacy learning models of Rogers (1997) and Oxenham et al. (2001) would be instrumental in the fight against rural poverty since they tend to integrate literacy learning with livelihoods training. As PMA is about improving the livelihoods of the poor, such an approach has huge potential for promoting long-term engagement with the target group. Integrating literacy with livelihood activities is likely to contribute towards tackling the motivational challenge most literacy programmes tend to face. Associating literacy learning with livelihoods issues motivates learners, because they have something tangible at the end. A recent evidence-based learning conference I convened, which attracted 811 rural people from all over Uganda and the neighbouring countries, showed how eager rural people were to discuss issues to do with learning that is tied to their livelihoods. This event offered an excellent opportunity for the rural poor to discuss challenges they are facing with interventions such as PMA (see Ngaka, Ayiko & Matua, 2009; Ngaka, 2009).

7.2.2 Gender issues

Although there is a great deal of emphasis on ensuring gender sensitivity in PMA activities in most of the PMA documents, such emphasis tended not to be translated into action. There were glaring gender gaps, especially in terms of membership representation in most groups, leadership roles, educational levels, and even participation in meetings and training programmes. For example, most of the struggling farmers were women, most of the leaders, especially at higher levels like Farmers' forum, were men, and women tended to be less active in contributing ideas during meetings and training workshops. Generally, there were more women than men taking part in PMA activities at parish levels, as compared to activities at sub-county levels and above. It is therefore possible that most of the labour-intensive activities in the field remain the domain of women, which does not tally with the gender sensitivity being promoted in the PMA-related documents. In some groups it was common to find records of attendance of meetings to reflect gender balance, when in reality that was not the case. Such records tended to be used to appease implementers, since it was a requirement to ensure a gender balance in the farmers' groups. In light of the above, it is possible that the struggle to rid the rural poor, the majority of whom are women, of poverty will remain wishful thinking. Instead, the PMA intervention may end up feminising rural poverty (Ngaka, 2007).

7.2.3 Issues related to PMA structure

Generally, the farmers, trainers and implementers exhibited a relatively high level of awareness and knowledge of the practical issues of PMA. However, the trainers and implementers had very little understanding of the theoretical and conceptual issues influencing PMA implementation. They were therefore unsure about the links between literacy and development in the context of the PMA implementation. Their understanding of the intervention stemmed from the Ugandan government's rigid, bureaucratic and procedural perspective, which sees the intervention only in terms of the rhetoric of participation and empowerment of the rural poor, without understanding that the real principles that guide the programme do not actually favour the poor at all. The trainers and implementers' lack of knowledge about theoretical linkages concerning PMA and literacy is a serious problem. It means they would not be able to understand and isolate the factors in PMA, caused by the models and

principles that guide its implementation, which are likely to lead to exclusion of the very target group it was meant to deliver from poverty.

Although the idea of the farmers' groups appears to be in line with the concept of social capital and its associated benefits that would help them to benefit from common resources as Putnam (1998; 2000) indicates, the dynamics involved in the management of the groups pose serious challenges. This is especially evident in the issue of access to and distribution of resources. This has led to some groups disintegrating, or some members permanently withdrawing their participation. Such cases were reported in groups whose members do not have much in common. Treating all groups as if they have identical characteristics does a disservice to the members, since some groups are already more resourced and others have nothing. This is particularly crucial in areas such as enterprise selection by different groups. Failure to treat groups differently will mean leaving the worse-off members, as Waswaga (2007) puts it, "spatially trapped" in rural poverty and enriching, as Ellis and Bahiigwa (2003) describe, the "better-off groups" at the expense of the worse-off ones. A careful assessment of group membership in terms of their educational levels/literacy status and gender composition should guide efforts to consider the needs of the different groups.

In some cases, certain conditions imposed on the farmers' groups have tended to minimise participation by those who would otherwise be the primary target group for the PMA intervention. A typical example is the introduction of private sector-led service delivery, in which the role of co-funding is crucial. Expecting poor subsistence farmers to demand agricultural advisory services at market rates is not only unreasonable, but is also becoming a form of disincentive to those who have no money to pay for co-funding. The issue of co-funding is becoming a hindrance for those intending to join farmers' groups, and forcing those already in groups to exit the programme.

Although it is claimed that PMA is implemented in a sector wide approach, which would require synergies, collaborations and linkages between different structures and institutions, observable arrangements of this nature were nonexistent. Critical to the success of PMA is the issue of agricultural education whose provision, according to

the Ministry of Education and Sports (2003), is characterised by a lack of institutional framework and poor coordination. Agricultural education therefore hangs in the balance between the Ministry of Education and Sports, which is supposed to take care of formal agricultural education, and the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, which is supposed to take responsibility for non-formal education. Although the government introduced FALP, it appeared not to have been targeted to prepare people specifically for participation in PMA. This was evidenced in the minimal interaction between Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development and Ministry of Education and Sports highlighted in one of the PMA review reports (Ekwamu and Ashley, 2003). The two ministries needed to have been collaborating through a multi-sectoral approach if FALP, which is supposed to deal with non-formal agricultural education, was to prepare people for PMA. In fact, there were no operational FALP classes in the research area, and this made it very difficult to try to establish the links between the activities of PMA and FALP.

Ekwamu and Ashley (2003, p. 26), reporting the views of the development partners, state that “cross-sectoral linkages were still weak” and that sector working groups’ work and priorities were not closely linked to decentralised priorities, largely due to limited bottom-up planning. They reported one CSO official as saying that “the planning process is lagging, especially bottom-up planning and there is a state of powerlessness in terms of holding people accountable. PMA and other government plans still use a top-down approach” (Ekwamu and Ashley, 2003, p. 26). With no apparent linkages and collaborations between FALP and agencies implementing programmes related to poverty reduction, there are no promising signs of a sustainable arrangement for literacy skills development within the PMA framework.

7.2.4 Other factors that affect participation levels

The challenges farmers face in trying to participate in PMA activities go beyond literacy and PMA structures. Some of the problems faced are external, and beyond the control of the implementers. These include: landlessness; land fragmentation and degradation; the unpredictability that characterises agricultural work, as well as its associated risks; lack of markets for farmers’ produce; and the influence of the neoliberal market oriented policies and principles that guide the design and

implementation of the PMA programme. These externally oriented forces also play a great role in influencing subsistence farmers' participation levels in PMA activities.

7.3 Recommendations

In light of the forerunning conclusions, the study makes a number of recommendations. However, the recommendations which are presented below should only be applied to the research area and similar contexts since it was based on a relatively small sample. They should therefore not simply be generalised to the larger population.

7.3.1 Literacy and pedagogy-related recommendations

Since illiteracy and lack of education constitute a serious threat to poverty eradication efforts, there is a need for the appropriate interest groups, farmers through their respective fora, and people's representatives in the legislature to advocate and lobby for appropriate policies to encourage skills development in order to improve the literacy and numeracy skills of the primary PMA target group. The focus should be on encouraging the application of multiple literacies and using multiple strategies. People's perception of literacy in terms of the dominant view in which literacy acquisition is strongly linked to schooling only, also needs to be changed.

Everything possible should be done to encourage the conceptualisation of literacy acquisition as a social process, entailing constant interaction between different people engaged in various activities on a daily basis. This approach will encourage the promotion of local literacies, which has the potential to neutralise the use of English as the dominant language for people who do not speak or understand it. For PMA, this would be relevant, as the design of the programme is intended to allow people to interact freely as they work in groups.

In view of the fact that most of the PMA activities involve interaction with written materials, most of which are prepared in English, everything possible should be done to ensure that the materials, methods and language used to conduct farmer training and execute certain tasks are appropriate for those lacking literacy and numeracy

skills. A bilingual or multilingual approach to learning/teaching, as well as production of reading materials, should be highly encouraged. Efforts should be made to start literacy learning using the first language of the learners before advancing to a second language.

The programme implementers need to modify the complex enterprise selection procedures, the format and level of English used in them, as well as activity monitoring and reporting within PMA as a matter of urgency. This would be so that they can be made simpler and easily useable by those with limited literacy and numeracy skills. Simplifying the enterprise selection process and using the most appropriate methods, materials and language to suit local conditions would motivate people to contribute ideas in the activities they are engaged in. This view is supported by Robinson, who suggests that adult learning evolves from what learners know about themselves (Robinson, 2007).

There is also an urgent need to encourage development of reading materials for agricultural education, especially in local languages, to counter the challenges of having to depend on teaching materials written in English which most of the target group does not understand. A possible strategy to promote local reading materials development would be for the government to empower District Language Boards and encourage them to facilitate the efforts of local people to produce reading materials on agriculture, business management and entrepreneurial skills development in local languages. This support from government is necessary, as currently the Language Board of Arua District, for example, is not functioning simply because there is no money.

In addition to promoting local reading materials for agricultural education, there is also a need to train people as translators and have such people supplement the efforts of the trainers who might not speak the mother tongue of the target group they are dealing with. This is important in light of Basel's (2004) experience in Public Adult Learning Centres in South Africa, where learners frequently sought clarification in their first language on concepts and issues in English. Facilitators' knowledge of the first language of the learners is therefore important.

If the issue of rural poverty reduction is to be addressed on a long-term basis, there is a need to ensure that literacy and numeracy skills learning is integrated with other livelihood activities that are being funded through PMA. This would be of great help in addressing the issue of lack of learners' motivation and high learner dropout rates that often occur as a result of having nothing that produces immediate and tangible results for them to meet their pressing needs. Integrating literacy learning into livelihood activities would also mean that learners would be in a position to use what Purcell-Gates et al. (2002) term authentic or real learning materials based on their everyday experiences. This would make the literacy learning experiential and lifelong.

The concept of Farmers' Field Schools (Friis-Hansen, et al., 2004), already being tested in some sub-counties, needs to be wholeheartedly embraced, and adequate resources within PMA should be devoted to their development. Promoting Farmers' Field Schools would help to confront the challenge being faced by agricultural education in the non-formal sector (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2003). Given their rural context, they could offer a very good opportunity to practice intergenerational learning, and encourage the spirit of lifelong learning as well.

New and interesting developments in literacy skills acquisition, learning and application that are emerging in the research area need to be encouraged in every way possible. For instance, the seemingly ubiquitous usage of signposts by every group; decoration of sitting rooms with pictures, posters and newspapers by some farmers we visited; and the culture of maintaining visitors' books in homes and groups are wonderful developments that the government should support in a bid to create literate environments.

7.3.2 Gender-related recommendations

Most PMA documents are already full of provisions to ensure a gender balance in all activities of the programme. It is important to devise strategies to ensure that all the gender-related provisions are actually enforced, so that equal participation by both men and women at all levels does not remain mere political rhetoric. Since the youth and the elderly of both sexes were found not to be active in PMA activities, the principle of equal participation should apply to them as well, and everything possible

should be done to find and remedy the causes of their minimal participation. PMA should be an opportunity to avoid a situation of feminising rural poverty, or encouraging generational inheritance of the same.

7.3.3 Recommendations related to PMA structure

Since implementers and trainers were not clear about the theoretical underpinnings of the PMA process, it would be important to organise regular training workshops or refresher courses to sensitise them about the principles, theories and models that guide the PMA implementation. Such a move would equip the implementers with the necessary knowledge and tools that would help them understand and analyse the implications of models and theories guiding development programmes. This would enable them to advise on a remedial course of action when implementation problems that threaten to exclude certain categories of people arise.

Since most of the groups' activities involve interaction with written materials for which the majority of the members lack the required skills, a considerable effort should be made to address the issue of enabling members not only to acquire literacy and numeracy skills, but also to apply them in their day-to-day PMA activities. Literacy learning should be integrated with the various activities the participants are involved in.

Frequent training workshops focusing on the significance of working in groups, managerial and leadership skills, group dynamics and resource mobilisation and management should be organised to empower the leaders of the groups and their members to enable them to deal effectively with the challenges associated with management of groups and scarce resources. There is a need to take into consideration differences that exist between and within groups, since they have a direct bearing on issues of access to and distribution of resources and opportunities such as funds, credit facilities, land, agricultural inputs and legal services. In forming groups, care should be taken to keep in mind their shared values and interests, as well as the socio-economic backgrounds of the group members. Members of a given group should have a great deal in common, so that they can focus on the same targets and aspirations.

Efforts should be made to avoid having well-resourced groups taking more than what is due to them.

Since the majority of the farmers were opposed to working in groups because of “freeloaders” in the groups, efforts should be made to devise certain mechanisms or incentives to ensure that every member of the group puts in equal effort during the production process.

Efforts should be made to address the difficulties farmers face in accessing funds they need to undertake their activities and government should look for an alternative approach to co-funding, which is a hindrance to many people who would have wanted to join farmers’ groups.

Since agricultural education plays a vital role in achieving success in PMA, every effort should be made to operationalise this essential component of the programme, and significant attention should be given to the issue of non-formal agricultural education. Since the multi-sectoral framework is too complicated and has not led to inter-sectoral working relations, there is a need to revisit the system so that an institutional framework for agricultural education that serves the intended target group is established. The factors responsible for the absence of FALP in the research area need to be investigated in order to revive the classes as avenues for learning within PMA. The presence of FALP activities would offer an opportunity to see how FALP and PMA activities could be linked in a way that complemented one another. Hence, institutional collaboration, linkages and synergies should be encouraged in order to avoid duplication of resources, efforts and services.

7.3.4 Other factors that affect participation levels

Since external factors are beyond the control of the programme managers, political will on the part of the government is critical in fostering cooperation between all the institutions involved in the implementation of PMA. This would take the form of developing and implementing pro-poor policies, particularly in areas such as access to land and land rights related matters, which are critical for agricultural development. The government should ensure that the provisions already made in most of the PMA

documents regarding sustainable use and management of natural resources, which would go a long way towards addressing the problems of land fragmentation and degradation, are enforced and put into practice.

Regarding the problem of co-funding by the poor subsistence farmers, Omar's (2005) suggestion is valuable. He suggests that the government allows commercial and semi-commercial farmers and large Agricultural Cooperatives to pay for their agricultural extension advisory services, while continuing to provide free extension services to the poor small producers who are unable to meet their co-funding obligations.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

In the course of undertaking this study, certain issues arose that I was unable to address adequately. In this section, I have tried to identify these issues in order to suggest further investigation into them in the near future. They include:

- An analysis of the effectiveness of the farmers' groups in the context of the present private sector-led agricultural advisory service provision, which is driven by market-oriented neoliberal principles
- An assessment of strategies for sustainable provision of agricultural education and training, in which literacy and language related issues are critical for agricultural development
- Re-examination of the policy positions on agricultural education, especially in the context of the informal sector, based on the adult education oriented principles
- An analysis of the institutional linkages and synergies between the different agencies seemingly doing similar things that could result in significant duplication of resources and efforts
- An examination of the processes by which unschooled women like the ones encountered in this study learn to read the Bible, but are not able to read any other texts, so as to establish how such a method could be improved for use in adult literacy classes/programmes.

7.5 Chapter conclusion

The overall conclusion of the study is that although literacy is an impediment to participation in developmental activities such as PMA, it is not the only factor that influences participation. As research participants showed, illiteracy works in collaboration with other factors to cripple participation. As a result, a strategy that aims to reduce poverty levels among the rural poor will only succeed if it conceptualises poverty broadly to address all the dimensions of poverty, instead of focusing narrowly on increasing incomes, as appears to be the case with Uganda's PMA.

Throughout the study, it has been argued that poverty needs to be understood as a broad, complex and multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses issues of lack of income, participation, capabilities and exclusion. As Amartya Sen and other scholars suggest, an effective strategy of poverty eradication should focus on expanding the capabilities of poor people so that they have the substantive freedoms they need to do what they want to do, and become what they want to be. Critical in the expansion of human capabilities is the need to build the literacy skills of the target group of a given intervention. This is necessary because literacy is said to be a fertiliser that accelerates development and acts as an invisible ingredient in any successful strategy for eradicating poverty (Global Campaign for Education, 2005).

Since literacy is critical in facilitating the realisation of poverty reduction goals, it is recommended that the Ugandan government considers mainstreaming literacy in all sectors of the economy. Attempts should be made to ensure that literacy activities are given the share of resources they deserve, as well as to link literacy learning to programmes like PMA, so that literacy learners are able to engage in activities in which they will immediately apply the literacy skills they have learnt.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview guide for rural subsistence farmers

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
Faculty of Education



School of Adult and Higher Education

Durban 4041, South Africa

Tel. +27 (0)31 260 3086

Fax. +27 (0)31 260 1168

1. Introduction

This interview is intended to generate information on how literacy affects subsistence farmers' participation in PMA activities in Manibe Sub-County. You have been selected to take part in this study because of the wealth of experience and knowledge you have accumulated over the years while involving yourself in the PMA activities. The information gathered will be used by Mr. Willy Ngaka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 202524874**, to write a thesis that he will submit to the Faculty of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality they deserve and strictly used for academic purposes. Also note that your anonymity in the course of reporting the findings of the study will be ensured through the use of pseudo names instead of your real names. Your cooperation on this subject will highly be appreciated.

2. Personal/General Information

Interview date.....	Interview start time
Interview venue.....	Interview duration.....
Name.....	Number of children.....
Place of birth.....	Marital status.....
Age.....	Family size.....
Gender.....	Religious affiliation.....
Main economic activity.....	Tribe.....

3. Educational and Socio-economic Background of the Interviewees

Did you go to school? If yes, what level did you attain or dropped out? If no, explain why? Are your children attending school? If no, explain why? If yes, what levels? Can you read and write? If yes, where did you get the skill from? How well can you read and write? In what language(s) can you read and write? What languages would you wish to use for learning reading and writing and why? What language(s) do you use for: (a) personal communication and (b) official communication, as well as when interacting with others in group activities?

4. Experience in and Knowledge about PMA

(For non-participating farmers only) Have you heard about PMA? If yes, from who? Why are you not participating? If no, would you be interested in participating in case the opportunity presented itself to you?

(For participating farmers only) How did you come to know about the PMA? For how long have you been in PMA? Describe what PMA is about? What do you think is the main difference between PMA and NAADS? Briefly, describe the main activities under PMA. How different do you think these are from the ordinary farming activities? How are the new farming activities undertaken - in groups or individually? Why did you decided to take part in PMA activities?

5. Information about Farmer Groups

Do you belong to any Group? If you do not, explain why? If you do, what is the name of your group? Explain when and how your group was formed? Does your group have a constitution to guide how it should be run? Who prepared the constitution? What are the objectives and key activities of your group? To what extent do the activities require reading and writing skills? How many members are there in your group? What conditions must one fulfil to become a member in your group?

What is the composition of the group's membership in terms of age, gender, and educational level? What does it take to get a group recognised? Does your group receive funds from PMA programme? If yes, how much does it get in a year? What percentage of the group's funds is voted for literacy activities? What are the other sources of funds for your group's activities? Does your group keep records of its activities? If yes, what activities are they? If no, explain why? Is your group expected to submit some form of reports to any authority? If yes, state the name of the body and some examples of the reports.

6. Reasons for Participation/Non-participation in Farmer Groups

Do you know other people who are not participating in PMA activities? If yes, why do you think they are not participating? What category of people are they? In the context of PMA activities, what difficulties do you experience as a group? Do you like working as a group? Give reasons for the choice of your response/answer.

7. Information on PMA and Functional Adult Literacy Programme

How would you describe the literacy rates among the people in your community? What can you say about reading, writing and numeracy skills in relation to your individual or group activities? Is lack of reading, writing and numeracy skills a hindrance to participation in individual or group undertakings? If yes, explain and give specific activity areas in which it happens most.

(For participating farmers only) Are PMA officials aware of the problems participants face because of illiteracy? What do they normally say about it? How do you think the problem could be addressed?

Have you heard of the Functional Adult Literacy Programme (FALP) ? If yes, are you aware of some centres that are operational in your sub-county and how many are they in number? Who are the providers of adult literacy services in the sub-county? Are you a participant in one of the classes? Are people actively participating in the programme? If yes, what things do they normally learn in the classes? What materials and methods of teaching are being used? In your own assessment, are learners' needs being met in the programme? If you have never heard of FAL, would you be interested? If yes, what things would you like to learn under such a programme? Give reason for your answer.

(For participating farmers only) Describe what you feel about the FALP learning and PMA activities you are undertaking. If there are FALP classes in your sub-county, do you see a

relationship between FALP and PMA activities? If yes, describe the relationship in simple terms.

If there are no FALP classes, would you like them to be introduced? If yes, would you have the time to participate in them? Briefly give us a rough idea of how your typical day or week's schedule looks like? What things would you like to learn in the classes, what days and for how long?

8. Records Management

Do you keep records of your personal activities you undertake? If yes, list the specific activities whose records you normally keep. Tell us the advantages of keeping records. If no, explain why. Does your group keep records? If yes, what records does it keep? If your group does not keep records of its activities, explain problems the group faces in PMA as a result of that.

9. Strategies for Meeting the Literacy Needs of the Participants

In light of the illiteracy that characterises the rural population; do you think there was an attempt to prepare people in terms of literacy and numeracy skills for participation in PMA? If yes, explain how this was done. In what ways is PMA programme trying to meet literacy and numeracy skills needs of the non-literate members? If nothing is being done, what simple and feasible ways can you suggest for the benefit of those with no or limited literacy skills?

10. Enterprise Selection and Management

Explain or describe how enterprises for the various groups are selected. In your opinion, does enterprise selection and management involve or demand the application of literacy and numeracy skills?

11. Coping Strategies of Illiterate Farmers

If yes, how do the participants without reading, writing and calculation skills effectively manage the commercial oriented agricultural enterprises? What can you say about the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies they employing to deal with tasks which require literacy and numeracy skills. Explain whether you would be happy with the strategies they are using? What do you say about depending on some one's literacy and numeracy skills?

12. Farmers' Trainings and Technology Demonstrations

Have you ever participated in any farmers' training or new technology demonstration organised for farmers under PMA? If yes, who provided it and where did it take place? How did you know about it and got selected? How many days did the training take? What issues were handled in the agricultural education and training? What language(s) was/were used for conducting the training and demonstrations? What methods and materials were used and how did you find the tasks assigned to the participants in terms of the reading and writing skills required? In your assessment, what literacy skills levels do you think the trainers assumed? What specific problems did you experience in the trainings or any other agricultural education and training or technology demonstration you have attended and how do you think the problems could be solved?

13. Concluding Remarks

How do you feel in terms of your survival skills, after six years of PMA's existence in your sub-county? What can you say about PMA intervention as a strategy to pull the poor out of poverty?

Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation

Appendix 2: Interview guide for group interviews

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL Faculty of Education



School of Adult and Higher Education

Durban 4041, South Africa

Tel. +27 (0)31 260 3086

Fax. +27 (0)31 260 1168

1. Introduction

This focus group discussion (group interview) is intended to generate information on how literacy affects subsistence farmers' participation in PMA activities in Manibe Sub-County. Your group was purposively selected to take part in this study because of the wealth of experience and knowledge it has accumulated over the years as members interact in the course of undertaking PMA activities. The information gathered will be used by Mr. Willy Ngaka, a student of the above named University, **Reg. No. 202524874**, to write a thesis that he will submit to the Faculty of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Your responses will be kept with the utmost degree of confidentiality they deserve and strictly used for academic purposes. Also note that your anonymity in the course of reporting the findings of the study will be ensured through the use of pseudo names instead of your real names. Your cooperation on this subject will highly be appreciated.

2. General/Personal Information

GD date.....	Name of the Group.....
.....
GD venue.....	Total No. of participants in the group.....
GD start time.....	No. of female participants.....
GD duration.....	No. of male participants.....

3. Educational and Socio-economic Background of the Participants

Did you go to school? If yes, what level did you attain or dropped out? If no, explain why? Are your children attending school? If no, explain why? If yes, what levels? Can you read and write? If yes, where did you get the skill from? How well can you read and write? In what language(s) can you read and write? What languages would you wish to use for reading and writing and why? What language(s) do you use for: (a) personal communication and (b) official communication, as well as when interacting with others in group activities?

4. Experience in and Knowledge about PMA

How did you come to know about the PMA? For how long have you been participating in PMA activities? Briefly, describe what you think PMA is all about? Do you any difference between PMA and NAADS? If yes, briefly explain. Briefly, outline the main activities you are involved in under PMA. How different are these activities from those of the traditional farming activities? How are the new farming activities undertaken? (in groups or individually). Why did you decided to take part in PMA activities?

5. Information about Farmer Groups

Explain when and how your group was formed? Does your group have a constitution to guide it on how it should be run? Who prepared the constitution for the group? What are the objectives and key activities of your group? To what extent do the activities require reading and writing skills?

How many members are there in your group? What conditions must one fulfil to become a member? What is the composition of the group's leadership and membership in terms of age, gender, and educational level? What comments can you give about the educational levels and literacy skills of the members of your group? Do you think PMA participants who are able to read and write have certain advantages over the non-literates? If yes, explain and suggest some remedies. Besides farmer groups, are there other groups you belong to in the sub-county? If yes, what is the focus of such groups? What conditions do such groups have to meet to be recognised?

Does your farmer group receive funds from PMA programme? If yes, how much does it get in a year? What percentage of the group's funds is voted for literacy activities? What are the other sources of funds for your group's activities? Does your group keep records of its activities? If yes, what activities are they? If no, explain why? Is your group expected to submit some form of reports? If yes, give some examples of the reports.

6. Reasons for Participation/Non-participation in Farmer Groups

Do you know other people who are not participating in PMA activities? If yes, why do you think they are not participating? What category of people are they? In the context of PMA activities, what difficulties do you experience as a group? Do you like working as a group? Give reasons for the choice of your response/answer. Describe whether the number of farmer groups in Manibe Sub-County is reducing or increasing. Support your response with some reasons

7. Information on PMA, FALP and Literacy Skills Related Issues

What can you say about reading, writing and numeracy skills in relation to your individual or group activities under PMA? Do you consider lack of reading, writing and numeracy skills a hindrance to participation in individual or group undertakings under PMA? If yes, explain and give specific activity areas in which it happens most.

Have you heard of the Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) programme? If yes, how many centres are operating in your sub-county? Are you actively participating in the programme? If yes, what things do you learn in the classes? What methods of teaching and materials are being used in the programme? Describe what you feel about the FALP learning and PMA activities you are undertaking.

If there are no FALP classes, would you like to have them introduced in this sub-county? If yes, would you have the time to participate in them? Briefly, let each of you tell us how your typical day or week's schedule looks like? What things would you like to learn in such classes? Suggest the language, days of the week, duration in a day, themes and other things you would like to have for participating in such classes if they were to start.

8. Records Management

Do you keep records of your personal activities you undertake? If yes, list the specific activities whose records you normally keep. Tell us the advantages of keeping records. If no, explain why. Does your group keep records? If yes, what records does it keep? If your group does not keep records of its activities, explain problems the group faces in PMA as a result of that.

9. Strategies for Meeting the Literacy Needs of Participants

Do you think PMA officials are aware of the level of literacy and numeracy skills of the target group? If yes, how does PMA meet literacy and numeracy skills needs of the participating farmers who are illiterate? Explain whether you think there was an attempt to prepare people in terms of literacy and numeracy skills for participation in PMA. If no, what do you think should have been done to address the problem of lack of reading, writing and numeracy skills among the participants?

10. Enterprise Selection and Management

Describe how the enterprises you are engaged in were selected. To what extent were participants involved? Do you feel groups were allowed to focus on enterprises in which they have comparative advantage over other groups? To what extent is the process of enterprise selection dependent on the application of literacy and numeracy skills?

11. Coping Strategies of Illiterate Farmers

Describe how illiterate farmers handle tasks in a commercial agriculture that require literacy and numeracy skills. What can you say are the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies such people are employing to deal with tasks which require literacy and numeracy skills. Explain whether you would be happy with the strategies they are using? What is your view on depending on some one's literacy and numeracy skills?

12. Farmers' Trainings and Technology Demonstrations

Have you ever participated in any farmers' training or new technology demonstration organised for farmers under PMA? If yes, who provided it and where did it take place? How did you know about it and got selected? How many days did the training take? What issues were handled in the agricultural education and training? What language(s) was/were used for conducting the training and demonstrations? What methods and materials were used and how did you find the tasks assigned to the participants in terms of the reading and writing skills required? In your assessment, what literacy skills levels do you think the trainers assumed? What specific problems did you experience in the trainings or any other agricultural education and training or technology demonstration you have attended and how do you think the problems could be solved?

13. Concluding Remarks

How do you feel in terms of your survival skills, after six years of PMA's existence in your sub-county? What can you say about PMA intervention as a strategy to pull the poor out of poverty?

Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation

Appendix 3: Observation guide

Items to be observed	Remarks on Each Item
1. Observe Farmers' Training Sessions with a view to finding out:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Methods used to conduct training such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participatory/liberatory group discussions ▪ Lectures ▪ Demonstrations ▪ Role plays ▪ Field/exchange visits ▪ Question and answer ▪ Chalk and talk. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language of instruction used for contacting trainings such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lugbara ▪ Kiswahili ▪ English. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks in Training that Requires Reading, Writing and Numeracy skills such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Training ground rules put on walls ▪ Use of name/identification tags ▪ Writing names on the blank name tags ▪ Issue of hand outs to participants ▪ Reading certain parts of written texts during sessions ▪ Writing on boards/flip charts by participants ▪ Reading information on boards/flip charts ▪ Copies of progress reports and their formats ▪ Loan application forms ▪ Bank account opening and deposit forms ▪ Copies of groups' constitutions. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching aids in the Training environment such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chalk boards ▪ Flip charts ▪ Wall charts (calendars, maps, rules etc) ▪ PowerPoint/over head projectors ▪ Videos/Television sets ▪ Audio Cassettes Players. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language, Level and Nature of Written texts used in the course of training such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Posters ▪ Workbooks ▪ Trainers manuals ▪ Handouts ▪ Notes on chalkboards or flip charts ▪ Written texts on video screens. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Composition of the participants in the trainings (e.g. by gender, age, and education level), that is: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Number of male Vs female participants ▪ Number of older Vs younger participants ▪ Number of non literate Vs literate participants 	

<p>2. Observe Group Activities with a view to analysing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group Functioning and Participation Dynamics such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gender and age composition of the group leaders ▪ Composition of group membership such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Female and male group members ○ Younger and older members ○ Non literate and literate members ▪ The most influential sector that determines the direction a particular group takes ▪ Language(s) used for publicising meeting and other group activities ▪ Language(s) used for conducting meetings and taking minutes ▪ Medium used for publicising meetings and other group activities • Records Management in the Groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How minutes are taken and kept ▪ How records of the following are kept: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Group members ○ Assets of groups ○ Group's Activities ○ Correspondences ▪ How record of the funds of the group are kept and focus of this will be on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Incoming funds (donations, loans, grants, savings, members contributions etc) ○ Funds leaving the group (loan repayments and advances to members) ○ Other cash record documents such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cash books - Receipts - Payment vouchers 	
<p>3. Observe Farmers' Field Activities with a view to determining the extent of literacy and numeracy skills required:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional Vs New farming methods under PMA • Old vs New types of crops grown • Pests and diseases control methods • Soil conservation methods used • Sizes of acreage for farmers • Harvesting and storage systems/methods used • Marketing activities • Any other activities 	

Appendix 4: Guide for documentary analysis

This guide is intended facilitate analysis of documents related to the PMA programme. The information to be captured is to be tailored to the following questions:

- Where is the document stored or where can it be obtained when the need arises?
- What type of document is it?
- Who generated the document?
- Under what conditions or circumstances was the document generated?
- What purpose was the document was meant to serve?
- What is the content of the document?
- Who are the potential target audience for the documents?
- In what language was the document prepare?
- What is the level of the document?

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for government officials

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL Faculty of Education



School of Adult and Higher Education

Durban 4041, South Africa

Tel. +27 (0)31 260 3086

Fax. +27 (0)31 260 1168

1. Introduction

This questionnaire seeks to generate information, Mr. Willy Ngaka, **Reg. No. 202524874**, intends to use for writing a thesis for his PhD he is pursuing at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The study focuses on: "The Role of Literacy in Enhancing Capabilities for Participation in Uganda's Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Exploring the Experiences of Rural Subsistence Farmers in Manibe Su-County." You have been purposively selected to take part in this study because of the wealth of knowledge and experience you have accumulated over the years about issues of education, literacy and agricultural production in Uganda in general, and the implementation of the agricultural advisory services, one of the second pillars of the PMA in particular. Rest assured that your responses will be kept in utmost confidentiality they deserve and strictly used for academic purposes. Your cooperation on this subject will highly be appreciated. You do not need to indicate your name on the questionnaire unless you really wish to.

2. Respondent's Personal Information

- (i) Date of filling the questionnaire.....(ii) Age.....
- (iii) Gender..... (iv) Marital Status.....
- (v) No of Children (if any) (vi)Level of education.....
- (vii) Religious affiliation..... (viii) Institutional affiliation
and address.....
- (ix) Designation (x) Work experience in the
organisation.....

3. Theoretical Perspectives of PMA

Do you have some rough ideas on the various models of development and literacy?.....
If yes, list a few of those you are familiar with.....
.....
.....
.....

What do think were the theoretical assumptions PMA designers held about the context as well as the literacy and numeracy skills of the target beneficiaries?.....

.....
.....

Do you the assumptions tally with what you find on the ground?.....

How are the assumptions about the context as well as literacy and numeracy skills affecting your work of training farmers in particular and the implementation of PMA in general?.....

.....
.....

4. Information about Farmer Groups

Describe the organisation of farmers under NAADS/PMA (if possible give the organisational structure as well).....

.....
.....

Describe how the groups are formed and what is the average size of each group?

.....
.....

Briefly, describe the composition of the groups in terms of gender and educational level.....

.....

List the different forms of support available for the farmer groups

.....
.....

How many committees (e.g. Procurement committee) are there under Manibe Sub-County Farmer Forum?.....

5. Reasons for Participation/Non-participation in Farmer Groups

Are you aware of people who are not participating in PMA/NAADS activities in Manibe Sub-County?.....

What categories of people are they?.....

Why do you think are the reasons for:

(i) Some people to willingly participate in PMA-related activities.....

.....
.....
(ii) to be apathetic and not to take part in PMA-related activities.....
.....
.....

How big could the percentage be?.....

List the most critical challenges you have observed facing the groups.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Literacy and Numeracy Skills Related Issues

What can you say about the level of education and literacy and numeracy skills of the farmers in Manibe Sub-County?.....
.....

Do you think NAADS/PMA activities take into account lack of literacy among the target group?.....

What are the typical activities under PMA/NAADS.....
.....

Briefly explain whether in your opinion the activities require skills of reading, writing and arithmetic.....
.....

Of the activities you listed, which ones require literacy and numeracy skills most?.....
.....

Have you ever noticed some differences in participation levels between farmers attending training?

If yes, explain some of the factors you think are responsible for the differences in participation levels between farmer trainees.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Records Management

Since practising agriculture as a business necessitates record-keeping, do the participating farmers keep records of their activities?.....

If no, give possible reasons.....
.....

.....

8. Information about PMA and FAL Programmes

Are you aware of the Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) programme?

If yes, give:

- the number of active centres in Manibe Sub-County.....
- state who are the providers.....
.....
- state whether people are actively taking part in the literacy classes.....
.....

If people are not actively participating in the classes, outline some of the possible reasons for the non-participation in the FALP classes.....
.....

Since government considers FALP as a crucial tool for poverty eradication, do you see any practical collaboration or linkages between PMA/NAADS and FAL?.....

If yes, how does PMA/NAADS relate to FALP in terms of their activities and the overall goal of eradicating poverty?
.....

As they stand now, do you see any missing links between the two programmes?.....

If yes, list them and briefly explain how you feel the two should relate to one another to facilitate the realisation of the poverty eradication goal.....

In view of the claims that majority of the rural population PMA/NAADS target lacks literacy and numeracy skills, are there specific in-built strategies for meeting the literacy and numeracy needs of those participating farmers with Limited or no Literacy skills?

If yes, briefly explain how this is done within the PMA framework.....
.....

If no, what plans are there to address the crucial problem of illiteracy among the target group?.....

9. Farmers' Training and Technology Demonstrations

Give on average:

- the number of times in a year farmers in Manibe Sub-County get training.....
- aspects of PMA/NAADS farmers receive training on.....
.....
- medium of instruction used.....
- Duration of the training.....

Describe some of the key tasks the trainees normally perform in the course of training?.....
.....
.....

Do the training activities and tasks involve interaction with written texts, and if so, describe the reaction of the trainees towards the tasks that you might have observed?.....
.....

What educational levels and literacy status of the farmer trainees are assumed in designing the training materials?.....

In what language are the training materials prepared.....

List some of the common methods and materials used during the training workshops?
.....

10. Enterprise Selection and Management

Have you ever participated or observed enterprise selection exercise?.....

If yes, briefly, describe the process of enterprise selection under PMA/NAADS.....
.....

What do farmers normally say about the process?.....
.....

State the advantages of the method of enterprise selection used.....
.....

State the disadvantages.....
.....

11. Coping Strategies

How do unschooled farmers participating farmers handle tasks in their selected enterprises that require literacy and numeracy skills?
.....

Briefly describe the feelings and views of an illiterate person you might have experiences while handling a task that requires literacy and numeracy skills which he or she does not have.....
.....

13. Concluding Remarks

How do you see the farmers in interact with in terms of their survival skills, after six years of PMA's existence in your sub-county? What can you say about PMA intervention as a strategy to pull the poor out of poverty?

Thank You Very Much for Your Time

Appendix 6: Questionnaire for farmers' trainers

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL Faculty of Education



School of Adult and Higher Education

Durban 4041, South Africa

Tel. +27 (0)31 260 3086

Fax. +27 (0)31 260 1168

1. Introduction

This questionnaire seeks to generate information, Mr. Willy Ngaka, **Reg. No. 202524874**, intends to use for writing a thesis for his PhD he is pursuing at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. You have been purposively selected to take part in this study because of the wealth of knowledge and experience you have accumulated over the years about issues of education, literacy and agricultural production in Uganda in general, and the implementation of the agricultural advisory services, the second pillar of PMA, in particular. As a trainer, you have also been in direct contact with the participating farmers, and as a result, you are better placed to share your experiences regarding their participation related issues. Rest assured that your responses will be kept in utmost confidentiality and strictly used for academic purposes. Your cooperation on this subject will highly be appreciated.

2. General/Personal Information

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| a) (i) Date..... | (ii) Age..... |
| (iii) Gender..... | (iv) Level of education..... |
| (v) Address..... | (vi) Contact telephone..... |

3. Institutional Affiliation

a) (i) Do you Train for an organisation?..... Yes/No.

(ii) If yes, give:

-The name and address of the organisation (include e-mail address and web page where possible).....
.....

-When the organisation was established.....

-Its key objectives.....
.....

- Your designation in the organisation.....
- The number of years spent in training.....
- Its registration status and the body it is registered with.....
- Geographical area covered by the organisation.....
- The number of staff employed by the organisation.....
- How the organisation was selected to train farmers in Manibe under the PMA/NAADS....
- Whether the organisation relates to or collaborates with other organisations providing adult literacy education and the ministry responsible for adult education (If yes, indicate the areas).....
- How the organisation addresses the issue of quality/standards in training farmers.....

NB: If there are some brochures to give away, that will be helpful and appreciated

b) If you do not train under an organisation,

(i) Describe how individual are selected to train under the PMA/NAADS...

(ii) Do you have to be registered to train as an individual and if yes, state the body you register with?.....

(iii) Whom do you report to.....

4. Theoretical Perspectives of PMA

(a) Do you have some rough ideas on the various models of development and literacy?.....
 If yes, list a few of those you are familiar with.....

(b) What do think were the theoretical assumptions PMA designers held about the context as well as the literacy and numeracy skills of the target beneficiaries?.....

(c) Do you find the assumptions tally with what is on the ground?.....

(e) How are the assumptions about the context as well as literacy and numeracy skills affecting your work of training farmers in particular and the implementation of PMA in general?.....

5. Information about Farmer Groups

a) (i) What are farmer groups?.....

(ii) Describe how the groups are formed, by who and membership selection criteria.....

(iii) what is the average size of a group?.....

b) Describe the composition of the groups you know in terms of educational level, gender, leadership, and socio-economic status.....

c) What support is available for the groups and from who?.....

d). What do you as the critical challenges facing the group.....

6. Reasons for Participation/Non-participation in Farmer Groups

Are you aware of people who are not participating in PMA/NAADS activities in Manibe Sub-County?.....

What categories of people are they?.....

Why do you think are the reasons for:

(i) Some people to willingly participate in PMA-related activities.....

(ii) to be apathetic and not to take part in PMA-related activities.....

How big could the percentage be?.....

List the most critical challenges you have observed facing the groups.....

7. Literacy and Numeracy Skills Related Issues

(a) What are the typical activities which farmers are engaged in under PMA/NAADS.....

.....
.....

(b) Briefly explain whether in your opinion the activities require skills of reading, writing and arithmetic.....
.....
.....

(c) What can you say about the level of literacy and numeracy skills of the farmers you train?.....
.....

(d) Of the activities you listed in 5 (a) above, which ones which ones require literacy and numeracy skills most?.....
.....
.....

(e) What can you say about the reading and writing skills among farmers in relation to your training activities?.....
.....

(f) What can you say about the composition of the participants you train in terms of age and sex?

(i) Mostly women..... Yes/No (ii) Mostly men..... Yes/No

(iii) Mostly young people.... Yes/No (iv) Mostly mature people..... Yes/No

(g) Of the male and female participants, which one would you say on average, have better level of education and literacy skills?.....
.....

(h) (i) Do notice some differences in participation between the relatively educated/literate and uneducated/non-literate participants during your training activities?.....
.....

(ii) Briefly describe the differences in level of participation and give some of the factors responsible for those differences
.....
.....

8. Records Management

(i) Do the farmers you train keep records of their activities? If no, give possible reasons for your answer.....
.....
.....

(j) Are you aware of people who are not participating PMA activities, and if yes, describe the categories of people and give possible reasons why you think they are not participating.....
.....
.....

9. Information about PMA and FAL

(a) (i) Are you aware of the Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) programme?.....

(ii) If yes, give:

- the number of active centres in Manibe Sub-County.....
- state who are the providers.....
- describe whether people are actively taking part in the literacy classes.....

- what they mostly want to learn.....

(ii) If not, explain possible reasons why people are not taking part in the programme.....
.....

(b) What can you say about PMA and FALP in general, and learning under FALP in relation to PMA activities in particular?
.....
.....

(c) Briefly describe how FALP and PMA activities relate to one another and how they are overseen at sub-county level.....
.....

10. Strategies for Meeting the Literacy and Numeracy Needs of Participants

(a) (i) Do you think there was an initial attempt by government to prepare people for PMA in terms of building their literacy and numeracy skills?
.....

(ii) If yes, explain what took place.....
.....
.....

(iii) If no, what strategies does PMA use to meet the literacy and numeracy skills needs of the non-literate participants?.....
.....

11. Enterprise Selection and Management

(a) Describe the process of enterprise selection under PMA/NAADS.....
.....
.....

(b) How do non-literate participants handle tasks in managing their enterprises that require literacy and numeracy skills?.....
.....
.....

(c) Comment on the advantages and disadvantages of the method they use to handle such tasks.....
.....

12. Training Workshops and Technology Demonstrations

- (a) Give:
- the number of times in a year you train farmers in Manibe Sub-County?
 - aspects of PMA/NAADS you train the farmers in.....
 - topics you normally handle in the training.....
 - medium of instruction used.....

- Venue for the training and demonstrations.....
- Average duration of the training.....

(b) (i) Describe the tasks the trainees normally perform in the course of training?.....

(ii) Do the training activities and tasks involve interaction with written texts, and if so, describe the reaction of the trainees towards the tasks?.....

(c) (i) What educational and literacy skills levels do you assume in designing the training materials?.....

(ii) In what language are the materials prepared.....

(iii) What methods and materials used during the training workshops?.....

13. Concluding Remarks

(a) (i) Do you see some improvement in the lives of farmers participating in PMA participants and non-participants?.....

If yes, describe the areas in which the changes are occurring.....

(b) List all the things farmers seem to like and hate about PMA.....

(c) Give specific obstacles you think are limiting farmers' full participation in PMA activities and suggest possible ways to address them.....

Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Cooperation

Appendix 7: Research questions, data sources, methods, & tools

Research Questions	Things to assess	Data Sources	Methods	Research Instruments
What models of development and literacy does PMA assume and how aware are the people about the intervention?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Development and literacy model PMA assumes -Level of awareness about the PMA intervention -Number of years taken in PMA activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Literature -Documents -Trainers and Implementers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentary analysis Questionnaire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentary analysis guide Questionnaires
What are the typical activities under PMA and how does literacy affect participation levels of the target group in undertaking them?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -PMA activities in relation to ordinary farming activities -Membership selection criteria for groups' activities -Extent to which PMA activities require literacy skills -Nature of the tasks farmer trainees are involved in -Language used in PMA programme in relation to people's language -Farmers' views on being illiterate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Subsistence farmers -Trainers -Implementers -Documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Individual and group interviews Questionnaire Observation Documentary analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview guide Questionnaires Observation guide Documentary analysis guide
What are the roles of Farmers' groups in PMA and what are the dynamics involved in their management?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Activities of farmer groups -Composition of members of the farmer group in terms of gender, age, education, socio-economic status -Composition of group leaders in terms of education, gender, age -Interactions between and within groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Subsistence farmers -Trainers -Implementers -Documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual and group interviews Questionnaire Observation Documentary analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview guide Questionnaires Observation guide Documentary analysis guide
How do participating farmers who lack literacy cope with the challenges they face in undertaking the different PMA activities?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strategies unschooled farmers use to cope with literacy skills related challenges -Farmers views about the advantages and disadvantages of the strategies -How illiterate farmers feel about depending on someone's literacy skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Subsistence farmers -Trainers -Implementers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual and group interviews Questionnaire Observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview guide Questionnaires Observation guide
How do the PMA and FALP collaborate within the sector-wide approach to meet the literacy needs of the target group so as to enhance literacy learning for poverty reduction?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Literacy provision arrangements on ground -Number of literacy groups/classes in the research area -Providers of literacy in the study area -How PMA and FALP relate to one another - Areas where the two programmes have common things etc -What people say about illiteracy in the study area etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Subsistence farmers -Trainers -Implementers -Documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual and group interviews Questionnaire Observation Documentary analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview guide Questionnaires Observation guide Documentary analysis guide

Appendix 8: Ethical clearance certificate from University of KwaZulu-Natal



RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 – 2603587
EMAIL : ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

24 NOVEMBER 2009

MR. W NGAKA (202528474)
ADULT EDUCATION

Dear Mr. Ngaka

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0113/05D

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted full approval for the following project:

*"The role of literacy enhancing capabilities for agricultural development and sustainable livelihoods:
Exploring the experiences of the rural substance farmers with Uganda's plan for Modernization of
agriculture (PMA) in Manibe Sub County"*

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

.....
**PROFESSOR STEVEN COLLINGS (CHAIR)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE**

cc. Supervisor (Dr. E Lyster)
cc. Ms. K Doorasamy

Appendix 9: Research approval letter from UNCST



Uganda National Council For Science and Technology
(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Your Ref:.....

Our Ref:..... SS 1756

Date:..... 06-July-05

Mr. Willy Ngaka
c/o IACE Makerere University
P.O Box 7062
KAMPALA

Dear Mr. Ngaka.

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "THE ROLE OF LITERACY IN ENHANCING CAPABILITIES FOR PARTICIPATION IN UGANDA'S PLAN FOR MODERNISATION OF AGRICULTURE: EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF RURAL SUBSISTENCE FARMERS IN MANIBE SUB COUNTY"

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **July 04, 2005**. The approval will expire on **July 04, 2006**. If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Julius Ecuru', is written over a horizontal line.

Julius Ecuru
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

PSOT 18, KAMPALA ROAD
UGANDA HOUSE, 11TH FLOOR
P.O. BOX 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 41-258499
FAX: (256) 41-214579
E-MAIL: uncst@starcom.co.ug
WEBSITE: <http://www.uncst.go.ug>

Appendix 10: Research clearance letter to RDC Arua



Uganda National Council For Science and Technology
(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Your Ref:

Our Ref: **SS 1756**

Date: **06-July-05**

The Resident District Commissioner
Arua District
ARUA

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE

We wish to introduce to you **Mr. Willy Ngaka** who would like to carry out a research project entitled **"The role of literacy in enhancing capabilities for participation in Uganda's plan for modernisation of agriculture: Exploring the experiences of rural subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub County"** between July 06, 2005 and July 04, 2006 in your district. The Uganda National Council for Science and Technology has approved the research project.

This letter is to request you to give the researchers the necessary assistance to facilitate the accomplishment of the research project.

Your cooperation in this regard is highly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Leah', is written over the typed name.

Leah Nawegulo
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

cc Mr. Willy Ngaka
c/o IACE Makerere University
KAMPALA

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

PLAT 10, KAMPALA ROAD
UGANDA HOUSE, 10TH FLOOR
P. O. BOX 688
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 41-250499
FAX: (256) 41-234579
E-MAIL: uncst@starcom.co.ug
WEBSITE: <http://www.uncst.go.ug>

Appendix 11: Researcher's identity documents

File No. SS 1756
 Name WILLY
NGAKA
 Address C/O IACE
MAKERERE
UNIVERSITY
 Nationality UGANDAN
 Title of Research Project ROLE
OF LITERACY IN
EMPOWERING CAPA
PARTICIPATION IN
UGANDAS PMA
 Date of Issue 06 JULY 2005
 Valid until 04 JULY 2006

6902
 ANY ONE FINDING THIS CARD SHOULD HAND IT IN AT THE
 NEAREST POLICE STATION

Holder's Signature [Signature]



Certified Photograph

Executive Secretary
 Uganda National Council for
 Science and Technology
 P. O. Box 6884, Kampala

THIS CARD IS A PROPERTY OF THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT

Renewed until July 4, 2007
15/1/06

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL
 FOR SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
 P. O. BOX 6884
 KAMPALA, UGANDA
 Executive Secretary

Renewed until

Executive Secretary

Howard College

University of KwaZulu-Natal



STUDENT
 Postgrad
 W Ngaka
 202524874
 CAMPUS ID
 B0405032
 PASSPORT NUMBER



★	☆	1	1	1	☆
★	☆	1	1	1	☆

07 08 09 10 11 06

Appendix 12: Fieldwork extension permission letter



Uganda National Council For Science and Technology
(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Your Ref:

Our Ref: **SS 1756**

18-Sept -06

Date:

Mr. Willy Ngaka
c/o Makerere University
P.O Box 7062
KAMPALA

The Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) has granted your request for approval to continue with the study entitled, "**The role of literacy in enhancing capabilities for participation in Uganda's Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Exploring the experiences of rural subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub County**". The approval granted will expire on July 04, 2007. If, however, it is necessary to continue with the research beyond this expiry date, a request for continuation should be made to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Nabbuto
for: Executive Secretary

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

cc The Resident District Commissioner
Arua District

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

Plot 3/5/7 Nasser Road
P.O Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

COMMUNICATION

TEL: (256) 41-250499, (256) 41-705500
FAX: (256) 41-234579
E-MAIL: uncst@starcom.co.ug
WEBSITE: <http://www.uncst.go.ug>

Appendix 13: Summary of the research process

Period	Project Phase	Activities Undertaken	Output
June – Dec 2004	Problem identification and formulation	-Desk review of related literature -Search for academic supervisors	-Books, journal articles and theses reviewed -Three academic supervisors identified and one selected
January 2005	Reconnaissance visit to the research area	-Meeting with district and Sub-County leaders -Confirmation of PMA implementing Sub-Counties	-3 meetings held with district and Sub-County leaders -17 Sub-counties implementing PMA confirmed
February – June 2005	Proposal development, approval and ethical clearance	-Development of draft proposal -Peer critique of the proposal -Proposal presentation to Faculty Higher Degrees' Committee -Ethical clearance	-Draft proposal developed and peer critiqued -Proposal presented to the Faculty Board and approved -Ethical clearance granted
July 2005	Seeking clearance from UNCST Refining and piloting research instruments Identification and selection of an assistant and research participants	-Submitting application of clearance and approval -Follow up of the application -Processing Research ID Card -Refining and pre-testing research instruments -Identifying and training an assistant -Identifying and selecting research participants	-Application submitted, followed up and research ID card processed -Permission granted by UNCST -Research tools refined and pre-tested/piloted -Research assistant selected
August – Nov 2005	Data collection – Phase I	-Observing farmers' meeting and training sessions -Reviewing and analysing documents -Scheduling interview appointments -Conducting individual interviews	-54 participants selected -3 meetings observed -Various documents reviewed and analysed -Interview appointments scheduled -14 individual interviews conducted
Dec 2005 – June 2007	Accident period ¹⁷	-Medical care in various Hospitals	-5 hospitals visited to seek medical intervention
July – October 2007	Data collection – Phase II	-Observation of training workshops -Reviewing more documents -Finishing individual interviews -Conducting group interviews	-2 training workshops observed -Additional documents analysed -6 individual and 4 group interviews conducted
October 2007 – June 2009	Write up of the thesis	-Writing draft thesis -Receiving comments from the supervisor -Submitting thesis for examination -Receiving comments from the examiners -Making corrections, and -Submitting the fair copy	-Drafts written and seen by the supervisor -Suggested correction effected -Thesis submitted for examination -Final corrections effected -Final copies of the thesis prepared and submitted

¹⁷ On November 18, 2005, I was involved in a serious bus accident which disorganized my data collection process. I was forced to partially break my data collection pending my recovery. This forced me to conduct data collection in two phases.

Appendix 14: Participants' consent form

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL Faculty of Education



School of Adult and Higher Education
Durban 4041, South Africa
Tel. +27 (0)31 260 3086 Fax. +27 (0)31 260 1168

Iagree to participate in this study to be conducted by Mr. Willy Ngaka, a student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (**Reg. No. 202524874**) which focuses on “The role of literacy in enhancing capabilities for participation in Uganda’s plan for modernisation of agriculture” with reference to the experiences of rural subsistence farmers in Manibe Sub-County. I do understand that:

1. The information I give will be used as part of the data for writing Mr. Ngaka’s doctoral thesis
2. The data will be kept with the highest degree of confidentiality it deserves and that my right to remain anonymous in the course of reporting the findings of the study will be observed
3. My participation in the study is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time of my choice
4. I am entitled to question anything that is not clear to me in the course of the interview
5. I will be given time to understand and where necessary, consult other people about certain points expressed in this document
6. In event of wanting to seek more clarification concerning my participation in this study, I can refer to the supervisor of the research project, Dr. Elda Lyster using the contact details of the school as shown above

On the basis of the above clear points, I hereby give my informed consent to take part in the interview that is expected to generated information to realise the set objectives of this study.

Name of the Research participant:.....

Signed..... **Date**.....

Name of the Witness:.....

Signed... .. **Date**.....

Appendix 15: List of relevant documents analysed

Author of the Document	Year of publication	Document Title	City	Publisher
Government of Uganda (GoU)	2001	National Agricultural Advisory Services Act. Acts Supplement No. 9 to the Uganda Gazette No. 33 Volume XCIV dated 1 st June	Kampala	GoU
Ekwamu, A. & Ashley, S.	2003	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Report on the second review of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA)	Kampala	PMA Secretariat
MoAAIF & MoFPED	n.d.	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Popular version	Entebbe and Kampala	MoAAIF & MoFPED
MoAAIF & MoFPED	2000	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Eradicating poverty in Uganda (Government strategy and operational framework)	Entebbe and Kampala	MoAAIF & MoFPED
MoAAIF	2000	National agricultural advisory services programme: Master document of the NAADS task force and joint donor group	Kampala	MoAAIF
MoAAIF	2003	National agricultural research policy	Entebbe	MoAAIF
MoAAIF	n.d.	PMA training manual	Kampala	MoAAIF
MoES	2003	National agricultural education strategy 2004 – 2015, final report	Kampala	MoES
MoFPED	2000a	Poverty reduction strategy paper, Uganda's poverty eradication action plan: Summary and main objectives	Kampala	MoFPED
MoFPED	2000b	Uganda participatory poverty assessment report	Kampala	MoFPED
MoFPED	2002	Uganda participatory poverty assessment project second report	Kampala	MoFPED
MoFPED	2004	Poverty Eradication Action Plan, PEAP 2004/05 – 07/08	Kampala	MoFPED
MoGLSD	2002	National adult literacy strategic investment plan 2002/3– 2006/07	Kampala	MoGLSD
PMA Secretariat	2003a	PMA/Civil society partnership principles	Kampala	PMA Secretariat
PMA Secretariat	2003b	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Progress report, December 2000 – June 2003	Kampala	PMA Secretariat
PMA Secretariat	2003c	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Progress report, July – September 2003	Kampala	PMA Secretariat
PMA Secretariat	2005	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture: Progress report, April – June 2005	Kampala	PMA Secretariat

Appendix 16: Summary of particulars of individual interviewees

Names	Parish	Gender	Age	Education Level	Religion	Marital Status	No. of Children	Read or write	Languages	Mother tongue
Female Interviewees										
Ruzalia	Ombokoro	Female	43	S. 4	Catholic	Divorced	5	Yes	Eng ¹⁸ /Lug	Lugbara
Rita	Oreku	“	50	Unschoolled	“	Married	6	No	-	Lugbara
<i>Ludia</i> ¹⁹	Oreku	“	68	Unschoolled	“	“	9	No	-	Lugbara
Loy	Eleku	“	43	P. 6	“	“	6	Yes	Eng/Lug ²⁰	Lugbara
Gladys	Eleku	“	47	Unschoolled	“	“	5	No	-	Lugbara
Jennifer	Lufe	“	55	Unschoolled	Protestant	“	8	No	-	Lugbara
Zillah	Lufe	“	44	P. 2	“	“	7	No	-	Lugbara
Beata	Ombokoro	“	65	Unschoolled	Catholic	“	5	No	-	Lugbara
Naume	Odravu	“	34	P. 7	“	Divorced	6	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Joanita	Ombachi	“	41	P. 3	“	“	10	No	-	Lugbara
Male Interviewees										
Peter	Rubu	Male	45	Unschoolled	Protestant	Married	7	No	-	Lugbara
Thobaius	Oreku	“	55	Unschoolled	Catholic	“	11	No	-	Lugbara
Charles	Odravu	“	36	Unschoolled	Protestant	“	2	No	-	Lugbara
Mustafa	Ewadri	“	37	Degree	Catholic	“	3	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Oliver	Rubu	“	30	Diploma	“	“	5	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Solomon	Ewadri	“	28	P. 7	Protestant	Single	0	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Fenahasi	Odravu	“	61	S. 3	Catholic	Widowed	5	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Paulo	Ombachi	“	49	S. 5	“	Married	6	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
<i>Robert</i>	Rubu	“	66	Unschoolled	“	“	7	No	-	Lugbara
<i>Monday</i>	Ewadri	“	39	Unschoolled	Protestant	“	5	No	-	Lugbara

¹⁸ Eng – stands for English

¹⁹ Interviewees whose pseudonyms are italicized were non-participating farmers

²⁰ Lug – stands for Lugbara

Appendix 17: Summary of particulars of group interviewees

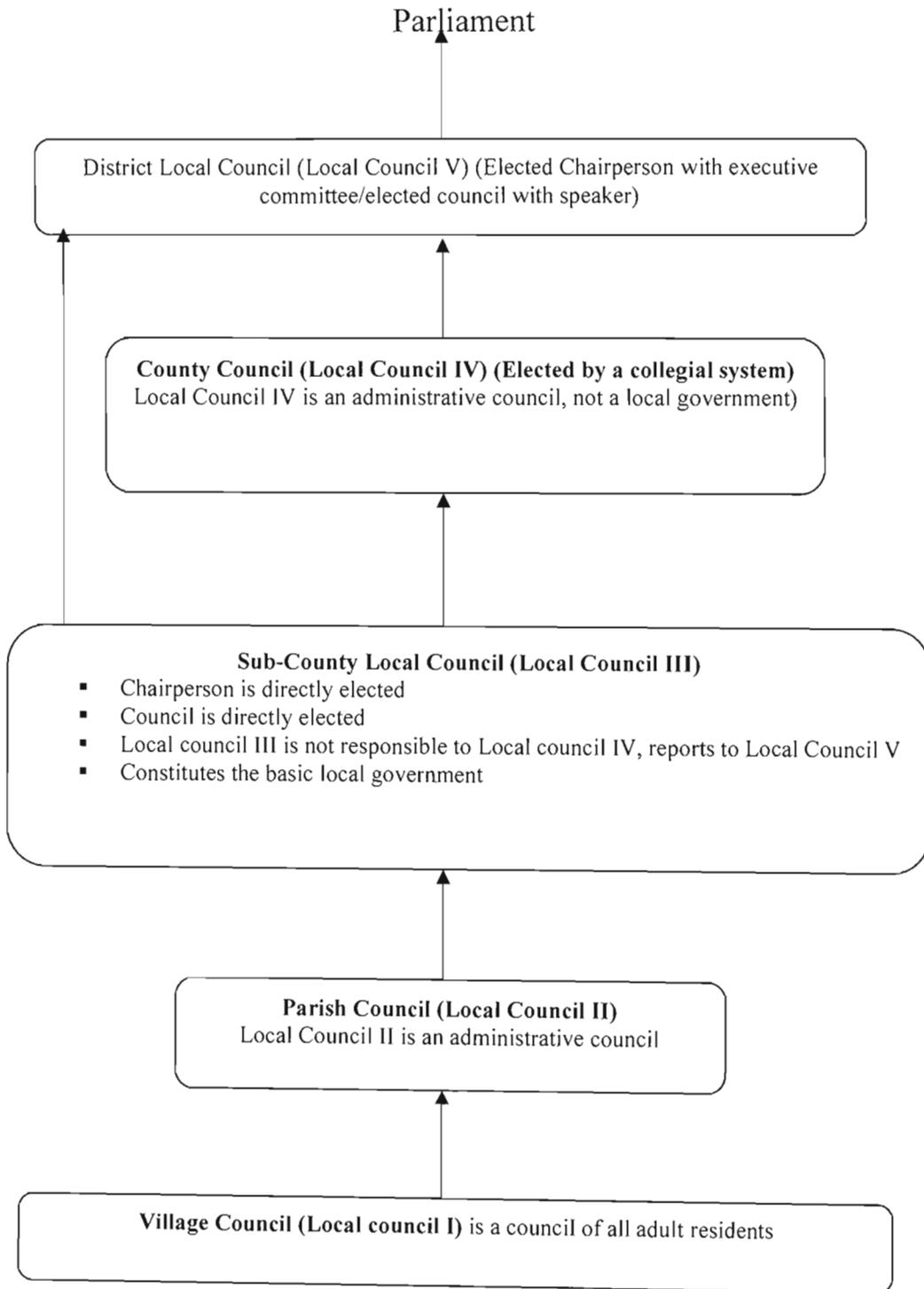
Groups/Members	Parish	Gender	Age	Educ Level	Religion	M-S	No. of Children	Read or write	Languages	Mother tongue
Eleku Poverty Eradication Group										
Resty	Eleku	Female	58	P. 1	Catholic	Divorced	7	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Gertrude	"	"	53	Unschoolled	"	Widowed	9	No	-	Lugbara
Milika	"	"	32	P. 7	"	Married	3	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Jumar	"	Male	63	Unschoolled	Protestant	"	11	No	-	Lugbara
Lino	"	"	53	S. 1	Catholic	"	6	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Jason	"	"	45	S. 6	Protestant	"	5	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Meridi Market Women Group										
Florence	Ewadri	Female	37	P. 7	Catholic	Married	5	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Bezzar	"	"	41	Unschoolled	"	"	8	No	-	Lugbara
Rakiel	"	"	45	Unschoolled	"	"	9	No	-	Lugbara
Gutru	"	"	54	Unschoolled	"	Widowed	9	No	-	Lugbara
James	"	Male	69	Unschoolled	"	Married	11	No	-	Lugbara
Richard	"	"	33	S. 1	Protestant	"	4	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Mingoro Women Group										
Musa	Lufe	Male	40	S. 3	Catholic	Married	7	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Ruben	"	"	39	S. 5	Protestant	Single	0	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Iriata	"	Female	66	Unschoolled	Catholic	Married	11	No	-	Lugbara
Bella	"	"	29	P. 2	"	"	4	No	-	Lugbara
Gotiliva	"	"	36	Unschoolled	Protestant	Married	7	No	-	Lugbara
Ritaa	"	"	38	P. 7	Catholic	Married	6	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Oreku Women Group										
Alice	Oreku	Female	37	P. 2	Protestant	Married	5	No	-	Lugbara
Ginah	"	"	65	Unschoolled	Catholic	"	4	No	-	Lugbara
Nesta	"	"	44	P. 3	Protestant	"	6	No	-	Lugbara
Sylvia	"	"	32	P. 7	Catholic	"	6	Yes	Eng/Lug	Lugbara
Elina	"	"	51	Unschoolled	"	Widowed	9	No	-	Lugbara
Joshua	"	Male	41	P. 3	"	Married	8	No	-	Lugbara

Appendix 18: Records of farmers' groups in Manibe Sub-County

Group Name	Group Reg. No	NAADS Regd Yes/No	Date Reg with NAADS	Contrib. Paid by Group	Ent. 1	Ent. 2	Ent. 3	Adult Male Non-PWD	Adult Female Non-PWD	Youth		PWD	Total
										Male	Female		
Ecomungusi	053/04/001	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	G. nuts	Goat	-	11	9	5	-	1	26
Eleku Pov. Eradic	053/04/002	Yes	2002/03	5,000=		Beans	Maize	15	7	6	-	3	31
Oyoo Dynamic	053/04/003	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Apiary	Poultry	G. nuts	20	-	3	-	2	25
Egara Young Far	053/04/004	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	G. nuts	Apiary	10	12	6	-	-	28
Ekarakafe	053/04/005	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Dairy	Sorghum	6	5	1	-	-	12
Ombachi Women	053/04/006	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Poultry	Onion	Apiary	-	20	-	-	2	22
Ewadri Women	053/04/007	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	G. nuts	Onions	Goats	-	18	-	-	1	19
Ewadri Wom. Dev	053/04/008	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	G. nuts	Onions	Apiary	-	17	-	-	1	18
Yivu Eleku YF	053/04/009	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Apiary	Poultry	9	5	2	-	6	22
Mingoro Farmers	053/04/010	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Cassava	G. nuts	8	1	6	-	-	15
Odoa-G. Valley	053/04/011	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Apiary	Poultry	8	4	5	-	-	17
Lufe Y. Farmers	053/04/012	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Apiary	Dairy	12	8	6	-	1	27
Mingoro Women	053/04/013	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Poultry	Apiary	Onion	6	19	3	-	1	29
Rigbo Women	053/04/014	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	G. nuts	Apiary	-	20	2	-	1	23
Anikpala	053/04/015	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Poultry	Goat	7	9	5	-	-	21
Oreku Women	053/04/016	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Onion	Poultry	Apiary	-	15	4	-	-	19
Ombokoro widows	053/04/017	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	G. nuts	Apiary	Onion	4	8	2	-	1	15
Aliowaku Piggery	053/04/018	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	Irish	Onion	Apiary	15	-	10	-	-	25
Andruvu Poverty	053/04/019	Yes	2002/03	5,000=	G. nuts	Onion	Apiary	8	-	6	-	-	14
Robu Women	053/04/020	Yes	2004/05	5,000=	Onion	Apiary	Poultry	3	18	1	-	-	22
Olivu B. Goat	053/04/021		-	-	Goat	G. nuts	Diary	8	2	7	-	1	18
Ombokoro Aliode	053/04/022	N	-	5,000=	G. nuts	Onion	Goat	14	5	-	-	-	19
Driwala Farmers	053/04/023	N	-	-	Poultry	Onion	Apiary	17	6	4	-	1	28
Ayira Adult	053/04/024	N	-	-	G. nut	Onion	Apiary	5	20	2	-	-	27
Oy Farmers	053/04/025	N	-	-	Apiary	Onion	Cabbage	3	-	10	-	-	13
Andifeku	053/04/026	N	-	-	Apiary	G. nut	Onion	6	8	7	-	1	22
Abiyoa F. G.	053/04/032	Yes	2003/04	5,000=	Onion	Rice	Cassava	12	8	1	-	1	22
Oreku Mov't	053/04/033	Yes	2003/04	5,000=				10	4	5	-	-	19

Godwin Farmers G	053/04/027	N	-	-	Onion	G. nut	Poultry	9	8	3	-	-	20
Aliodrozu YF	053/04/028	N	-	-	Onion	Apiary	Goat	7	4	3	2	-	16
Ewazoku	053/04/029	N	-	-	Dairy	G. nut	Apiary	12	4	3	-	-	19
Robu Piggery	053/04/030	Yes	2004/05	5,000=	Irish	Apiary	Dairy	10	2	6	-	-	18
Agorovu Nursery	053/04/031	Yes	2004/05	5,000=	Apiary	Rice	Poultry	8	3	2	-	-	13
Emvuaceni	053/04/034	Yes	2004/05	5,000=	Onion	Fruits	G. nut	4	6	7	-	2	19
Andruvu Youth	053/04/035	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	G. nut	Apiary	Poultry	2	1	18	-	-	21
Odravu United	053/04/036	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	G. nut	Onion	Apiary	26	9	9	-	-	44
Adu. G. growers	053/04/037	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	Apiary	G. nut	Onion	3	3	9	-	-	15
Awinayo Village	053/04/038	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	G. nut	Maize	Apiary	7	6	17	-	-	30
Mengo Young F	053/04/039	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	Onion	G. nut	Poultry	10	1	7	-	-	18
Rogumu Farmers	053/04/040	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	G. nut	Onion		8	3	12	-	-	23
Robu Vuln. Group	053/04/041	Yes	2005/06	5,000=	Dairy	Goats	G. nuts	10	9	6	-	-	25
Ayakole Hill	-	-	-	-	G. nut	Onion	Maize	11	3	-	2	-	16
Agorovu B. Keep	-	-	-	-	Apiary	Onion	Poultry	9	6	-	-	-	15
Ewadri Youth Ass	-	-	-	-	Fish	G.. nut	Poultry	7	7	-	9	3	26
Olea Dryland F	053/04/042	Yes	-	5,000=	Piggery	Apiary	G. nuts	9	4	-	3	-	16
Adroyi Upland	-	-	-	-	Beans	G. nut	Poultry	5	2	1	5	-	13
Harambe Young F	-	-	-	-	G. nut	Apiary	Piggery	-	-	1	21	-	22
Oliva View Far-	-	-	-	-	Onion	Apiary		3	1	-	12	-	16
Aliopani-Alur	053/04/043	Yes	-	5,000=	G. nut	Maize	Onion	-	2	1	10	1	14
Alio-dra Anyosi	-	-	-	-	Onion	G. nut		1	1	1	7	-	10
Total								378	333	215	71	30	1,027

Appendix 19: Structure of local government in Uganda



Source: Adapted from Makara (2000, p. 77)

Appendix 20: Regions and Districts of Uganda

Central Region		Eastern Region		Northern Region		Western Region	
District	Population	District	Population	District	Population	District	Population
Kalangala	36,661	Amuria	183,817	Abim	58,590	Bulisa	64,823
Kampala	1,208,544	Budaka	221,525	Adjumani	201,493	Bundibugyo	212,884
Kayunga	297,081	Bududa	124,368	Amolatar	96,374	Bushenyi	723,427
Kiboga	231,718	Bugiri	426,522	Amuru	177,783	Holma	349,204
Luwero	336,616	Bukedeo	122,527	Apac	405,524	Ibanda	198,043
Lyantonde	66,175	Bukwa	49,826	Arua	413,113	Isingiro	318,913
Masaka	767,759	Busia	228,181	Dokolo	131,047	Kabale	471,783
Mityana	269,763	Namutumba	169,156	Gulu	290,624	Kabarote	359,180
Mpigi	414,757	Butaleja	160,927	Kaabong	379,775	Kamwenge	295,313
Mubende	436,493	Iganga	547,155	Kitum	286,122	Kanungu	205,095
Mukono	807,923	Jinja	413,937	Koboko	131,604	Kasese	532,993
Nakaseke	138,011	Kaberamaido	122,924	Kotido	157,765	Kibale	413,353
Nakasongola	125,297	Kaliro	153,513	Lira	530,342	Kiryuhura	212,087
Rakai	405,631	Kamuli	558,566	Maracha-Terego	310,338	Kisoro	219,427
Sembabule	184,178	Kapchorwa	143,684	Maroto	170,506	Kyenjojo	380,362
Wakiso	957,280	Katakwi	123,215	Moyo	199,912	Masindi	405,042
		Kumi	265,488	Nakapiripirit	153,862	Mbarara	360,008
		Manafwa	264,383	Nebbi	433,466	Ntungamo	386,816
		Mayuge	326,567	Oyam	270,720	Rukungiri	308,696
		Mbale	332,174	Pader	293,679		
		Pallisa	300,729	Yumbe	253,325		
		Sironko	291,906				
		Soroti	371,986				
		Tororo	398,601				

Source: Districts of Uganda. Online and retrieved on November 10, 2008 from http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:-KCpka1V6d8J:en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Uganda+districts+of+Uganda&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=za

Appendix 21: Population of Manibe Sub-County

ARUA	Counties	Sub-Counties/Divisions	Male	Female	Total
	ARUA MUNICIPALITY	ARUA HILL	7,581	7,856	15,437
		OLI RIVER	15,221	15,225	30,446
	AYIVU	ADUMI	19,307	21,960	41,267
		AROI	9,128	10,090	19,218
		DADAMU	12,420	13,426	25,846
		MANIBE	11,096	12,450	23,546
		OLUKO	13,551	14,827	28,378
	KOBOKO	PAJULU	16,749	18,324	35,073
		KOBOKO TOWN COUNCIL	14,561	14,882	29,443
		KULUBA	8,894	8,765	17,659
		LOBULE	18,283	18,509	36,792
		LUDARA	9,226	9,404	18,630
	MADI-OKOLLO	MIDIA	14,170	14,910	29,080
		OFFAKA	8,639	9,398	18,037
		OGOKO	6,630	7,167	13,797
		OKOLLO	5,790	6,251	12,041
		RHINO CAMP	7,682	8,264	15,946
	MARACHA	RIGBO	14,199	14,810	29,009
		ULEPPI	3,200	3,460	6,660
		AYIVU	9,310	10,548	19,858
		NYADRI	10,194	11,495	21,689
		OLEBA	10,868	12,200	23,068
		OLUVU	11,500	13,304	24,804
		TARA	7,580	8,237	15,817
	TEREGO	OLUFFE	8,094	9,111	17,205
		KIJOMORO	13,211	14,936	28,147
		AII - VU	14,510	15,231	29,741
		BELEAFE	7,226	7,434	14,660
		KATRINI	13,354	14,621	27,975
	VURRA	UDUPI	19,394	19,265	38,659
		OMUGO	15,214	16,335	31,549
		URIAMA	8,439	8,727	17,166
		AJIA	9,311	10,284	19,595
		ARIVU	7,704	8,542	16,246
		LOGIRI	11,528	12,479	24,007
		VURRA	15,439	23,125	38,564

Source: UBOS (2002)

Appendix 22: Sub-Counties implementing PMA in Arua

Sub Counties	Year of Admission
• Kijomoro	2001
• Manibe	2001
• Offaka	2001
• Aivvu	2002
• Logiri	2002
• Oleba	2002
• Uleppi	2002
• Vurra	2002
• Pajulu	2003
• Adumi	2004
• Bileafe	2004
• Oluvu	2004
• Omugo	2004
• Rigbo	2004
• Tara	2004

Source: District Fact Sheet, Online and Retrieved June 1, 2006 from:
<http://www.naads.or.ug/districtDetails.php?istrict=Arua>

Appendix 23: Typology of poverty

Manifestation Category	Negative dimensions in context of lifelong education	Lifelong education as a positive factor
<p>Income poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relative: average values or compared to richest groups within particular society - Absolute: according to absolute figures – life expectancy, living on \$1 per day, literacy 	<p>Effect of poor attitudes to education; Effect of media education promoting individualism and materialism; Low adult education opportunities for 2nd chance or up-skilling.</p>	<p>Values education, Education for sharing and consideration of other’s needs; Literacy second models; Lifelong and life-wide education; Consciousness raising regarding wage levels; Leadership training</p>
<p>Capability Poverty</p> <p>(Sen) deprivation in the range of things people can do –knowledge and skills for participation in economic life</p>	<p>Effect of inadequate schooling for skills and citizenship values Inadequate curriculum for labour market Lack of attention to adult education theory Limited non formal/informal education and teacher training</p>	<p>Critical citizenship education Community based education Enterprise education Transformative education Training of adult educators ITC education</p>
<p>Participatory Poverty</p> <p>(Sen) deprivation in range of things people can be –participation in social life, inclusion in decision making processes - Subjective /identity formation (Brown, SDA), recognition of sense of self</p>	<p>Effect of non democratic schooling (learning to fail) Lack of education for democracy Exclusion of pregnant girls Low educational expectations of people with disability, girls, low castes Non use of mother tongue Learning to accept discriminatory behaviour</p>	<p>Values education community education Positive role modelling Inclusive & 2 chance education Democratic & Rights education Lifelong/life wide education Training in participatory management and change Use of mother tongue in teaching</p>
<p>Indirect/consequential poverty</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - health - environment - war - natural disaster - gender inequality 	<p>Absence of education for awareness/empowerment; Education that promotes profit and individualism before sustainability; Colonialist education; Education that privileges a select minority; Education that promotes status quo Western models of health /HIV preventions</p>	<p>Relevant adult curriculum, Education for sustainable development, health, peace Multisectoral approaches to lifeskills training Consciousness raising education</p>

Source: Preece (2005b, p. 3)

Appendix 24: The 6 EFA goals

The six EFA Goals

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.
4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy,

Source: EFA World Education Forum (2000 - Dakar, Senegal). Online and Retrieved on November 11, 2008 from:

http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-RL_ID=43811&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Appendix 25: International benchmarks on adult literacy

These benchmarks were developed by Global Campaign for Education and Action Aid International with support from UNESCO/the EFA Global Monitoring Report in 2006. The benchmarks emerged from a detailed survey of 67 adult literacy programmes in 35 countries

1. Literacy is about the acquisition and use of reading, writing and numeracy skills, and thereby development of active citizenship, improved health and livelihoods, and gender equality. The goals of literacy programmes should reflect this understanding.
2. Literacy should be seen as a continuous process that requires sustained learning and application. There are no magic lines to cross from illiteracy to literacy. All policies and programmes should be defined to encourage sustained participation and celebrate progressive achievement rather than focusing on one-off provision with a single end point
3. Governments have the lead responsibility in meeting the right to literacy and providing leadership, policy frameworks, an enabling environment and resources. They should:
 - Ensure cooperation across all relevant ministries and linkages to all relevant development programmes
 - Work in systematic collaboration with experienced civil society organisations
 - Ensure linkages between all these agencies, especially at local levels; and
 - Ensure relevance to issues in learners' lives by promoting the decentralisation of budgets and of decision-making over curriculum, methods and materials
4. It is important to invest in ongoing feedback and evaluation mechanisms, data systematisation and strategic research. The focus of evaluation should be on the practical application of what has been learnt and the impact on active citizenship, improved health and livelihoods and gender equality.
5. To retain facilitators, it is important that they should be paid at least the equivalent of the minimum wage of a primary school teacher for all hour worked (including time for training, preparation and follow-up)
6. Facilitators should be local people who receive substantial initial training and regular refresher training as well as having ongoing opportunities for exchanges with other facilitators. Government should put in place a framework for professional development of the adult literacy sector, including for trainers/supervisors – with full opportunities for facilitators across the country to access this. (e.g. through distance education)
7. There should be a ratio of at least one facilitator to 30 learners and at least one trainer/supervisor to 15 groups (1 to 10 remote areas), ensuring a minimum of one support visit per month. Programmes should have timetables that flexibly respond to the daily lives of learners but which provide for regular and sustained contact (e.g. twice a week for at least two years).
8. In multilingual context, it is important at all stages that learners should be given an active choice about the language in which they learn. Active efforts should be made to encourage and sustain bilingual learning.
9. A wide range of participatory methods should be used in the learning process to ensure active engagement of learners and relevance to their lives. These same participatory methods and processes should be used at all levels of training of trainers and facilitators
10. Government should take responsibility to stimulate the market for production and distribution of a wide variety of materials suitable for new readers, for example working with publishers/newspaper producers. They should balance this with funding for local production of materials, especially by learners, facilitators and trainers.
11. A good quality literacy programme that respects all these benchmarks is likely to cost between US \$50 and US \$100 per learner per year for at least three years (two years initial learning + ensuring further learning opportunities are available for all)
12. Government should dedicate at least 3% of their national education sector budgets to adult literacy programmes as conceived in these benchmarks. Where governments deliver on this, international donors should fill any remaining resource gaps (e.g. through including adult literacy in the Fast Track Initiative)

Source: Okech & Majanja (2007, p. 99), DVV/IZZ (2008, pp. pp. 17 – 20)

Appendix 26: Bamako declaration on adult literacy

Regional Conference on Literacy

DECLARATION

- Considering the fact that there are **774 million adults who cannot read or write, of whom 63% are women**
- Considering that the Right to Education is recognised by our National Constitutions
- Considering that both bilateral and multilateral development partners have committed themselves to supporting developing countries in achieving Education for All
- Considering the fact that a further 13 billion USD a year is needed to ensure the achievement of the EFA goals.
- Considering that the African continent is the part of the world most affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and that the spread of the virus is becoming increasingly linked directly with poverty and the lack of literacy.
- Considering that our States cannot yet assure universal primary education
- Considering that Education for All is key for all other sectors in development
- Considering that our states allocate less than one percent of the education budget for literacy
- Considering the presence of the First Ladies and their willingness to support the achievement of the EFA goals.

We demand:

From our Governments:

- a minimum of **3% of the education budget** for literacy
- programmes and sector plans which take literacy teaching into account
- transparent and effective management of the funds allocated to literacy
- the integration of the values of learning and the involvement of people living with HIV/AIDS in literacy programmes.

From donors

- That they respect their commitment. Of the required \$USD16 billion a year, only 3 billion are forthcoming, leaving an enormous deficit of \$USD 13 billion that are indispensable for the achievement of EFA
- That they reduce conditionality to enable literacy to be taken into account.

These are some of the concerns expressed by the people living in the communities of Sébékoro – Siguiré – Mamou and Labé in Guinea, of Madina Gounass - Kaolak, Diossong – Kédougou – Tambacounda and Kidira in Senegal, and of Diboli – Kayes and Kita in Mali during the Caravan for Literacy and the Prevention of HIV/AIDS which travelled through these different countries between the 27th August to the 7th of September 2007.

Bamako, Monday 10th September 2007



Pamoja



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l'EDUCATION
www.campaignforeducation.org

dvv international
United for International Development
and Economic, Environmental Systems

act:onaid

Appendix 27: The 8 MDGs

The Millennium Development Goals



The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight goals to be achieved by 2015 that respond to the world's main development challenges. The MDGs are drawn from the actions and targets contained in the **Millennium Declaration** that was adopted by 189 nations-and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the **UN Millennium Summit** in September 2000.

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

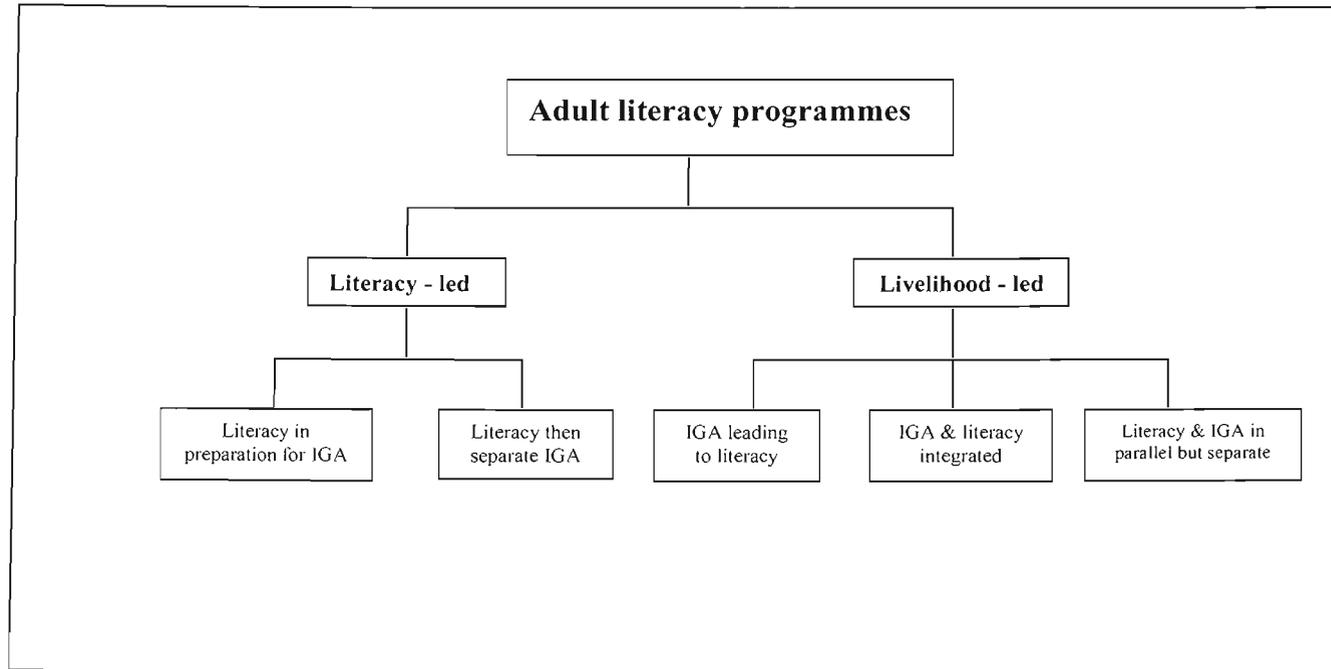
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development

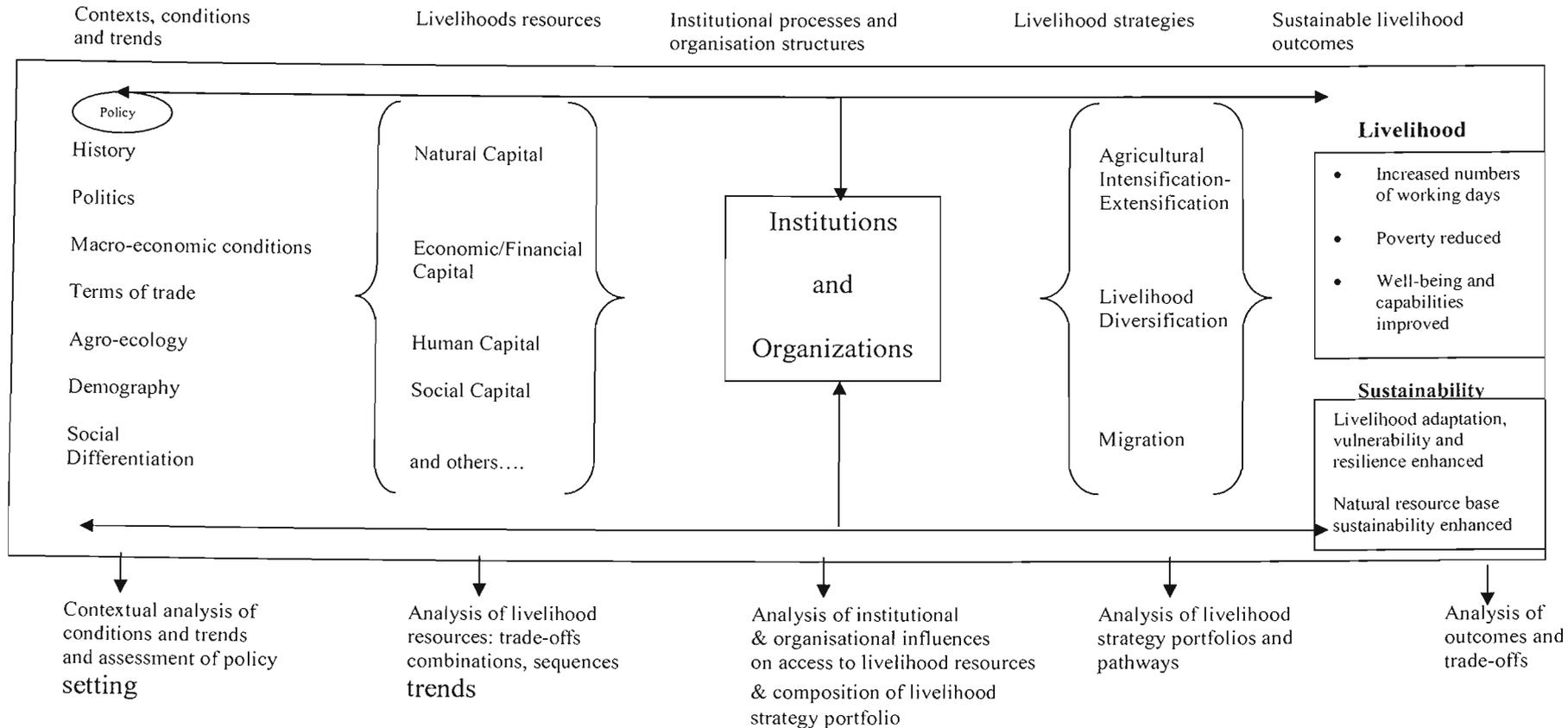
Source: <http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml> Retrieved on November 11, 2008.

Appendix 28: Framework of types of adult literacy programmes



Source: Rogers (1997 in Oxenham et al. 2001, pp. 16 – 17)

Appendix 29: Sustainable rural livelihoods framework



Source: Scoones (1998, p. 4)

Appendix 30: Uganda’s extension service delivery trend

Period	Extension Delivery Approach:
1898 – 1956	Extension by compulsion: this type of approach was characterised by deliberate efforts to promote production of cash crops such as coffee, cotton, tobacco, rubber etc. it was carried out with coercive tendencies and enforced by the chiefs to ensure supply of raw materials to the colonial masters and other industries
1956 – 1963	Extension through Progressive Farmers: this was where farmers were identified and trained by extension workers to act as change agents in their localities
1964 – 1971	Extension Educational Method: This was an approach which emphasised professionalism through training and use of appropriate methods. Farmers were taught as to why and how they ought to undertake better farming methods using government schemes such as demonstrations, farmer field days and trials etc.
1981 – 1991	The Project Approach: this approach was introduced after the period of political turmoil from 1971 – 1980 and was intended to rehabilitate and restore basic services using extension programmes like Agricultural Development Project and South West Agricultural Rehabilitation Project
1992 – 1999	The Unified Extension Approach: This aimed at integrating and harmonising the use of scarce resources. A single extension worker was responsible for transfer of knowledge and technologies in all fields to groups of farmers in a given geographical area
2000 – to date	National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS). This is where farmers are expected to be the lead players in extension service delivery. They demand and manage services together with the local government. Government provides services through the private sector service providers and in line with the farmers’ priorities

Source: Nalugooti and Ssemakula (2006, p. 2)

Appendix 31: What PMA is about: the government's view



1. Supporting you to do farming as a Business



2. Supporting you to buy better seeds, animals, fish & tools to improve production.



3. Helping the communities decide what they need



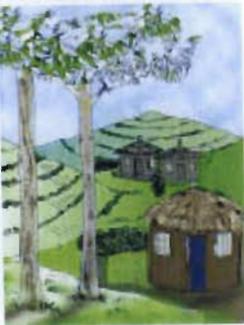
4. Somebody will be available to advise you about better farming



5. You will be able to buy and sell produce more easily

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, (n.d., p.5)

Appendix 32: The different sectors involved in PMA²¹

<p>Environment</p> 	<p>Health</p> 
<p>Water for Production</p>  <p><i>You need to manage water properly.</i></p>	<p>Security</p>  <p><i>We need peace in order to be more productive</i></p>
<p>Industry</p>  <p><i>Add value to your produce through processing before selling.</i></p>	<p>Agriculture and Livestock</p>  <p><i>Keep and use what you have well</i></p>
<p>Education</p>  <p><i>Improve your Knowledge and skills including those of your children</i></p>	<p>Marketing</p>  <p><i>Produce for the market</i></p>

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries & Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, (n.d, p. 7)

²¹ The above Departments are expected to reach the communities through their respective sub-county headquarters

Appendix 33: Budget for advisory services on poultry by a PSP²²

S/No	Item Description	Monthly Budget						Total
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	
1	Professional fee	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000	300,000	1,800,000
2	Subsistence allowance	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	660,000
	Transport allowance	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	110,000	660,000
	Sub-Total	220,000	220,000	220,000	220,000	220,000	220,000	1,320,000
3	Demonstration Expenses							
	Supplementary feeds							
	Veterinary equipment							
	Prophylactic vaccines							
	Disinfectants		50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000		200,000
	Preventive Accoricides							
	Curative Drugs							
	Other equipment necessary for management in a poultry unit							
4	Overhead Costs	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	90,000
	GRAND TOTAL	535,000	585,000	585,000	585,000	585,000	535,000	3,410,000

²² The proposal was accessed at the Sub-County and the author's name is withheld on request. PSP stands for Private Service Provider.

Appendix 34: Onion production guide

Recommended Varieties

1. Red Creole (East African Variety)
2. Bombay Red

Expected Yields
1,200 – 1,600 kg per acre

Materials and Equipment Required for Production

1. Onion seeds
2. Hoes
3. Rakes/harrowers
4. Watering cans
5. Planting ropes
6. Measuring tapes
7. Fertilizer (DAP & NKP)
8. Drums
9. Spray pumps
10. Pesticides (Dimethoate & Antracole)
11. Record books
12. Manure (Liquid & Organic)
13. Grass/Fibre

Stationery

1. Books
2. Pens
3. Marker Pens
4. Masking tapes
5. Flip Charts
6. Manila Papers

Preparation for planting/sowing

1. Site Selection

1(a) For Nursery Beds

- Should be near a clean and permanent source of water
- Should be accessible or nearest for easy visit
- Should be in an open area (not shady area)
- Should be on a fairly gentle slope
- Soil should be well drained loam fertile
- Ensure rotation to avoid pests and disease build ups

1 (b) For Transplanting

- Ensure rotation
- Should also be in an open place
- Free/well drained soils

1 (c) For Dry Farming

- Choose areas along the wetlands for ease of watering

2. Actual Field Preparation

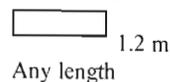
- For bushy field, slash and heap the grass/trash in one place.
- This will be used as a mulch material.
- The field should be dug a few months in advance to encourage decomposition.
- Incorporate plenty of rotted organic matter into the soil

NB: Avoid burning of Grass

3. Nursery Bed Establishment and Management Practices

3 (a) Nursery Beds Dimensions

1.2 m x any length



3 (b) Alignment

Should be across the slope

Should face north to south to Allow enough light

Source: Prepared by one of the PSPs

Appendix 35: Minutes of EYFG meeting²³

YIVU-ELELU YOUNG FARMER GROUP MEETING HELD ON FOR PLANNING AND BUDGETING TO ACCESS EDF.

AGENDA

1. GENERAL PRAYER.
2. COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR.
3. REACTIONS ON CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.
4. SELECTION OF MEMBERS TO ACCESS EDF.
5. SELECTION OF Enterprise.
6. Closure

11/20/2016 The meeting was opened at 1:30pm by prayers led by a member.

12/20/2016 Communications: The chairman was glad to meet the members who turned up for the meeting willingly. He said out of our city, NABBS Secretariate has granted money to be given to farmer groups as loan. He noted that 600,000 will be given and farmers will pay 10% of it. The money will only be given to groups who have: - pay 2% co-funding. Secondly with bank accounts.

(b) REACTIONS:-

Regarding 600,000, shall we pay it back to the NABBS Secretariate?

The Group facilitator answered, the money shall be repaid in group accounts. After completion the next members will get respectively.

A member also wanted to know when to access the money and duration for its repay?

The chairman said he has not known exactly when to access the money ie month. Duration will be 1 year. Then members resolved to repay the money quarterly after 3 months.

13/20/2016 List of members to access the money:

After along discussion two members willingly said they will take the next money. Asuru PHUMA and Leir janson.

The listed below are members:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Andika MATIASI | 4- Angumava Emily |
| 2. Elumia Nelson | 5- Onzinu Beatrice |
| 3. Anacoo Anjile | 6- Anguko Lucy |

²³ EYFG – stands for Eleku Youth Farmers' Group

YUW ELERU YOUNG FARMER GROUP

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|
| 7 | Ab.ou Aboes | 13- Munduru Ester |
| 8 | BRANI JOEL | 14- John Ataba |
| 9 | GASAZIANO ASAMA | 15- Adaluru Boris |
| 10 | ELAZA Oluwa | 16- Badaw Palina |
| 11 | Amati Nelson | 17- Peter William |
| 12 | Owen Helen | |

Every member will have his/her own nursery and field beds.

4/20/06 Enterprise Selection

The group has 3 enterprises ie Apiculture, Onion and Ground Nuts.

The members selected and resolved onion - Red Creole production and some money voted for Apiculture to acquire KTB hives. They budgeted 600,000 for both Onion (Red Creole) and KTB hives.

The meeting adjourned at 3:00pm by prayers led by John Ataba

Chairman:
Abou Aboes

Secretary
BRANI JOEL

MEETING TO ACCESS ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT FUNDS
 YOUNG ECELEU YOUNG FARMERS GROUP
 ATTENDANCE LIST

S/No	NAME	TITLE	SEX	Signature
1	BLANI JOEL	SECRETARY	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
2	ABBO ATABU JOHN	TREASURER	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
3	OLUMIA NELSON	MEMBER	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
4	AMATI NELSON	Vice C/PERSON	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
5	ANGUCIA ANZILA	MEMBER	F	ANGUCIA
6	BADARU PALIMA	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
7	ASURU PALIMA	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
8	ANGUMARU EMILY	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
9	ONYEU HELLEN	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
10	GHAZIANO ASUMIA	"	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
11	MUNDURU ESTER	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
12	ADAKURU BERIS	"	F	BERIS
13	ODZIRU BEATRICE	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
14	ANGUKO LUCY	"	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
15	LEVI JOHNSON	ASS FIELD OFFICER	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
16	ADIRU AGNES	MEMBER	F	<i>[Signature]</i>
17	ANDILU MATIASI	FIELD OFFICER	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
18	ELIAZA OLUBUA	MEMBER	M	<i>[Signature]</i>
19	PETER WILLIAM	C/PERSON	M	<i>[Signature]</i>

YIVU ELEKU YOUNG FARMERS GROUP
YIVU VILLAGE
ELEKU PARISH

THE SUB-COUNTY CHIEF,

MANIIBE SUB-COUNTY,

P.O. BOX 1, ARUA.

HR. NAFAS COORDINATOR,

MANIIBE SUB-COUNTY.

Dear MADAM,

RE: REQUISITION FOR 600.000= FOR EDF/ISEG

We members of Yivu Eleku young farmers group have jointly requested for six hundred thousand shillings for Enterprise Development Fund for financial year 2006. Their requests are tabled below:

NAME	ENTERPRISE	VARIETY	ME GRAMS	QUANTITY	RATE	AMOUNT	Interest
1. PETER WILLIAM	ONION	RED CREOLE	200g	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
2. AMATI NELSON	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
3. DRANI JOEL	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
4. KIABUA JOHN	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
5. ANJUCIA ANZILA	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
6. ANJUMARU EMILY	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
7. DYERU HELLEN	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
8. ADIRU ALNES	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
9. ONZIRU BEATRICE	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
10. ASUMA LAZARIANO	"	"	"	1 TIN	15.000=	15.000=	1,500=
ANDIKU MATIASI	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
11. MUNBURU ESTER	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
12. OILUMA NELSON	"	"	"	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
13. ELIAZA OMBUA	"	"	50g	5 TINS	5.000=	25.000=	2,500=
14. ANGIKO LUCY	"	"	50g	2 TINS	5.000=	10.000=	1,000=
15. ADALURU DORIS	"	"	200	2 TINS	15.000=	30.000=	3,000=
PETER WILLIAM	APICULTURE	KTB		1 HIVE	40.000=	40.000=	4,000=
DRANI JOEL	APICULTURE	KTB		"	40.000=	40.000=	4,000=
AMATI NELSON	"	KTB		"	40.000=	40.000=	4,000=
OILUMA NELSON	"	KTB		"	40.000=	40.000=	4,000=

GROUP CHAIRMAN: PETER WILLIAM *[Signature]*
" SECRETARY: DRANI JOEL *[Signature]* (YIVU ELEKU YOUNG FARMERS GROUP)
A/C 2020437448

Appendix 36: Minutes of Manibe SCFF meeting

Members Present

Attended by 74 members²⁴

Agenda

1. Prayers
2. Communication from the Chairman
3. Highlights by the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator
4. Reading of the Previous Minutes
5. Reactions (Nos. 2 - 4)
6. Election of Procurement Committee Members
7. Closure

Minute 1/2006: Prayers

The meeting was opened by a word of prayers said by Ezelina Ewaecabo

Minute 2/2006: Communication from the Chairman

The following comments were made: Thanked members for the turn and asked for self introductions. The production officer on training Ms Badaru Gertrude was self introduced to the Farmer Forum. Highlighted the advisory contracts awarded for onions and apiculture. He thanked and lamented that funds for advisory services were not adequate to contract services for all the three enterprises, hence groundnuts advisory service not contracted.

Technologies Procured: SCKTB hives which have been delivered and ready for collection by the farmer groups, Onions procured: 180 tins, Pesticide antracol, and dimet heate

Demonstration kits provided by the PSP (Private Service Provider)

- One tin of onion per group
- Spray pump for 16 Framer Groups
- Watering Can for 16 Framer Groups

Note:

- Planning line (each farmer group should request for it from the PSPs)
- Fertiliser (DAP) - 2 kg each
- Dimetheat
- Antracel

Demo kits in apiculture to be provided by the PSPs

- 1 metre cloth
- Sauce pan (for demonstrating)
- Enamel
- Bucket

Technology Development Fund (Enterprise Development Fund - EDF)

²⁴ The names of the 74 people who attended the meeting on January 13, 2006 have been omitted on request

Guidelines have been changing on the use of the above funds. Thus Enterprise Development Committee has been dissolved and each Farmer Group is required to open up a Bank Account so that the funds are disbursed into farmer group's account.

Conditions for accessing EDF

- Farmer Groups with savings NB: each Farmer Group will be disbursed funds not exceeding UShs 600,000.
- Farmer Groups which have paid co-funding for 2005/06
- Farmer groups with Bank accounts
- Farmer Groups to give 10% of the funds
- Farmers with activity plan for the EDF to be submitted to the Sub-County together with requisition

Farmer Institutional Development

- The Procurement Committee approved the NGO CREAM to undertake farmer institutional development and an M.O.U was signed between the Sub-County Farmer Forum and the NGO at the cost of 8.1 million shillings for a period of six months
- The TOR involves marketing association group formation and development and enterprise selection, but cautioned farmers to participate actively in the enterprise selection
- Gross margin analysis of each enterprise needs to be understood by the farmers before the enterprise is selected
- Integration of natural resources issues was emphasised to the farmers. e.g. Agro-forestry, soils and water conservation
- The farmers were encouraged to venture into enterprises with market e.g. poultry keeping

Minute 3/2006: Highlights by the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator

- Turn up for training: lamented the poor turn up of farmers for training
- Farmers do not participate actively in the enterprise selection as there is need to give guidance
- Enterprise development fund utilisation: - Farmer groups which satisfy the conditions will begin accessing the above funds
- Poor reporting by farmers on NAADS activities: - No reports received from Groups facilitators and Parish Coordinating Committees

Minute 4/2006: Reading of the Previous Minutes

The previous minutes were read by the sub-County NAADS Coordinator and confirmed to be correct

Minute 5/2006: Reactions (Nos. 2 - 4)

- A farmer noted that sometimes it is the weakness of the farmers in not cooperating with the PSPs
- It was noted that though group facilitators submit reports, the Parish Coordinating Committees are not effective in compiling the reports
- The farmers were urged to report issues
- Farmers noted that Demo kits were to be supplied by the PSPs
- How farmers can be helped to access the enterprise development fund

In response:

- Farmers were requested to submit timely reports

- Information flow to be rectified
- Demo kits not supplied by the PSPs will be rectified by the reports submitted by the farmers

NB: It was noted that the Sub-County should give notices to the farmers on the Demo kits to be submitted by the PSPs

- Guidelines on the EDF cannot be compromised. This was emphasised again
- Co-funding has improved, but more effort required
- Farmer groups required to open up Bank Accounts

NB: The sub-County NAADS Coordinator requested to schedule a meeting with all the PSPs and Procurement/Executive Committee to iron out the issues

- Farmers were urged to top up their savings from their savings or from enterprise development fund
- Clarifications were asked on the procurement of groundnuts for new groups
- why enterprises like piggery were not getting support
- Piggery did not surface as a priority Sub-County enterprise
- Farmers were encouraged to cooperate in the management of apiary sites
- New groups would access enterprise development fund if they comply with all the conditions

Minute 6/2006: Election of Procurement Committee Members

The following names were nominated to fill the vacant post of a female representative on the Procurement Committee:

- (i) Amaguru Sabina
- (ii) Asizu Grace
- (iii) Jane Buni

Results:

- (iv) Amaguru Sabina - 10 votes
- (v) Asizu Grace - 26 votes
- (vi) Jane Buni – 11 votes

From the votes, Amaguru Sabina become a Procurement member

Minute 7/2006: Closure

The meeting was closed at 12:45 pm by the Chairman, the Sub-County NAADS Coordinator on training.

Signed..... Signed.....
Chairman **Secretary**

Appendix 38: Application form for ISFG funds

Farmer Forum..... Sub-County.....

A. Background

Date	
Name of the FG	
Village	
Parish	
Sub-county	
District	
Name of farmer	
Enterprise	

B. TECHNOLOGY PARTICULARS (Attach Details If Necessary)

Technology type/item	Quantity	Value of technology (UShs)
1		
2		
3		
4		

C. REPAYMENT PLAN AGREED ON BY THE GROUP (Attach Details If Necessary)

Repayment/Instalment dates	Amount
1 st	
2 nd	
3 rd	
4 th	

D. Farmers Supporting The Application On Behalf Of The Group (Attach Minutes Of Group's Signature)

Name of group member	Signature
1.	
2.	
3	

Name of farmer..... signature.....

For official use only

Approval Details

Technology type/item	Quantity	Value of technology (US\$)
1		
2		
3		
4		
Total cost of technology package (US\$)		

Approved By (On Behalf of the Sub-County Farmers' Forum)

Sub-county farmers forum Chairperson	Name:
	Signature

Witnessed By (On Behalf of the Sub-County)

Sub-county NAADS Coordinator	Name	
	Signature	
Sub-county chief	Name
	Signature
	Official stamp	

Serial Number.....

Appendix 39: ISFG technology access voucher

Farmers' Forum..... Sub-County.....

Information About The Beneficiary Farmers

Date	
Name of farmer	
Village	
Parish	
Sub-County	
District	
Name of FG	
Enterprise	

Technology Particulars

Technology type/item	Quantity	Value of technology (UShs)	Remarks
1			
2			
3			
4			
Total			

Approved By (On behalf of the sub-county farmers' forum)

Sub-county farmer forum Chairperson	Name
	Signature

Witnessed By (On behalf of the sub-county)

Sub-county NAADS Coordinator	Name	
	Signature	
Sub-county chief	Name	
	Signature
	Official stamp

Received by

Name.....

Signature.....

Supplied by:

Name.....

Signature.....

Official Stamp

Appendix 40: Quarterly reporting forms for farmers' groups

Reporting 3 month period (perennial crops and livestock from..... to year..... Reporting season from to.....year.....

District..... Sub-County..... Parish..... Village.....

Name of group..... Total No of members in the group Cumulative co-funding date.....

Form 100: Information about NAADS TDSs²⁵

NAADS Priority SC enterprises	Date TDS established	Size of TDS (no acres/no livestock units)		Details of host farmer		Host farmer member of this group	TDS Management committee in place	No. group members involved in selecting and siting TDS	Condition of TDS as judged by group members	Maintenance of TDS	Type of technology (specify variety/breed/practice)		Contribution of the maintenance of the TDS by group members				
		Planned	Actual	Name	Village						Y/N	Y/N	Agreed on	Actual	No. members	Amount	Type
1																	
2																	
3																	

1. G = good 2. F = Fair 3. P = poor 4. A = Affordable 5. C = Costly

²⁵ TDSs – stands for Technology demonstration sites

Form 101: Management and use of the NAADS TDSs

NAADS PRIORITY SUB-COUNTY ENTERPRISES	Type of technology (specify variety/ breed/ practice)	Activities undertaken (see codes below)	Number of participants								Comments/ Constraints/ challenges
			ADULT				YOUTH				
			Non-PWD		PWD		Non-PWD		PWD		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
1											
2											
3.											

FORM 102: Household Production Costs of NAADS Technology

Packages per Unit of Livestock/Acre Planted

Name of farmer	NAA DS priority SC enterprises	Replicating package Y/N	Costs for crops (in Ug. shillings)								Costs for livestock (in Ug. Shillings)					
			Land prep	planting	weeding	harvesting	seeds	Manure/fertiliser	herbicides	Other costs	stock	Housing/Shelter	Feeding	Chemicals/drugs	Other costs	Total cost
1	1															
	2															
	3															
2	1															
	2															
	3															
3	1															
	2															
	3															
4	1															
	2															
	3															
5	1															
	2															
	3															
6	1															
	2															
	3															
7	1															
	2															
	3															
8	1															
	2															
	3															
9	1															
	2															
	3															
10	1															
	2															
	3															

Form 103: Replication of NAADS Technologies and marketing by Groups

Name of farmer	NAADS Priority sub-county enterprises	Marketing as assoc. group or indiv.	Acreage planted/ number of units	Type of technology applied (specify variety breed/ practice)	Replicating technology/ N	Quantity produced (nos, kgs, litres, etc)	Production costs per acre/ unit (in US\$)	Quantity sold (nos, kgs, litres, etc)	Amount received per unit sold (in US\$)	Quantity consumed at household (nos, kgs, litre, etc)	Quantity home saved/stored (nos, kgs, litres etc)
1	1										
	2										
	3										
2	1										
	2										
	3										
3	1										
	2										
	3										
4	1										
	2										
	3										
5	1										
	2										
	3										
6	1										
	2										
	3										
7	1										
	2										
	3										
8	1										
	2										
	3										
9	1										
	2										
	3										
10	1										
	2										
	3										

1. A = Association, 2. G = Group, 3. I = Individual

Form 104: Information on ISFG²⁶

NAADS Priority sub- county enterprises	Type of technology (specify variety/ breed/ practice)	No. group members benefiting		Quantity of technology received (nos, kgs, litres, etc)	Timely disseminatio n to members Y/N	Cost of technology received by beneficiaries	Recovery progress (cumulative percentage achievement)	Number of group members benefiting			Comments
		M	F					2 nd round	3 rd round	4 th round	
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											

²⁶ ISFG – stands for Integrated support for farmers’ groups

Appendix 41: Data on farmers' groups in the Parishes

District.....

Sub-county..... Parish.....Reporting month/year.....

Total No of Groups who Registered with NAADS this reporting period.....cumulative Number of NAADS Registered Groups t0odate

No	Name of group	Co-funding status				Membership of groups							
		Payment Complete	Partly paid Y/N	Not paid Y/N	Cumulative Total	ADULT				YOUTH			
						Non-PWD		PWD		Non-PWD		PWD	
						M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													
11													
12													
13													
14													
15													
16													
17													
18													

Form 404: Information about 3 NAADS priority Sub-County enterprises

Activities	3 NAADS priority sub-county enterprises	Type of NAADS technology (specify variety or breed or practice)	Number of participants				No of groups	Comments / Constraints/ challenges
			ADULT		YOUTH			
			Non-PWD	PWD	Non-PWD	PWD		
Training by SP at TDS	a							
	b							
	c							
Preparation* of the TDS	a							
	b							
	c							
Maintenance** of the TDS	a							
	b							
	c							
Harvesting	a							
	b							
	c							
Primary post-harvest processes	a							
	b							
	c							
Visiting***the TDS by NAADS group members	a							
	b							
	c							
Visiting*** the TDS by non-NAADS group members****	a							
	b							
	c							
Monitoring of TDS by NAADS group members	a							
	b							
	c							
Other (specify)	a							
	b							

* for example land clearing and tilling etc, setting up the apiary, constructing the livestock/poultry houses, etc

** for example, weeding, training, fertilising, grafting etc, feeding and cleaning etc

***state purpose of visit in the last column

****PCC to get this information from TDS visitor's book

Form 405: Replication of NAADS TDSs and marketing by individual members

Name of group	No of marketing as group	NAADS Priority sub-county enterprises	Acreage planted / number of units	Types of NAADS technology(s) Applied (variety/breed/practice)	Quantity produced (no, kgs, litres etc)	Production costs per acre/unit (in US\$)	Quantity sold (nos, kgs, litres, etc)	Amount received per unit sold (in US\$)	Quantity consumed at household (Nos, kgs, litres etc)	Quantity home saved/ storage (nos, kgs, litres etc)
1	a									
	b									
	c									
2	a									
	b									
	c									
3	a									
	b									
	c									
4	a									
	b									
	c									
5	a									
	b									
	c									
6	a									
	b									
	c									
7	a									
	b									
	c									
8	a									
	b									
	c									
9	a									
	b									
	c									
10	a									
	b									
	c									

FORM 406: Replication of NAADS TDSs and Marketing by Groups

Name of group	No of marketing as group	NAADS Priority Sub-County enterprises	Acreage planted/ number of units	Types of NAADS technology(s) Applied (variety/ breed /practice	Quantity produced (no, kgs, litres etc	Production costs per acre/unit (in UShs)	Quantity sold (nos, kgs, litres, etc)	Amount received per unit sold (in UShs)	Quantity consumed at household (Nos, kgs, litres etc)	Quantity home saved/ storage (nos, kgs, litres etc
1	a									
	b									
	c									
2	a									
	b									
	c									
3	a									
	b									
	c									
4	a									
	b									
	c									
5	a									
	b									
	c									
6	a									
	b									
	c									
7	a									
	b									
	c									
8	a									
	b									
	c									
9	a									
	b									
	c									
10	a									
	b									
	c									

Form 407: General comments

1. Summary of plans for next month for the parish

.....

2. List of key successes/remarkable achievements in the parish during this reporting period
 (observable, tangible changes)

Key successes/remarkable achievements	No of groups reporting	Comments

3. List the key challenges the groups are facing (labour, inputs, markets, pesticides, diseases etc)

Key challenges	No of groups reporting	Comments

4. List names of other sources of support to the groups in the parish

Other of support	No of groups reporting	Comments

5. Weather conditions during the reporting month (rainfall, floods, drought, hailstorm)

Weather conditions during the reporting month	No of groups reporting	Comments

Appendix 42: An example of enterprise selection process matrix

Enterprise	Profitability-high (weight=4)	Ease of market (weight=3)	Low risks (weight = 2)	Financial outlay low (weight=2)	Production knowledge (weight =1)	Total score
Banana	12 = 48	20 = 60	19 = 38	18 = 36	14 = 14	296
Pigs	11 = 44	13 = 39	10 = 20	13 = 26	14 = 14	143
Local goats	04 = 16	14 = 42	15 = 15	14 = 28	13 = 13	129
Maize	15 = 60	02 = 06	09 = 18	13 = 26	13 = 13	123
Vanilla	15 = 60	10 = 30	02 = 04	07 = 14	09 = 09	117
Pumpkin	06 = 24	18 = 54	10 = 20	15 = 30	09 = 09	107
Local cattle	06 = 24	10 = 30	10 = 20	04 = 08	11 = 11	93
Rice	05 = 20	11 = 33	14 = 28	00 = 00	04 = 04	85
Melon	06 = 24	04 = 12	04 = 08	08 = 16	05 = 05	65
Exotic cattle	10 = 40	07 = 21	00 = 00	00 = 00	03 = 03	64
Moringa	03 = 12	06 = 18	06 = 12	03 = 06	03 = 03	51
Fish farming	04 = 16	08 = 24	01 = 01	00 = 00	02 = 02	44
Chickens	06 = 24	03 = 09	00 = 00	00 = 00	04 = 04	37
Tomato	05 = 20	00 = 00	00 = 00	00 = 00	06 = 06	26
Exotic goats	03 = 12	02 = 06	01 = 02	00 = 00	05 = 05	25
Passion fruit	02 = 08	02 = 06	01 = 02	00 = 00	03 = 03	20
Eucalyptus	02 = 08	02 = 06	01 = 20	01 = 02	02 = 02	20
Coffee	00 = 00	01 = 03	00 = 00	00 = 00	17 = 17	20
Pineapple	02 = 08	03 = 09	00 = 00	00 = 00	02 = 02	19
Mushroom	00 = 00	01 = 03	01 = 02	02 = 04	01 = 01	10

Source: Obaa, Mutimba & Semana (2005, p. 5)

Appendix 43: Researcher admitted at Kuluva Hospital



Appendix 44: Kuluva Hospital medical report

KULUVA HOSPITAL 1323

Date 27.11.15 Receipt No _____
 Item Wound
 Fee 90,000/- Carri No OS/16444

38

KULUVA CHURCH OF UGANDA HOSPITAL
PATIENT DISCHARGE FORM

Name AGALA WILSON
 Age _____ Sex _____ P. No. OS/16444
 D.O.B. 18/11/15 D.O.D. 27/11/15

Clinical Summary
 Admitted with open fracture
 of the humerus, RT. Bone
 and skin flap applied
 has healed on regular
 management. HEALED

Date of Review _____
 Discharging Doctor D. Keriker
 Sig. _____

Fees:		Charges:
1.	Total Days..... <u>4</u>	<u>24,000/-</u>
2.	Drugs/Dressing ... <u>Neur. cond.</u>	<u>7,000/-</u>
3.	Lab. Test..... <u>Pro. P. Fee</u>	<u>12,500/-*</u>
4.	X-Ray/Ultra Sound	<u>15,000/-*</u>
5.	Procedure.....	<u>20,000/-</u>
6.	Admission fee.....	<u>20,000/-</u>
Total fees.....		<u>90,000/-</u>
Less Deposit.....		<u>25,000/-</u>
Total Amount at Discharge		<u>65,000/-</u>

Appendix 45: NSIH, Nairobi medical review report²⁷

MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Telephone: 2726336
MEDSUPT.(DL): 27233563.

Ref No: **NSIH/MEDSUPT/06/93**


REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL SPINAL INJURY HOSPITAL
P.O. BOX 20906 - 00202
LENANA ROAD
NAIROBI.

25TH SEPTEMBER 2006

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

RE: MEDICAL REPORT ON MR. WILLY NGAKA.

The above named was involved in a Road Traffic Accident and sustained a fracture of the left humerus on 18th November 2005.

He was Initially attended to at Kuluva Mission Hospital, later transferred to Arua Regional Referral Hospital and later still was airlifted to Mulago Hospital, all the above hospital are in Uganda.

He was initially managed conservatively, but it was later decided that he undergoes an operation, which was done at Mengo Mission Hospital on 20th April 2006. Post-operatively, he remained stable, but later, it was noted that the implant (plate and screws) were loose, hence the need for re-plating.

On 10th June 2006, he opted to seek Surgical Intervention in Kenya and was operated upon at Masaba Hospital, whereby the old plate and screws were removed and re-plating and bone grafting done. Post-operatively he has remained stable to date.

A review today, with a check X-Ray revealed clinical and radiological union of the fracture left humerus.

In view of the prolonged therapy lasting almost one year and the state he is in, on being reviewed today, it is our sincere recommendation that he should be gradually allowed to integrate into his daily programmes. As he engages in the physiotherapy home based programmes, he is advised to gradually build up the volume of work that he is expected to engage himself in.

We also advise that he should be attended to at the nearest Health Facility on a monthly basis for his progress to be monitored by a Professional Clinician.

Please accord him any necessary assistance.

Yours faithfully,


DR. MAURICE PETER SIMINYU (Surg.)
MR. Ch.B., M. Med (Surg) Ntb,
Medical Superintendent,
National Spinal Injury Hospital-Nrb,
P. Box 20906-Nairobi

DR. M. P. SIMINYU
MEDICAL SUPERINTENDANT.

rk/MPS

²⁷ NSIH stands for National Spinal Injury Hospital. It is based in Nairobi, Kenya.