



Participation or Capture? The Paradox of Small Holder Farmer Participation
in the Development of the National Coffee Policy in Uganda

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List of acronyms

MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
NUCAFE	National Union of Coffee Agribusinesses & Farmer Enterprises
CFA	Coffee Farmers Association
UCDA	Uganda Coffee Development Authority
FACT	Farmers Advocacy Consultation Tool
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
UCFA	Uganda Coffee Farmers Association
FOM	Farmer Ownership Model
LOASP Pastoral)	Loi orientation Agro-Sylvo-Pastorale (Orientation Law Agro - Silvo – Pastoral)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NCP	National Coffee Policy
WCARRD	World Conference on Agrarian Reforms and Rural Development
KCFA	Kabonera Coffee Farmers Association
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus infection/ Acquired Immune Deficiency syndrome

Abstract

Enhancing small holder farmer participation in policy development is critical in tackling their real issues. But this is to be seen difficult because of their less capacity to negotiate among other challenges. This paper argues that successful participatory processes in policy development should be mindful of existing farmers' differences that are seen to shape limitations and thereby blocking participation to occur. The study attempted to position participation as a broader theory and illustrated capacity and empowerment as key elements to enhance participation of small holder farmers. Participation in this case was seen to be biased to the large holder farmers already empowered and with capacity to engage in negotiations thus this put the small holders farmers to a disadvantage to push for their issues inclusion. To enhance smallholder farmers' participation, it should be based on their social, cultural, economic and political wellbeing. Strategies should strengthen individual farmers' capacities and empower them using the existing knowledge to address their problems.

Relevance to Development Studies

Debates and current studies on bottom level participants involvement in decision making are seen to agree that there is no enough evidence to support them benefiting from such participatory processes. Participation of smallholder farmers in developing policies remains a theoretical dialogue than a proved fact. This study thus uncovers the theoretical underpinnings and practice of participatory processes in the policy development discourse. This paper draws on experiences of participation of smallholder farmers in the development of the coffee policy in Uganda using a local level case of Masaka Coffee Hub. This is tackled to contribute on the understanding of problems these people face and seek better ways of enhancing their participation.

Key words

Participation, Empowerment, Smallholder Farmers, Capacity, Policy Making and Space

Chapter One: Introduction

Small holder farmers in reality hardly participate in the development of policies that are crafted with an aim of addressing their needs, even if they are involved there seems to be limitations for them to participate. In this paper an assessment of a case in which farmers were invited to participate in policy development will be done. This study infers that there is a challenge for decision makers to incorporate community needs and issues into the planning processes. Existing varied interests of actors result into endorsed decisions to be skewed to the powerful with capacity to push issues during negotiations.

In Uganda, forming organisations in which farmers voice their concerns seems to respond to such challenges, but the national level representation might not be fully exploiting the local level participation. The interest of this research is to analyse the participation of small holder farmers in the coffee policy development through their local level organisation and the ways in which they negotiated for inclusion of their interests. According to Long and Franklin (2004), top down processes tend to neglect local level priorities, while bottom up framework facilitates negotiations between actors in developing policies and community issues will be heard.

In this paper, a finding mission of participation is done through the bottom-up approach of policy making, examining whether smallholder farmers were listened to and what was their potential to participate in the coffee policy development and the limitations faced. Findings are envisioned to enhance future participatory processes. According to J. Nkandu (personal communication, 19 June 2014) through the farmers' organisation, small holder coffee farmers lobbied and influenced the development of the coffee policy. This is seen to be a unique initiative stimulated through a bottom-up approach of policy making.

Bratton (1990: 89) says that there is a concentration on the top level participants when developing policies, rather than at the bottom level where issues of citizens are generated from. On many occasions, bottom up policy making is avoided because it requires a lot of resources to reach communities. Fraser et al. (2006: 115) regard this process critical in developing local people's capacity to participate and this produces sustainable results, but the main argument in this paper is that bottom level participants are seen not to be fully engaged.

Politically, Stirling (2008: 282) argues the democratic representation in participatory processes is more evident than the participant contribution in the process. Also this author says there is a tendency of labelling the process participatory in which the framed effects of power makes the top level actors to overshadow the bottom level actors.

Socially, smallholder farmers hold the lowest position in the value chain and specifically in the coffee value chain. According to Ponte and Gibbon (2005:3-4) producer driven chains are in the process of becoming less important, coffee as a Global Value Chain is seen to be buyer driven and buyers shape the rules and conditions of participation. Further still, multinational companies operating in producing countries are seen to be playing a dominating role in decisions making to the millions of farmers (MAAIF 2013). This is seen to increase inequalities among the actors of the coffee value chain.

Dreze and Sen (2002) portrayed inequality in a fuller logic where the economic determinants such as income, wellbeing, freedom and power coupled with social inequality affects relationships between individuals and groups. This has created

obstacles to the participation for small holder farmers because they are seen illiterate, poor and lacking capacity to engage in important decision making spaces. According to Fraser et al. (2006) such inequalities between top and bottom level participants' leads to the top down processes of policy making to dominate.

The significance of this study is to add on the knowledge of small holder farmers' participation in policy development processes. Community participation as noted earlier can act as a catalyst to sustainable policy development, this is largely due to the fact that participation helps community members interact and share experiences related to different issues at hand. But this seems not to be the case in the coffee policy development, domineering of the big sector players could be seen to overshadow small farmers' participation. Furthermore, Nyabuntu (2010) reveals that the structural representation of sector actors does not provide adequate space for farmers; instead big players occupy most spaces of decision making positions.

On the policy, the gap was identified in the regulation¹ of coffee production, according to Nyabuntu (2010) the gap in the regulation was depicted in production from nursery to post-harvest handling at farm level. Farmers presented a number of issues and the key selected ones for study are; private and public sector roles were mixed and the state institutions performance was questioned (Nyabuntu 2010). The other issues are the inadequate extension services and the revitalisation of the Coffee Research Centre to an institute to allow farmers representation at the board decision making level.

From the above perspective of the national level representation of issues, this study seeks to assess the local level participation of farmers. Even though there were national level strategies to dialogue with government, not all smallholder farmers' voices are represented, especially the poor constrained by resources and capacity to participate. The close reach out was during policy consultations, it is interesting to capture what the farmers defined as needs and interests at local level. Local farmer organisations in Uganda are seen to have low bargaining power and face marginalisation in terms of participating in policy processes. They are categorised as lower class peasants and not knowledgeable about policy development.

Even though the national organisation provided platform for negotiation, small holder farmers' priorities could have been ignored. Therefore this research seeks to provide knowledge on the procedural issues during the consultation process, exchanges and agreement through which farmers crafted position to address their needs. This will uncover how farmers' participation contributed to policy change and meaningful participation. Meaningful is used to indicate ability for small farmers to contribute and engage in discussions. This is seen to be a positive aspect to improve their future engagement to influence development of pro farmer policies for improved enabling environment.

1.1 The history and context of smallholder farmer participation in Uganda

The policy making process in Uganda is situated in a top-down kind of framework. The process of participation of farmers is more existent only in theories and not in practice. Most agricultural developed policies in Uganda pass through a top down approach where

¹ Before the coffee policy development, the industry was regulated by 1994 coffee regulations in which the gap was identified see <http://ugandacoffee.org/resources/COFFEE%20REGULATIONS%201994.pdf?&i=26>

constitutionally, formulation of policies is assigned to sector ministries and in this case the agricultural planning department (Pasipanodya n.d).

According to Golooba (2004), despite the presence of representation structures, farmers as local participants feel dissatisfied and have inadequate capacity to meaningfully engage in policy processes. Golooba (2004) further explains that the framework of people's representation in Uganda is to enable citizens contribute to decision making and suggest appropriate changes. However, the problem comes in real contributions of these citizens, their issues face high chances of getting mixed up with top level participants in these participatory process. This paper argues that representation may not mean that views presented are a true reflection of the small holder farmers concerns in this case; this category of citizens endorsing decisions made was seen to be thin and among the key challenges was how much they were empowered and had capacity to influence their views to be heard.

According to Banaji (1990) discussion of Karl Kautsky (1899) agrarian question, his analysis resulted into a question that remains important today. It reads 'Is there a need and justification for smallholder farmers to be involved in the development of agricultural policies?', this was influenced by the dominance of large farms and so no reason for agricultural policies planned to support small farmers. The 20th century experience however, indicates that designing and implementing policies in which smallholder farmers are engaged in the process has demonstrated to be a successful strategy, implementation of these policies would reduce rural poverty and use agriculture as an engine to industrialisation and promote growth (Vogt and Murrell 1990).

However, engaging small holder participants would be seen to work if the built structures/strategies optimise the different participation approaches to address the challenges. For example Resnick and Birner (2010) showed that Senegal's vision on how to modernise the agriculture sector in 20 years named LOASP was a successful participatory process because it recognised the importance of local citizens' involvement in making decision. This was an applauded participation of different stakeholders during negotiations and different channels were used to reach the local participants. It was also declared after the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in Rome in 1979 that participation of rural people in designing policies and programs that affect their lives should be 'a basic human right' Guimaraes (2009: 2) as cited in WCARRD (1979). This automatically ranked participation as an important element of policy making.

According to Stirling (2008) "bottom-up approaches of policy making is said to integrate all actors at operational level, but locating the bottom level people participation tends to disappear in the critical stages of policy making". It has been further stressed by Long and Franklin (2004) that decentralised strategies paves way for lower level participants to engage, this enhances the effective implementation of policies due to the fact that these actors demonstrate ownership. On the other hand, it is established that Uganda's policy structures guarantees peoples' participation especially the local participants, but what we learn is the situation created in the participatory processes is not supportive for meaningful engagement of these actors.

1.2 Choice of case study

This research focuses on how coffee smallholder farmers' in Uganda participated in policy making and had their views included. It is based on one of leading coffee

producing regions in Masaka² Coffee Hub. The analysis of farmers' participation is based on their nature and this is pertinent to augment knowledge of other policy making processes in which farmers are involved.

This case was chosen because agriculture is an important sector to the Ugandan economy. According to Pasipanodya (n.d) Uganda's agriculture contributes nearly 20% of the Gross Domestic Product, it also employs the largest population and provides most materials for industry. Coffee remains the most important commercial agricultural commodity and the major foreign exchange earner. The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal industry & Fisheries (MAAIF) has estimated its contribution to an annual average of 20% of Uganda's total export revenue for the last ten years and provides income for millions of smallholder farmers in the country (MAAIF 2013).

Secondly, the study area is traditionally known for coffee growing as the main income source, historically the place is recognised for Robusta type of production. It used to be the second largest town initially, however it was ravaged by Uganda and Tanzania war in 1979 and again in 1981 to 1986 wars. The area has the highest prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS and this contributes to the rate of poverty stricken farming households.

Finally, the current policy document clearly affirms the identified gap in the coffee regulations 1994 which covered only the marketing and processing stages while leaving the production processes unregulated (MAAIF 2013). In this document, it allays an objective to regulate coffee production, strengthen coffee research as part of the identified gaps. The target group under this study is a case drawn from a farmer's organisation representing small holder farmers and in the value chain occupying the lowest node. NUCAFE represents members from coffee growing districts and together they are 165 member associations each consisting of about 300 members. Masaka hub consists of 6 associations totalling to 1800 individual farmers; and two associations are studied.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

The objectives of this research are to contribute knowledge and understanding related to how smallholder farmers' participation contributed to policy development in Uganda. To contribute to knowledge improvement on better ways of enhancing farmer's participation in policy development processes and to inform future strategies and policies aimed at enhancing smallholder farmers' involvement in decision making.

1.3.1 Research Questions

a) Main Question

In what ways does participation in policy making affect smallholder farmers' empowerment? A case of Masaka Coffee Hub

² See map 1 for visual location of Masaka in Uganda

b) Specific questions

1. How did smallholder farmers' capacity to negotiate trigger issues incorporation in a national policy document?
2. What is the level and kind of participation for smallholder farmers' involvement in policy development?
3. To what extent were the smallholder farmers empowered to participate in policy development?

1.4 Sources of empirical evidence and methodology

In this study, a qualitative approach was employed and this is based on the methods of data collection and analysis used. Use of semi structured interviews provided first-hand information, two forms of data collection were used that is secondary and primary data collection. Purposive sampling of respondents was done and this was due to the knowledge of the researcher about the study area. Identification of individual was obtained through referrals but relevance rather than representation was focussed on and putting in context capturing numerous basics and characteristics of the target population According to O'Leary (2013: 160) in order to get rich information, interviewing few respondents gives concrete answers than many interviewees, therefore, this research looked at analysing responses from a few selected respondents at micro level and draws experience from examples at macro level.

For the study, biographical data³ of farmers was obtained on literacy, acreage, land ownership, sex, and membership to a group. This captured the experiences of what was defined as large with 10 and above acres of coffee, intermediate with 5 to 10 acres and small farmers with 5 and below acres respectively. Face to face interviews were carried out with both those who participated in the coffee policy development dialogues and those that did not. Observation was another important key aspect used during interviews, also having been an active worker in this organisation helped to visualise my understanding, however O'Leary (2013) asserts that it is not a guarantee you hold expertise in your hands, you might have tried to understand something but you are locked out of it. This explains why interviewing key informants at NUCAFE level helped on processing data and understood experiences better.

Furthermore two coffee farmers associations were selected as case studies; Kabonera Coffee Farmers Association (CFA) categorised as advanced with about 60% of farmers with 3 acres and below defined as smallholder and Kyanamukaka CFA with an estimate of 80% farmers having 2 acres of land and below for coffee. These two cases provided rich experiences representing the diversity of the participants' studies and this was pertinent during the analysis stage.

The two perspectives allowed for caption of participation experiences in terms of levels and activeness, however there was a limitation of some participants hesitant to reveal information because they wanted to do that in exchange of a gift, this was overcome through creating a rapport and explaining that the researcher will share results. Also the short period for field work and some participants had inadequate knowledge on the subject matter and still due to fear of getting pin pointed and sensitivity of the subject; participants opted that their names should not be mentioned. Another key point to note was on a male participant not met for interviews as agreed and instead it was

³ See table 2 for demographic information of participants

interesting to interview his wife, this revealed pertinent information on the knowledge of women about groups and policy discussions.

Prior an interview guide was prepared to inform the interviews and an introduction letter for information acceptance sent to the local organisation ahead of time, one month was spent on interviews and interaction with farmers. Secondary data was also employed to generate more information and to fulfil the research objectives. A variety of written documents were consulted in order to get more information about the research subject. Journals, books and articles from the library and the internet were also used as sources of information related to the study. This research seeks to contribute to the knowledge of understanding the challenges of small farmer participation in developing sector policies.

1.5 Organisation of the paper

Chapter 2 presents a theoretical, conceptual and analytical framework, Cornwall theory of participation and analytical framework is presented, other concepts discussed are participation, empowerment, capacity, producer organisations and policy making. Chapter 3 presents information about the study area, past coffee policies and a brief of NUCAFE programs in Masaka. Chapter 4 and chapter 5 present findings, 4 discusses findings based on the farmers participation in the case, participation process at Masaka coffee hub and mapping of their power and interest in the participation process plus locating their participation using Arnstein (1969) typology. Chapter 5 presents findings based on the paradox of participation of the case; (a) How and why farmers participated and (b) reasons for not participating (c) examines whose interests the policy captured; the analysis is given in both chapters and in Chapter 6 which presents the discussion drawing from theory and conclusion.

Chapter Two: Theoretical, Conceptual and Analytical Framework

2.0 Introduction

The rationale of this chapter is to identify the related theory and define concepts that are used as the basis of the analysis of this study. Also, the concepts included have helped to assess small holder farmer participation in the development of the National Coffee Policy in Uganda.

2.1 Participation

2.1.1 *Creating spaces and representation*

Participation indicates creation of spaces for the marginalised participants, according to Glenzer et al. (2011) these spaces emphasise democracy and ownership in decision making which means that there is inclusion of all citizens. On the other hand, Hickey and Mohan (2004) states that in invited spaces, peoples backgrounds influence how they use their agency and different set of actors with varied positions shapes the dynamism of inclusive participation. Additionally, Hickey and Mohan (2004) presents three ways that are connected and important in spaces; first is space as situated practice in which circumstances created are complex and to avoid idealism, social identities should be seen as constructed and sensitive for better outcomes.

Secondly is space as sites of resistance, here a need to avoid risks of generalising communities is pointed out, various inequalities of power, politics and wealth plays a role in building the complexity of spaces, therefore participation should be viewed more in practice and not how many spaces are created because it is not a guarantee for participation (Hickey and Mohan 2004: 17). Lastly space is seen as a dynamic political field where an argument is made that 'less attention is paid to what actually happens in practice' (Hickey and Mohan 2004:18) as cited in Cornwall (2002: 7). Further still Hickey and Mohan (2004) as cited in Margret Kohn (2000) and critiqued that there is no space in which all voices are equally considered, some spaces politically manifest to allow a particular voice to enter discussions. Here the challenge is seen to remain on bottom level participants to organise themselves to influence decisions in policy making.

Hickey and Mohan (2004) further states that spaces are never neutral, they are humanly constructed and available processes are seen to be more politicised, but claimed spaces tends to be more organic. On the other hand, "when it comes to implementation of policy, decisions which have been reached with maximum public involvement are most likely to have minimum opposition, thus reducing friction, easing implementation and perhaps avoiding expensive reversal of decisions" Smith (1984: 254) cited in Franson and Burns (1974: 158). Therefore making of spaces for community people participation becomes important, as pointed out earlier in Uganda, citizen participation is more through representation by the leaders. Hickey and Mohan (2004) criticises this approach as formal participation that might lead to elite groups being empowered more than the marginal groups.

Also they interpret representation as 'speaking of, which means constructing accounts and writing texts or speaking for which means advocating and mediating' (Hickey and Mohan 2004: 19). Further still as cited in Williams et al. (2003a: 177-8), these authors asserts that the local communities value the representation by what they termed

as 'power brokers' and emphasises that direct participation by the marginalised is harmful because they give up easily. Therefore bottom level participants are locked into participation by representation and to Hickey and Mohan (2004), this cannot be considered transformative to them. Therefore below is the discussion on utilising of these spaces.

2.1.2 Using spaces

Participatory processes emphasise creation of space for bottom level citizens in which they gain power to thrive. But the difference in culture and social orientation seem to build a complex situation. According to Cornwall and Gaventa (2001), participation as a practice helps stakeholders influence and share control in making important decision that affect them. Also Bishop and Davis (2002) assert that participation realises the interaction between the state and people, this is a critical arena to listen to their concerns. According to Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) on positioning participation opportunities provide for peoples involvement but there are challenges in the participation process and community people's role is placed at the users/beneficiaries side, and they indicate this process to portray many people participating passively. Thus in the created spaces, inequalities are seen to emerge based on the class and position of participants. Hickey and Mohan (2004) states that "participants are fabricated on assumption, this occurs in a particular space for example reproduction of embedded power relations are born in which weak positions of some actors are reflected and used against them". This is due to the fact that community people are not empowered to push for some views to be heard.

Additionally, participation should happen at all level of the policy making process involving actors, this helps on critical definition of issues and paving way for result oriented dialoguing, but the challenge to most community stakeholders is remaining 'passive beneficiaries' (Cornwall and Gaventa 2001). Again it is argued that the state should transfer power to its citizens through the participation process, participation without redeployment of power is hollow and annoying practice for those without power (Arnstein 1969: 216). Bishop and Davis (2002) cited in Pateman (1970) distinguished participation as pseudo, partial and full participation. These authors described Pseudo to mean circumstances in which people are claimed to participate but without real contributions and partial is stated to mean rare occurrences in which participants sway decisions. Lastly meaningful participation is portrayed in full participation, this is said to effect from practical allocation of power from the state to its citizens (Bishop and Davis 2002). This demonstrates that citizens do not participate at the same level and locating the most useful forms in this case is critical.

This paper argues that taking a close look at which kind of participation the marginalised people are involved in, who and how the relevant community is defined would be critical to improve participation and utilisation of the spaces. Puri (2004) on operationalising participation suggests that it should be seen to increase the engagement of socially and economically marginalised groups to effect change of policies concerning their lives; but their fear and feel of intimidation to express views in forums is a big challenge. According to Wedig (n.d) participation for development should protect the interests of the marginalised people within their groups and the extent of their involvement in meaningful negotiations is important.

In this paper, consultation is used to assess the extent of farmers voicing their need. Arnstein (1969) stated that the powerful proffers the extent of participation to the marginalised, this resulted into citizens' engagement but their lack of power is constraining their issues to be heeded by the powerful during consultations. Puri (2004) cautions that the community should not be viewed as homogeneous because it is composed of citizens with different classes, caste and gender, this is also ruled by social and cultural norms and therefore rules of participation should account for these differences and hierarchies there in. This brings us to the discussion of contested meanings of participation.

2.1.3 Theorising participation in spaces

Drawing from Smith (1984) quotation above, participation is inferred as an influencing mechanism to make decisions. It is also regarded as a way of multi-actor engagements in which the community people voice their needs through open procedures of decision making (Bishop and Davis 2002). On the other hand, Puri (2004) defines participation to mean membership in a group which implies raising a common voice to effect decision making. The author reflects on Rousseau's ideas to show that participation becomes an end itself. According to Chambers (2007: 23) 'Participation goes with changing power relations, behaviours and sharing' so here the top policy makers give power to community members to take lead and both share roles.

It is further asserted by Puri (2004) that horizontal relations are created and these are managed through reciprocity and cooperation rather than vertical relations of dependency and power dominance. To the contrary, Smith (1984) argues that participation constrains public involvement because they miss at the normative and strategic planning stages of policy development. This is why its meaning is contested. Participation also is defined as a process of change made by reforms of actors which significantly enable them to share the welfares of their prosperous communities (Arnstein 1969). For Bishop and Davis (2002), it is confusing what reckons as participation, to avoid bias it is better for people to speak for themselves than the notion of representation which is usually not trusted; he asserts that participation is expected to provide a platform for citizens to voice their policy choices. Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) cited in World Bank (1995) states that participation as a practice through which actors control decisions, this shows changing aspects in the meanings of participation, analysis is done from the theory and applied to real situations.

2.1.4 Paving way for participation to occur

Developing community/farmer organisations plays a critical role in raising a collective voice. In the FACT tool developed by agriterra, the consultation method helps to analyse farmers' preparedness to come up with "well informed and relevant members' opinion, identifying problems, causes and solutions" (Christian 2013: 27)⁴. This would provide an informed position and with the social network advantage, it provides more power base to advance small holder farmers issues and needs hence allowing meaningful participation to occur.

Nevertheless, the contested meanings of participation are tagging a political connotation rather than it being a solid process (Bishop and Davis 2002). Additionally, the institutionalised mechanisms of participation determine the control over space, agenda and decisions taken, it is usually manned by the state and consequently, this defines identities and determines the kind and level of participation (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999).

According to Hickey and Mohan (2005) using empirical evidence of contemporary approaches says participation thrives when promoting development is towards an empowering and transformative social change rather than a form of expert interventions. Therefore participation will be examined at the consultation stages of

⁴ Agriterra is a Dutch Agri-agency for international cooperation on agriculture and rural development, see <https://www.agriterra.org/en>. The FACT tool was developed by Agriterra to enhance farmer organisations engaging in policy advocacy.

policy making, specifically the brainstorming and designing stage where farmers issues filter through the participation process. Lastly implementation and monitoring is not focussed on in this study.

2.1.5 *The typology of participation*

Table 1: Mapping participation in policy choices

	Degrees of citizens power
8	Citizen control
7	Delegated power
6	Partnership
	Degrees of tokenism
5	Placation
4	Consultation
3	Informing
	Non participation
2	Therapy
1	Manipulation

Sources Arnstein (1969: 217)

Using Arnstein (1969) typology of participation, locating of small holder farmers participation in coffee policy development is examined. This author developed 8 typologies below under which key indicators are selected to be applied in the study case.

- **Manipulation** is examined to illustrate non-participation of the powerless, Arnstein (1969) cautions “misrepresentation by those in power”, elite only represented on committees without enabling structures. Arnstein (1969: 218) eludes small groups’ representation without power to negotiate thus constructing perpetuated grass root representation.
- **Therapy**, the author cautions masking of individual participation, discriminatory practices and interests lumped within the ideology of large community perceptions.
- **Consultation**, what are the created spaces, is there restriction of ideas or statistical reporting of participation dominates counting actual contribution.
- **Informing**, whether participants are made aware of their rights, options and responsibilities in the participation process (Arnstein 1969). Information flow among actors checked if one sided from the elite to community groups, feedback channels and allotted time to actors for discussion.
- **Placation**, assessment of allocation of leadership seats, whether it is distributional or to power holder/elites.
- **Partnerships** is looking at power distribution, citizens holding power and able to facilitate meetings rather than leaders expecting payment for participation to become natural rather than being claimed.
- **Delegated power** will be located in citizens attaining decision making power, putting pressure and aggressive group demands.

- **Citizen control** demonstrates demand for power to control affairs, capacity to plan and manage, independency, emergence of opportunistic citizens among community groups.

2.2 Cornwall's Theory of Participation

Cornwall (2002) theory depicts participation by taking into account aspects of space, power and differences. She says that participatory spaces can be created in order to allow people to interact and to discuss issues of their concern as well as to perform social responsibilities. These spaces may change from time to time and on different cases. Cornwall (2002) theory of participation is used because it indicates that power and differences among the people may allow or limit meaningful participation. This is due to participatory spaces gathering people from different backgrounds and with different identities. This theory is used to examine created spaces by NUCAFE and how they have helped smallholder farmers participate in national coffee policy development. More discussion on concepts follows below.

2.3 Empowerment

According to Kabeer (2001) empowerment is “the expansion of people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where that ability was previously denied from them”. Arnstein (1969: 216) asserts that “There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the processes. Therefore, participation is strongly correlated with empowerment, Vogt and Murrell (1990) defines empowerment as a means to permit and can be regarded as both self-initiated and initiated by others, also they define it as a way of constructing and accumulating power coming from cooperation, sharing and working together.

Kapiriri et al. (2003) cited in Hawe and Shiell (2000) and says that empowerment is defined to demonstrate actions enhancing participation to gain control over something. These authors state that this claims to progress eminence of life and effects social fairness. According to Mohanty (1995) empowerment is situated in development and democratic discourse, it calls for a full participation of citizens in all stages of making decisions concerning their societies.

Conversely, Kapiriri et al (2003) elaborates that there is both organisational and individual empowerment; the later provides people with skills of decision making to manage and decide on their own affairs. But the formal institution requirement rocks the marginalised at the receiving end than being active (Mohanty 1995). Nevertheless the more the citizens are empowered the more they participate. According to Hickey and Mohan (2005), participation is tagged as an empowering intervention, on the other hand empowerment as a concept denotes formal than substantive power. Thus the marginalised find it difficult to seize power rather it becomes top-level granted and this constrains community citizens to negotiate for desired outcomes during policy development.

2.4 Producer organisations

Situating small holder farmers in their local organisation in this paper is treated to demonstrate how farmers worked out common interests during their participation in the coffee policy development. In order to clearly specify their need and cause of action, associativity seems to be the underlying strategy. In this paper the concept of producer organization is defined and linked to participation in policy making. According to Hussein (2001) organizations are central in bringing communities together to obtain

capabilities and draw strategic plans to participate in key decision making processes. This author defines producer organizations as voluntary membership institutions engaged mainly in primary production and other activities for example policy advocacy to voice mutual interests but work in partnership with other stakeholders. However available structures for participation have placed them in lower positions of power directly constraining their capacity and space to negotiate.

Furthermore, Hussein (2001) suggests that in order for farmers to advance their interests, they need to be organized and this is where they are able to gain collective democracy on issues that affect them. According to Agriterra (2014: 3), government agencies tend to listen to large investors when tested in real negotiations which raise a question on whose interests are incorporated between these investors and local organisations. But on the contrary, Wedig (n.d) says that producer organisation structures help the disadvantaged members like small farmers to better forward their interests and thus block elite domination.

Moreover, Hussein (2001) emphasises that strong roots both economically and socially is key in gaining a solid voice. It is evident that small farmers in the coffee value chain operates at the lowest node and their influence might be challenged intensely, therefore farmer organizations are crucial in prompting policy construction and help inclusion of the marginalized group interests like small farmers (Hussein 2001). Hussein (2001) infers that government might not always be positive on marginalised peoples' actions; there could be eminent threat of politicization of these institutions and inequity on power relationships thus bringing about complex situations. In this dilemma, specific attention will be put on the impact of farmers' participation through their local organisations which is argued to be nearer to the small farmers' community. Hussein (2001) emphasises that producer organizations may manage to break through using the 'social networks as a political resource' thus improving their economic position. To this therefore, taking it from the organisation perspective could affirm farmers' participation levels in the policy development process. However do the local organisation participants have the needed capacity to manoeuvre in this participation paradox?

2.5 Capacity

Capacity concept is used to analyse smallholder farmer participation in policy development in this paper. The focus is placed on their capacity to negotiate, it has not been easy to locate a concrete definition and practice of capacity as a concept in international development. It is regarded 'puzzling and confusing' (Morgan 2006: 3). It is indicated that analysts and experts see this mainly as a human resource skill's need gauged through individual levels ability to perform. Therefore, Morgan (2006: 7-8) defines capacity to mean abilities of a system to create value. It is through a combination of different characteristics to facilitate the system, bring value and establish linkages for sustainability.

For Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013), defines capacity as the aptitude to achieve set goals and solve problems, this is achieved through collective engagement in which human capabilities are weaved to create a strong force. It is further stated that it is not only the individual skills but what happens between them, organisations and eminent networks which make up the social capital (Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, Lopes, Carlos (eds.) 2013). Conversely for Grindle and Hilderbrand (1995), capacity is the capability to execute relevant jobs successfully for future significant outcomes. This explains the importance of capacity in any institution, according to Grindle and Hilderbrand (1995: 441) "performance is judged upon elevated skills of individuals transferred through

training”. Acquisition of these capabilities should be used practically for a better transformation.

Grindle and Hilderbrand (1995) argues that capacity initiatives concentrate on building human and organisation skills which assume to address performance challenges, however they do not operate in a vacuum and thus the environmental context in which they are embedded could constrain initiatives. These authors further states that, it is thus imperative to develop sustainable systems, increase personnel incentives and control measures. Conversely to Morgan (2006), capacity should be taken as a means and an end to development initiatives; therefore in this paper capacity will be located as a means to facilitate smallholder farmers’ participation in the development of the coffee policy.

Three levels of capacity developed by Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) are used to examine farmers’ capacity. First at individual level, continuous learning and building of skills to engage new opportunities is embedded in this concept, secondly at institution level gauging taking up new initiatives and institutional capacity in terms of qualified human resources and tasks scheduling to achieve an objective and lastly at the societal level, creating an environment for members to utilise their skills and come-up with opportunities, the mutual interdependence of these levels is said to produce more better results.

Additionally to Morgan (2006), capacity involves five characteristics and the selected main ones are empowerment and identity, for capacity to blossom an organisation should have elements allowing it to expand and be sustainable, but this requires the institution to have power, control and space on top of the collective ability to even out different attributes in order to perform and solve problems (Morgan 2006). Therefore there is need to exercise the skills of built capacity in the participation process.

2.6 Policy making

Policy making as a process would be assumed to be engineered from the top most level of government authority as a prerequisite for acceptance and legitimacy at the bottom level. But the meanings and theory behind policy would be complicated to be compared to what happens practically in realty. Policy as a concept is seen to be tagged to various meanings and descriptions, which leaves the concept with contested approaches. According to Colebatch (1998), a policy is defined as a declaration of pledges and engagements for the government’s plan in the future and it is a directive of a state on day to day activities to solve issues. This portrays policy coming from the state mandate and silent on private entities. In this paper influencing policy from implementer’s perspective would be used to criticise the rhetoric of top-down frameworks.

Wuyts et al. (1992) defines policy as a resolution by the state or other private organizations with a public intent aimed at addressing a wider objective. On the coherence attribute, Colebatch (1998) argues that even though there are different actors, the process remains authoritarian; ‘pulling and hauling’ is the order of the day. The author affirms that each stakeholder strive to push for their interests. Also for Keeley (2001) a policy process is a way of incorporating concerns but with a public sphere. Therefore attaining a policy that incorporates all anticipated interests of stakeholders and in this case a small holder farmer’s focus would be argued to challenge participation at local levels. Also their lower position of influence would be attributed to the failure to advance their interest in the national document.

According to Wuyts et al. (1992), policy making is a functioning of public involvement which emanates from state institutions conflicting in the spheres of people participation. These authors contend that there seems to be a ‘Central Nervous System’ demonstrating a hierarchical framework for a top down instructive activity. This

demonstrates that government is placed at the fore front of decision making in policy processes, Keeley (2001) cautions that the policy making process is political and queried. Colebatch (1998) as cited in (Dye 1985) says that, in policy making the government chooses what to do or not to do. But to the contrary, Wuyts et al. (1992) states that not all statements from public organizations are policies, interactions with other organizations make public policies.

For small holder farmers to push their issues through multi-actor decision making, they need to be well informed and grounded on influencing the desired change. According to Colebatch (2006), "Knowledge, information and data plays a critical role in policy development, it provides an evidence base for understanding issues and trends in policy development". Policy making concept is used here with a meaning of state directive, multi actor interactive and interest based.

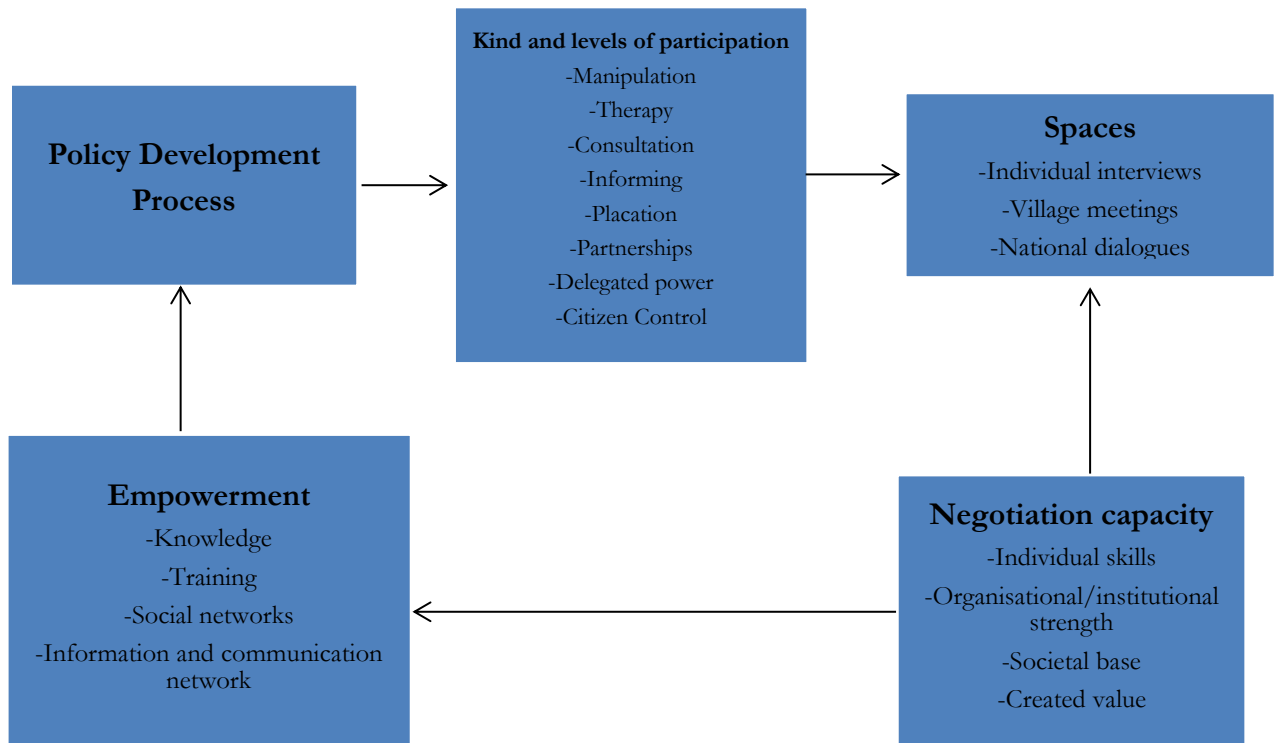
2.7 Participatory processes a better means or a paradox

Based on the above discussion, this paper establishes that there were both pull and push factors that were important for smallholder farmer participation in the coffee policy development. Pull factors enabled participation for example created spaces and push factors hindered participation like low levels of education and gender disparity among others. The framework below is used to assess the kinds and levels of participation using created spaces, negotiation capacity and empowerment. This is based on the work of Arnstein (1969) 8 typologies, Fukuda-Paar 2013 and Frits 2001. Participation is coined using the created spaces at national and local levels, the assumption is that participation is conditioned to occur when participants are empowered and have the capacity to negotiate.

Connecting this to Cornwall (2002) theory of participation, issues of power and differences are seen to result into allowing or limiting participation. The negotiation capacity is used here to mean abilities to create value and this occurs when different skills are combined to facilitate value creation and establish linkages (Morgan 2006: 7-8) and these are individual, organisational and societal linkages.

Empowerment is used to exhibit actions enhancing participation to gain control over something (Kapiriri et al. 2003). This is suggested to be premised in having the knowledge, information and networks to strengthen the actions. This paper argues that for meaningful participation to be achieved for smallholder farmers it should be entrenched in empowered individuals with capacity and this is informed through better quality of opportunity to participate in policy development.

Figure 1: Analytical framework



Source: Own construction adapted from Arnstein (1969), Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) and Frits (2001)

In the figure, policy development process is examined using the kinds and levels of participation in the created spaces. And this is suggested to occur when participants have negotiating capacity and are empowered, which is observed in the policy development process.

2.8 Hypothesis

Participation of the local participants like smallholder farmers in this case in policy making depends on their empowerment to influence change, capacity to negotiate and knowledge contribution. Without empowerment and improved capacity to acquire the necessary knowledge, participation of these citizens would not be transformative. This is based on their level of organisation and representation, empowerment to craft positions to voice their needs and negotiation skills to effect desired change.

Chapter three: The study case

3.0 Introduction

An overview of Masaka district profile is presented here and the status on coffee issues. Information on Kyanamukaka and Kabonera selected villages is given, a brief on the past coffee policies is presented and implementation of NUCAFE programs in Masaka, advantages and challenges are explained.

3.1 Masaka District

This district is located in central Uganda, with about 37 kilometres from the equator. It is bordered by Kalungu District to the north, Kalangala District to the east and south and Lwengo District to the west. It is the second biggest town in Uganda but was destroyed by liberation war of 1979 and again in the 1981-1986. According to Masaka (2013) the district consists of 176,882 households from which 131,565 are agricultural households.

Despite coffee being a major cash crop in the area it has suffered due to drought and wilt disease that wiped out gardens in the early 1990's. But the industry was revived in the recent years with coffee re-emerging as the single most vital cash crop for most households (Masaka District 2013). In the study, it was identified that funds accrued from coffee sales are mainly used for educating children and other major investments. This is in line with Sayer (2002) who states that for many people in Uganda, it is the funds from coffee that paid for their education. From the key respondents, Masaka's coffee production was stated to be persistent peasant agriculture type of farming that can only sustain daily lives of farmers without tangible business investments.

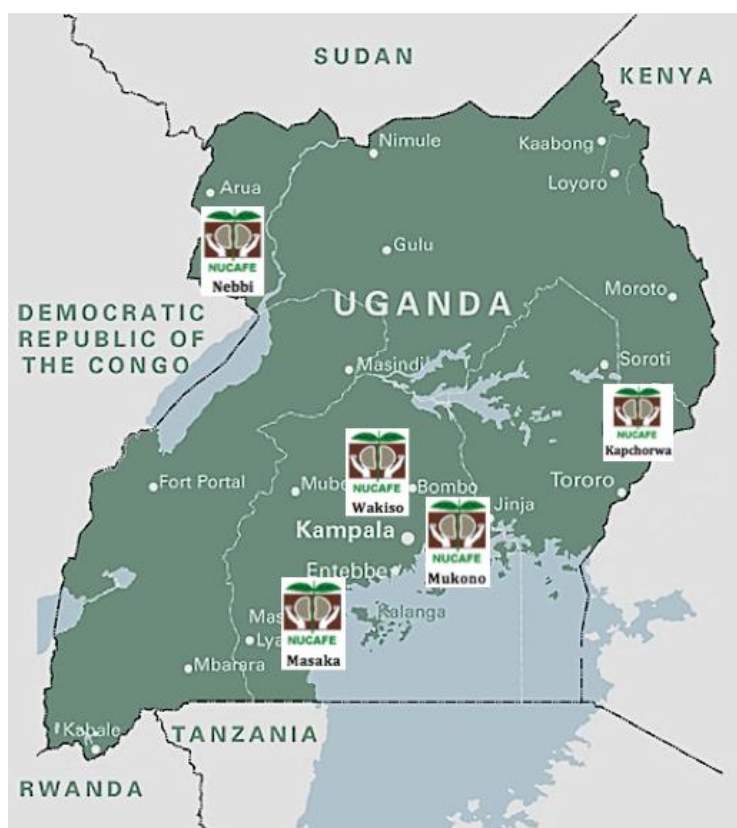
3.1.1 Sample Sub Counties

Two villages of Kyanamukaka and Kabonera were selected from the list of 40 villages that have implemented NUCAFE program in Masaka district. Chosen sub-counties were nearer to each other and had the needed characteristics. To save on connection time, Kyanamukaka and Kabonera were specifically included, also because they are high Robusta coffee growing sub-countries in Uganda (Uganda Coffee Development Authority (2012)

Kabonera Sub County is located 12 kilometres from Masaka town and 2 kilometres off Masaka - Kyotera Road. It is easily accessible due to its location. Immediately after the inception of NUCAFE, it was one of the first places to be sensitized and thus formed initial groups. The association provides small holder farmers with services such as training, microcredit solutions and market linkages. This was explained to bring benefits to farmers in terms of reducing the exploitation by middlemen and enhance household incomes (Personal Communication, July 2014). Also there was an implementation of gender equity program that was applauded to improve the working relations of men and women within households based on the notion that coffee belongs to men.

Secondly, Kyanamukaka associated is also situated along Masaka-Kyotera road with 30 km from Masaka town. These sub counties were used as sample villages to represent other villages that implements NUCAFE programmes. Coffee over the years topped as the major export revenue contributor from districts like Masaka and this was observed during interactions with the farmers, they were priding themselves as leading coffee producers. It was further discovered that Coffee's leading role in the national economy has made it a major contributor to the livelihoods of these rural communities.

Map 1: The Map of Uganda to show the location of Masaka coffee hub



Source: Willem Paulus (2013)

3.2 Implementation of NUCAFE Programmes in Masaka

NUCAFE is a coffee farmers' organization in Uganda, it was established in 1995 with a name of Uganda Coffee Farmers Association (UCFA) but changed name to NUCAFE in 2003. This was based on members' needs as a result of an assessment (Personal communication, June 2014). The organization's vision states that "Coffee farmers profitably own their coffee along the value chain for sustainable livelihoods and customer satisfaction leading to societal transformation" (National Union of Coffee Agribusinesses & Farm Enterprises (2012). The organization delivers different services to farmers namely, membership development, entrepreneurship services, market linkage and advocacy under which the coffee policy development was lobbied.

NUCAFE uses the Farmer Ownership Model (FOM)⁵ that was said to transform the organization services to be farmer centered (Personal communication, June 2014). Its operation is based on the farmer group-association framework designed to support coffee farmers to organize themselves to assume as many roles as possible in the coffee value chain to increase their market value share. This model builds the capacities of farmers to remain in charge of their own affairs and be responsible for their own actions

⁵ The Farmer Ownership Model is used by NUCAFE as a training and sensitisation model to enable farmers progress along the coffee value chain, also see <http://www.nucae.org/index.php/about-nucae/our-model>

but work in partnership with other stakeholders as facilitators (Personal communication, July 2014)

As a result, this was established to bring about empowerment of the small farmers to elevate the peasant positioning in the coffee value chain. The Model was explained to stress the way farmers are organized to obtain a common voice for advocacy, there is a systematic application of knowledge to the coffee value chain network and innovative business practices (J. Nkandu, personal communication, 15 July 2014). To this therefore, NUCAFE members were mobilized under the advocacy service function to lobby for the development of the coffee policy.

3.3 The past coffee policies

Initially, the coffee sector was governed by the State, it was a sole decision maker on issues concerning coffee trade and operations in Uganda. But after the trade liberalisation in 1990, change was made as part of the structural adjustment program to neutralise government monopoly, the state Coffee Marketing Board stopped governing singly. The sector was opened to private sector participation, the coffee Marketing Board Ltd was established and it assumed trading and processing functions. Another agency the Uganda Coffee Development Authority (UCDA) was tasked with the roles of monitoring, regulating the industry and advising the government on policy issues.

The Uganda coffee regulations of 1994 were used to guide the coffee industry operations, "Government policy on the coffee subsector was contained in various documents and implemented by different institutions, the National Coffee Policy has brought together several issues affecting the subsector into one document"(Uganda Coffee Development Authority (2012). This shows one of the key reasons for developing the coffee policy

3.4 Advantages and challenges of delivering NUCAFE services in Masaka

Based on the discussions with smallholder farmers in the community and NUCAFE officials, a significant registered success in terms of service delivery was observed. These have resulted into advantages and challenges were also identified to affect NUCAFE programmes in Masaka District. On the advantages, NUCAFE appeared to be of high significance in improving the participation of smallholder farmers in this case. This relates well with Guijt (1998) argument that policies led by farmers increase their participation, empowers them and develops their capacity and skills to understand their needs. This kind of participation is said to be empowering and marginalised communities get an opportunity to influence their issues (Guijt 1998).

Nonetheless, farmers initiating the coffee policy making process seemed to bring benefits of the policy outcomes closer to small holder farmers, but the extent of local level participation is questionable in terms of incorporating their wishes. According to Awortwi (1999) involving marginalised communities requires activeness, also it's not only about their engagement but building capabilities to retain ownership of the development outcomes which might reduce dependency and stimulate self-reliance.

This could be seen to gradually enhance empowerment of smallholder farmers hence improving their participation levels in policy development. Moreover, smallholder farmers interviewed in villages admitted that NUCAFE activities steer participation and mostly through leadership representation, these later share with members and in the process get empowered to negotiate and influence policy change. It has also empowered community members because it provides an opportunity for people to choose what is most beneficial to them.

Generally, there seemed to be an agreement among the farmers that participation is an important factor because their voices would be heard. The justification for this argument thus runs, farmers are dependent on coffee as their business and since they involve the critical mass, therefore participation is seen not to be real without their inclusion. Findings from key respondents emphasised that participation of small holder farmers was rooted in leadership representation and this had a bearing on the governance structures.

Despite the encountered advantages of NUCAFE programs in the district, some challenges were established. Examples are gender disparities, culture, levels of education, leadership problems and the wider economic problems in Uganda. Group discussions discovered that less capacity to negotiate and inadequate power were seen to be limiting participation, it was learnt that farmers' consultations were not appropriately conducted because there were a few dialogues organised due to lack of resources. This limited space for small holder farmers to participate and this could be a hindrance to their issues inclusion in the policy document.

Additionally, from the responses of NUCAFE officials from national level point of view these were the identified challenges to small holder farmer participation in the coffee policy development processes:

- Unwillingness/ unavailability of leaders to support awareness raising and mass mobilisation especially on the importance of community participation in this process. Local government involvement was minimal in steering local community participation
- Women are not active participants in local meetings and this was due to family responsibilities.
- Space was provided mostly at national level but government intervention was minimal in terms of reaching out to the most marginalised communities of farmers. This created a gap during negotiations because these categories of farmers were involved in a few meetings; also at national level disagreements were observed with other stakeholders who held different interests.
- Unreliable communication flow especially among the coffee stakeholders. There was lack of information dissemination on the steps of policy development from the state, this inhibited NUCAFE timely engaging its members

This chapter concludes that NUCAFE rules and procedures have demonstrated creation of the participatory spaces which gave opportunity for the smallholder to participate in policy development processes. If that chance can well be utilised, small farmers will better interact with other community members to expand their knowledge in policy making. Furthermore, if well implemented, NUCAFE activities will increase smallholder farmer participation in coffee policy development. Nevertheless, gender differences, illiteracy, inadequate created space at the local level, and other socio-cultural factors could hinder meaningful participation of smallholder farmers. According to Nelson and Wright (1995) participating in a policy project for example might result in fulfilling the objectives effectually but not bringing about a dependable sustainable structure to benefit those who feel marginalised. Additional arguments will be done in analysis part in chapter four and five.

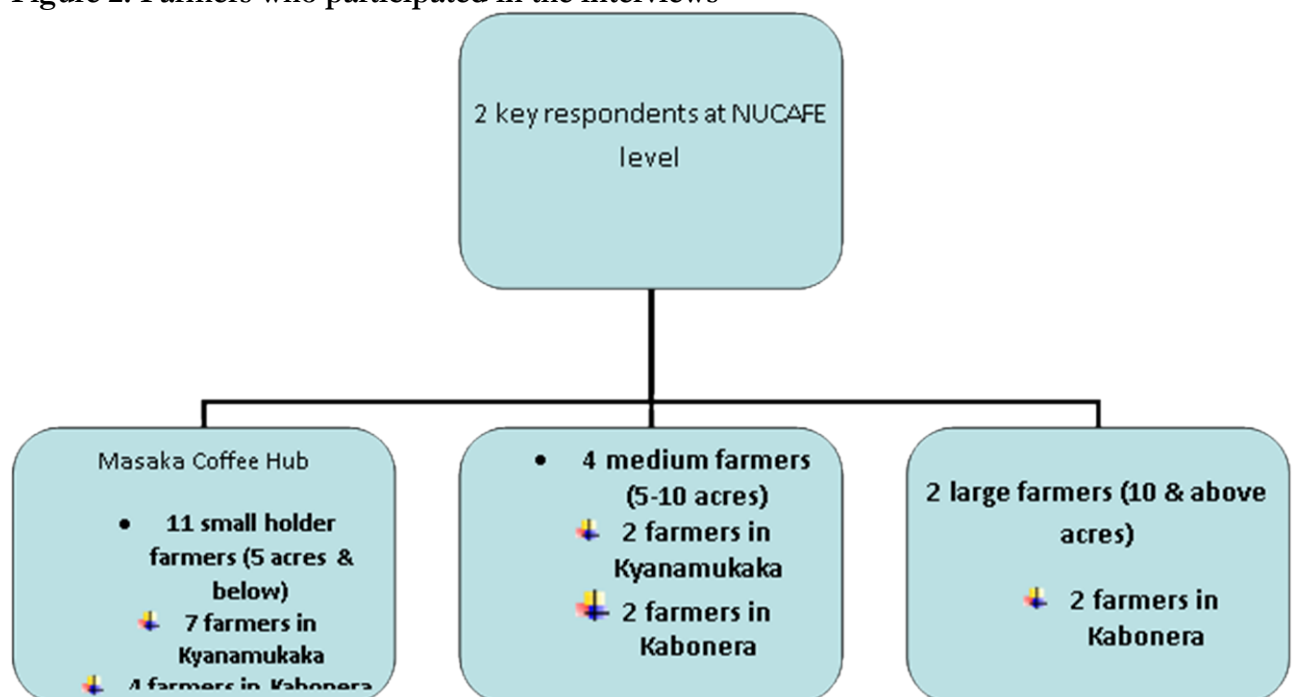
Chapter Four: The farmers participation

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is presented in sections, first, the profile discussion of the farmer participants, and second, the process of participation at Masaka Coffee hub and lastly mapping of the different actors interest and power in the participation process is done, also examining farmers positioning in terms of participation as per Arnstein (1969) typology is done.

4.1 Farmer participants in the study

Figure 2: Farmers who participated in the interviews



Choosing participants was done purposively, the disparity in numbers occurred during the selection because effort was geared towards getting the smallest and poorest farmers. This resulted into interviewing more small farmers from Kyanamukaka CFA and all large coming from Kabonera CFA. This captured the issue of relevance to get rich information rather than representation in terms of the categorisation. From the 17 farmer interviewees, only 5 women participated and this was due to unwillingness to participate and they gave reasons like inadequate information and knowledge.

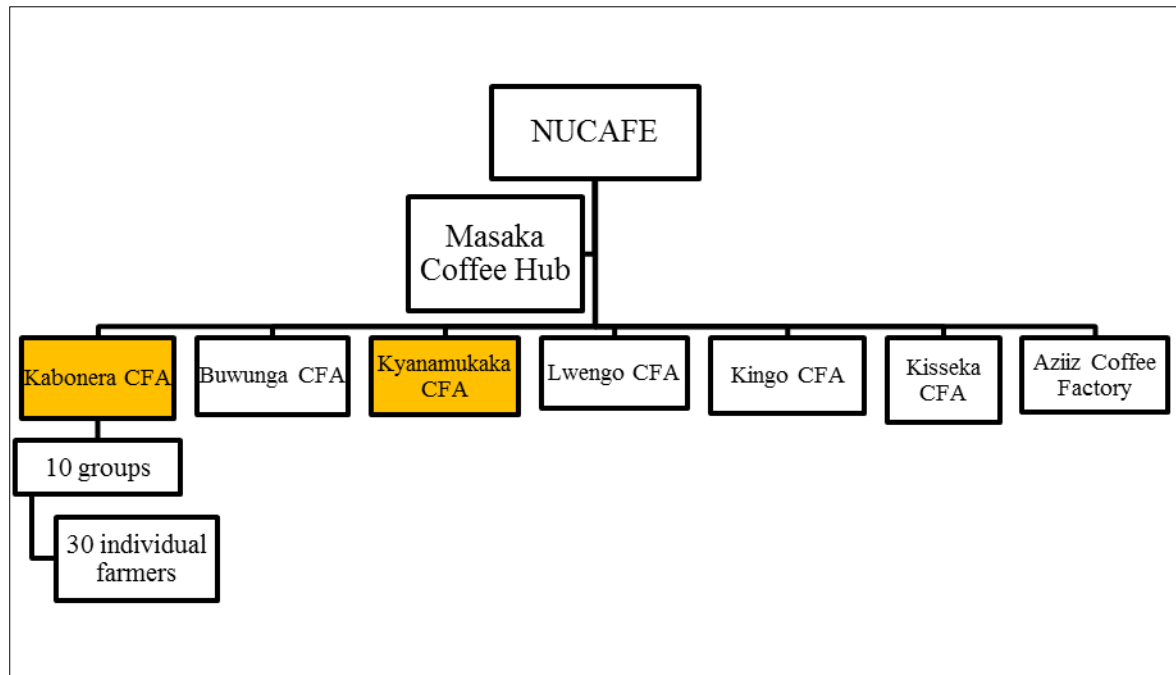
Table 2: Demographic information of the study participants

No	Participant	Age	Sex	Level of Education	Farmers Association	No of acres	Income estimate per season	Land ownership
Farmers								
1	Micheal J. Ssali	65	M	Graduate	Kabonera	7	11 Million	Title
2	Kasendwa Nathan	55	M	Diploma	Kyanamukaka	3	3 Million	Title
3	Ssenyonyi Ponsiano	52	M	Secondary	Kyanamukaaka	4	4.5 Million	Agreement
4	Nabbona Margret	45	F	Primary	Kyanamukaaka	3	Not sure	Agreement
5	Lubogo Ibulayimu	33	M	Secondary	Kyanamukaaka	2	2 Million	Agreement
6	Jjingo Micheal	55	M	Primary	Kyanamukaka	4	7 Million	Agreement
7	Kivumbi Dalausi	42	M	Primary	Kyanamukaaka	3	5 Million	Agreement
8	Nalwadda Goreth	46	F	Secondary	Kyanamukaka	3	400,000	Agreement
9	Ziwa laden Mbalangu	71	M	Graduate	Kyanamukaaka	6	4 Million	Title
10	Kakooza Hassan	32	M	Diploma	Kabonera	5	8 Million	Title
11	Kagwogwe Eliab	30	M	Secondary	Kabonera	2	2 Million	Agreement
12	Kiwanuka Joseph	31	M	Diploma	Kabonera	5	5 Million	Agreement
13	Ddamulira Mayanja	28	M	Secondary	Kabonera	3.5	6 Million	Title
14	Sauda Kakooza	27	F	Secondary	Kabonera	5	8 Million	Title
15	Irene Namutanda	31	F	Secondary	None	1.5	1 Million	Title
16	Muluya Phillip	34	M	Diploma	Kabonera	10	10 Million	Agreement
17	Mugwanya Nusiat	32	F	Secondary	Kabonera	10	Not sure	Title
Key respondents								
18	Joseph Nkandu	37	M	Masters	NUCAFE			
19	David Muwonge	35	M	Graduate	NUCAFE			

The 19 study participants gave their personal details as presented above. The information includes age, sex, level of education, association name, acreage, income estimated per season and the nature of land ownership. It was observed that most of the study participants were from three distinct organisations; Kyanamukaka Coffee Farmers' Association, Kabonera CFA and NUCAFE which is the national organisation to which the first two subscribe, one participant did not belong to a group. The demographic information helped on analysing the nature of famers' interviewed, that is whether small or not and this helped on examining their participation levels.

4.2 The process of spaces

Figure 3: Governance/participation structure



Source: Own construction

The participation process indicates that member farmers are represented by leaders selected at group, association and NUCAFE levels. Under the two associations studied shaded yellow, they consist of 600 individual members, they were found to be represented mostly by leaders elected democratically during the Annual General Meeting. Each association has a committee of 7 members headed by a chairperson, automatically the chair represents the association at the hub and on NUCAFE board representation is through a region representative selected during the General Assembly. At hub level, a manager is responsible for managing the day to day affairs of the hub working together with one field officer, these are staff appointed by the farmer members and reporting to NUCAFE.

4.2.1 Farmers participation and meeting outcomes

Among the 600 members in the hub, about 20 participants from Masaka hub represented farmers in the national dialogues. The National space is considered to be where most negotiations take place. On average 3 participants from each association participated and these mostly held a leadership position, it is concluded here that on average about 70% of participation is by leaders and 30% for farmer members. This is in line with what Hickey and Mohan (2004: 19) said that local communities highly entrust representatives as power holders to protect their interests for fear of being captured by the elite. Drawing from the findings, invitations were sent through hubs to associations who chose amongst themselves representatives but participant needed to pay their transport. Most of the respondents affirmed that during the selection of who to participate in the policy meetings, farmer leaders were the first to be considered. This conclusion is based on the leaders' tendency to dominate in the discussions and this was observed during the Focus

Group Discussion (FGD), also they demonstrated knowledge of the policy issues compared to the others.

This study argues that these were not appropriate participants to represent smallholder farmers, therefore the target participants is seen to miss the point of smallholder farmers' inclusion. From expressions of the interviewees, it was clear that a few of the participants from the local level contributed in the meetings. One particular respondent said,

"There is an issue of fear among the farmers to talk in such big gatherings, more so the use of English language challenged us to respond" (personal communication, July 2014).

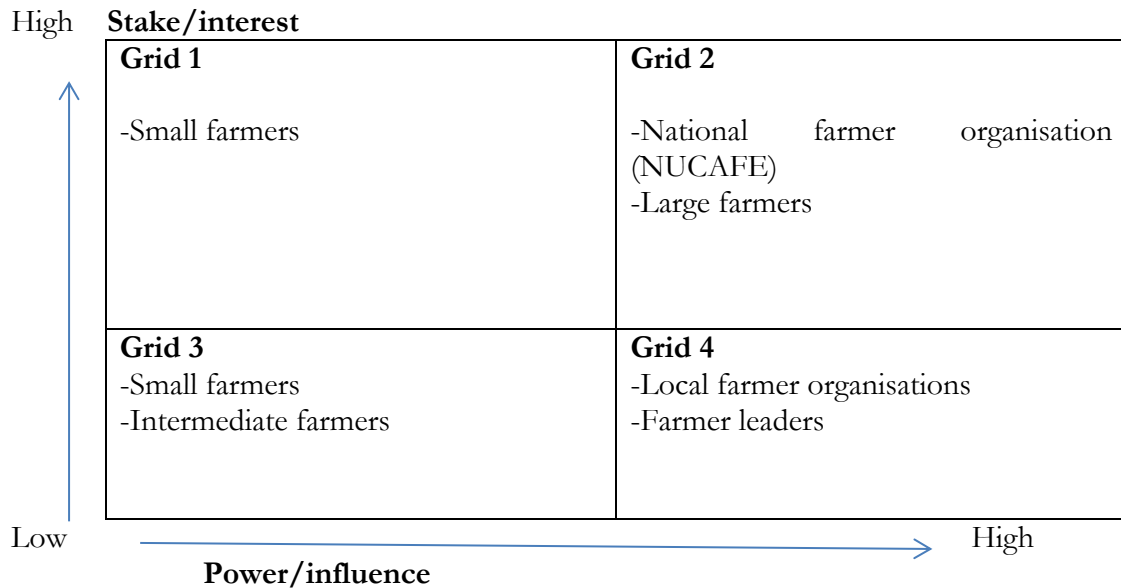
Probing further on the real participation in terms of the outcomes of the meetings, it is showed that the local level consultations generated the issues paper which was the basis of the coffee policy draft development. One NUCAFE official said that,

"After the consultation process, an issues paper was developed which informed the process of the first drafted coffee policy. NUCAFE played a role in the policy reviews to safe guard farmer issues, ensuring farmers' representation at the state authority board, this helped to remind policy makers on what farmers needed to see in the policy" (personal communication, July 2014).

The above discussion demonstrates smallholder farmers' issues were at the centre of the draft policy development emanating from local consultations. However the negotiations for issues refining and inclusion happened at the national level, here other actors are present in the meetings. This explains the identified difference in issues articulation in local level meetings and national dialogues, power disparities were also observed. This is in line with Arnstein (1969: 216) argument that "Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless" One smallholder farmer participant confessed that he attended a controversial meeting in the capital in which a section of farmers moved out because some key issues had been neglected. This paper contends that vulnerable participants' issues stand a high chance of either disappearing or getting mixed up in the negotiation process.

4.2.2 Analysis of farmers' participation

Figure 4: Locating different farmer category participation using the power and interest grid



Source: Bryson (2004: 30) cited in Eden and Ackermann (1998)

According to Chambers (2007: 23) "Participation goes with changing power relations, behaviours and sharing", top level participants are expected to give power to community members to take the lead and share roles. To the contrary the figure above illustrates otherwise, it shows stake/interest and power/influence to participate in the coffee policy development. The vertical axis indicates the level of interest/stake for actors and horizontal axis shows power/influence. From the findings it was discovered that a set of small farmers about 70% had high interest, however their level of power and influence was very low, for example their education levels affected engagement in meaningful discussions and therefore affected the participation levels, this positions them in grid 1. Grid 2 depicted those categories with high power and interest in participation, the national organisation NUCAFE and large farmers' findings exhibited their big stake in this. Other small farmers are placed in Grid 3 were about 30% farmers revealed giving up participation because they were not convinced of immediate results solving their problems.

Also the intermediate farmers dropped in 3, this conclusion was made based on their low interest and not seeing the benefit of participation, their attitude showed that they were interested more in concentrating on doing business better and not concerned about the business environment. The local farmer organisations and farmer leaders in Grid 4 exhibited power and influence to participate, they controlled the critical mass of people and also leaders had a take in mobilising and motivating members for participation to occur. But the low levels of interest/stake is explained by the findings on how they were organised to actively engage members and feed into the national level efforts to cause policy change, most negotiation forums happened at the national level and the local meetings had minimal influencing factors, therefore this could have constrained further what is regarded to be a bottom up process of coffee policy development.

4.2.3 Analysis and positioning of farmers' participation in Arnstein (1969) typology

This typology is used in the context of different categories of farmers namely small, intermediate and large, analysis is done based on the findings. The interpretation of Arnstein (1969) typology is in line with its application on the case. Drawing from the conceptual discussion in chapter 2, indicators were selected and explained to be used in locating farmers' participation. High degree of participation shows good performance of a particular typology and lower degree of participation will demonstrate low performance.

- On manipulation, small holder farmers faced minimal discontent because their issues were headed through representation and respondents said they were partially satisfied.
- In consultations there were created spaces and no restriction of ideas but to an extent, the smallholder farmers' representation in these spaces was not a guarantee that they contributed during meetings. Nonetheless, this is interpreted to result in high degree of participation.
- Informing indicated lower degree of participation because less time was allocated for farmers' discussions at national meetings and few local dialogues were organised; additionally structures for information flow were more from top to bottom.
- Partnerships typology is interpreted to demonstrate lower degree of participation because small farmers had less power and participation was claimed for rather being a natural process, for instance the mode of invitation did not favour their inclusion and if so the negotiations limited their full engagement for example use of English languages was among the limiting factors.
- Citizen control demonstrates lower degree of participation because it was established that small holder farmers demanded for power and their position in the coffee chain affected their independence to gain control.
- Placation and delegated power typologies depicted lower degrees of participation, despite the presence of structures for farmers to select their own leaders, it was observed that those who were already empowered and had big farm land automatically assumed positions of leadership, held a direct ticket to participate thereby limiting smallholder farmers' participation levels.

In sum, comparing the small holder farmers' positioning in these typologies with the large farmers who proved high degrees of participation showed involvement targeted and biased to them. This paper therefore, argues that small holder farmers were at a disadvantage throughout the participation process, we learn that in order to stimulate their participation, categorisation of farmers and holding independent consultations to tap issues especially for the small participants might lessen domination of the large actors.

Chapter five: The paradox of participation

5.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the participation process in terms of which farmers participated, why, how and why others did not to reflect levels and kinds of participation. Also an examination of whose interests were represented is done. Indicators developed to measure empowerment and negotiation capacity of the farmers are illustrated. Discussions are supported by extracts from the study participant's stories.

5.1 How and why farmers participated

Drawing from the findings, farmers' consultations steered participation and triggered issues incorporation. National dialogues, local meetings and sampled farmer individual interviews were key strategies used for participation. This created spaces for farmers to identify their problems and to decide on priority issues to be addressed in the national coffee policy. This demonstrates societal networks resulting into social capital as stated by Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) that this is important to enhance negotiation capacity and these networks according to Frits (2001: 9) are important elements of empowerment. In a group discussion, one participant narrated that;

"I did not participate in national meetings but benefited in the local level dialogues, I was among the selected members to go for national meetings but I had another activity" (Personal communication, July 2014). This showed that spaces for farmers to discuss their needs were created at all levels which facilitated networking and this pertinent for participation to occur.

Interviews with the farmer leaders at the national level confirmed that invitations were sent to every coffee growing region and the communications were done through use of short text messages and radio. It was done to encourage farmers' participation. One farmer leader confessed that;

"At least farmers from all coffee growing regions were represented during discussions on issues that farmers faced. The issues paper was developed from farmers consultations though it was difficult to state the extent of farmer's knowledge contribution into the policy development" (Personal communication, July 2014).

From the above statement, participation of farmers by representation is reflected, also it was further stated during the interviews that the policy covered 90% of the farmers issues advanced in the policy document. It is concluded here that this was more through national level representation rather than more from the local farmers. To the contrary Bishop and Davis (2002: 14) argue that people should be given an opportunity to speak for themselves because many times there is mistrust of representation. On the other hand, there was no doubt that the smallholder farmers had enough knowledge about coffee issues and this was established to be substantial in the development of the coffee policy. But locating their knowledge in terms of the negotiation capacity to speak confidently in meetings and show emphasis of their problems was a challenge. This shows limitation on their capacity to trigger issues incorporation. Moreover, smallholder farmers' inadequate empowerment was an inhibiting factor for them to pursue their advances and this is in line with what Cornwall (2002: 3) theory asserts that power differences may limit or allow participation and in this case it demonstrated limited inclusion.

Furthermore, those who were given full participation were well equipped with knowledge and had a greater contribution towards policy development. And this is not in

line with what Bishop and Davis (2002: 18) defines as full participation, the writer defines participation as emanating from practical allocation of power from the state to its citizens. For example, one small holder farmer respondent, who participated in most of the coffee policy dialogues organised at the national farmers' level, explained well what the details of the meetings were, what the farmers needed to see in the developed coffee policy. He also participated in a meeting in which the policy was discussed lacking some of the farmers issues presented initially, he participated in another meeting in which farmers discussed controversial issues. This proved farmers putting pressure on policy makers to consider their issues and the process showed what Colebatch (1998) termed as the pulling and hauling of policy development.

From observation and responses, the above farmer is an independent actor who was interested in the coffee policy meetings, he mentioned facilitating himself to attend some of the meetings organised at national level. He was equipped with information about the meetings, what they talked about in general terms but not so eloquent in explaining the meeting details. A few individuals with such privilege were at an advantage to participate, this could affect the smallholder farmer organisation negotiation capacity hence affecting issues inclusion. Morgan (2006: 7) asserts a combination of individual capabilities is key for systems to create value but in the case a few individuals had the capability, the author emphasises this would be seen to stimulate significant results obtained from full participation.

Age was also another determinant for farmers' participation; this was depicted among the study participants who ranged from thirty to seventy-two years though it was found out that many of them were in their thirties. According to the interviews, it was realised that the older they were, the ability they had to hold a leadership position and participated in the coffee policy dialogues. It was also realised that the elderly participants had much more information on coffee farming than the younger ones. It was common in the study area that most of the youth shunned agriculture and migrated to the city for white collar jobs. One of the study participants revealed that he had a son who has who finished his school but refused to come back to help him in the farm during the coffee season. The age determined the level of participation and capacity to negotiate was also more enhanced. This demonstrates the negotiation capacity of the elder participants due to trainings and experience acquired.

Participation was also realised through leadership representation, this was seen from the leaders interviewed because they easily articulated the issues in the policy document. Also those who were chosen as respondents and who participated in the coffee policy meetings revealed their motivation coming from their leadership mandate and had a better understanding of the results expected. The coffee growing regions were represented by a board member at the National level responsible for consolidating issues and presenting them during board meetings. This demonstrated a high level of participation and showed more knowledge contribution to the policy document. It is argued that the marginalised participants are empowered through quality representation by people with capacity (Frits 2001), therefore this is seen to enhance the negotiation capacity of small farmers. This was observed by the researcher during the interviews and interactions with respondents. In an interview, one respondent commented that:

“Coffee farmers from all coffee growing districts were invited to participate in the coffee policy dialogues. This allowed farmers to interact with policy makers especially at the national level where a farmer's convention was organised in 2008 and 2013. Prior the event, research was carried out by an expert to document coffee sector policy issues and this was used as evidence to back up the negotiation process with the government. The expert met with selected farmers and leaders, an issues document was prepared after. The document consisted of farmers' views on the policy; on addition farmers discussions

were slotted during the convention and this provided them an opportunity to present their issues” (Personal communication, July 2014).

Furthermore, literacy levels was also an essential aspect in the demographic information of the participants, highly educated respondents showed capacity through explaining coffee policy issues. All the participants that were interviewed had some formal education. About 88% of the interviewed respondents indicated that they had received minimal formal education as elaborated in table 1 with 54% of the study participants having attended school at primary education level. This emanated the dominance of the elites and these mostly belonged to the large farm category, they have different interests in comparison to the small holder farmers. Here the elites may end up fronting their own interests thus neglecting those of small holders. Examining the individual negotiation capacity of smallholder farmers, this then becomes a limitation to participate, where as in order to create value at societal level, Morgan (2006: 7) suggests individual activeness to enhance participation.

However, local elites with an advantage of education and language seem to assume power over others and are now better capable of clinching business deals with the government. This study concludes from the above analysis that, there were promising levels of participation from smallholder farmers in the development of national coffee policy through representation. However the capacity of small holder farmers to trigger their issues incorporation was less, clearly from the national leader’s opinions, it was indicated that the farmers’ opinions were of great importance towards the development of the policy, but the challenge was in the lack of their meaning full participation in negotiations and this impacted on the knowledge contribution.

5.2 Reasons for not participating

Low levels of education in the study were observed among the smallholder farmers and this affected their capacity to negotiate for issues inclusion. It greatly affected the organisation performance and thus lessened the value created by smallholder farmers in the process. This is line with Frits (2001) argument that empowerment is achieved through obtaining quality opportunity and recognition, but in this case inadequate capabilities are determining a lower level of participation. During discussions, about 50% of the respondents could not easily explain and respond to policy related questions and this was based on their level of understanding and way of communicating their ideas, this could have inhibited some to participate.

The technical policy language used also inhibited participation, a number of small farmers did not fully understand and participate meaningfully, according to Bishop and Davis (2002: 18) forms of participation and this kind of participation is regarded pseudo in which participation is claimed without much contribution. Additionally knowledge is an important aspect for empowerment, for Kabeer (2001) infers empowerment leads to expansion of abilities, Kapiriri et al. (2003) indicates it to emerge social fairness and on the other hand for Hickey and Mohan (2004) says that participation should be an empowering intervention and the required knowledge limits its action, therefore low levels of education for small holder farmers exhibited less utilisation of the knowledge during negotiations and the networking barely addressed critical aspects for empowering participation because information flow was more from the top than the bottom, thereby lessening their participation in the policy development process.

It was also important to know the gender of the study participants in this study. In Uganda, gender greatly affects participation in development aspects including agriculture and involvement in policy processes. It was observed that majority of the study participants were males with over 73.7%. Based on the 5 women respondents that

participated in the study, it was revealed that women had more eliminating factors of participation for example their position in the family as subordinates placed them in an inferior position to understand policy issues, in the purposive selection inclusion of all gender was stressed on, however it was the men who were claimed to have knowledge on policy issues. Even though women had inadequate knowledge, they would be expected to have enough information about the policy because of the already established networks through which communication takes place, however an information gap was also realised. This fits well with Kapiriri et al (2003) discussion on empowerment, the writer says that empowerment is being situated in having knowledge, information and networks. This affirms women participants' discernment and their not being empowered to participate in the process.

Additionally, women interviewees were got through referrals but it was crucial to note that most of them were hesitant to give information and it was established later, some heard little knowledge and others gave answers based on hearsay. This conclusion is specifically drawn from observation and interactions; this is not in line with Kapiriri et al. (2003) thinking that empowerment effects social fairness, the bottom up initiation of policy development would be expected to be an empowering process especially addressing marginalisation/inequalities but this was proved not to be the case. Additionally, most parts of Uganda, it is men who possess assets like land and thus they engage in agriculture and consequently were able to participate in this policy processes. Women in the case of the study areas practically carry out much of the farming but mainly on behalf of men. One of the women who participated in the study asserted that;

“According to our culture, women are expected to be submissive in public spaces and specifically in front of men. We are not expected to argue against males in public discussions, doing this is a sign of non-respect. It is a shameful act and specifically to our husbands and parents. We are trained to talk politely and privately to male counterparts” (Personal communication, July 2014).

This lamentation therefore implies that if smallholder farmers were relegated, women were marginalised in this participation process than men. Social norms and values in this case were identified as among the factors affecting women's participation in policy making. According to Cornwall (2002) peoples varied identities may limit or allow participation, in this case women were disadvantaged because of their position, thereby limiting their participation.

The other reason for not participating was the income per season and nature of land ownership. Averagely, all small holder farmers earned between 2 million shillings, about 650 Euro and 10 million shillings about 3500 Euros per season for large farmers. This implied that smallholder farmers interviewed earned a substantial amount to live. It was crucial to note that majority 52.9% of the farmers did not have land titles on which they carried out their coffee farming, while 47.1% of the farmers had land titles for the land on which they were farming. The implication for this is that it shows that 47.1% of respondents can access loans from the bank to develop their farms since they have land titles that are used as collateral. This inhibited participation because during meetings they could not afford transport contribution and others opted to devote their time in the farm than attending policy meetings.

Capacity to Negotiate was another challenge, the study observed that the capacity of smallholder coffee farmers to negotiate for issues to be incorporated in the national policy document was less, but yet their general knowledge about the coffee industry in Uganda is high. This is in the sense that the majority of these smallholder farmers could not easily articulate issues necessary for policy formulation and development. In addition, most farmers had lower levels of education despite the fact that issues of policy require high levels of problem analysis so that one can be able to make better recommendations.

This still hinges on the empowerment success to require knowledge and individual level capabilities are weaved through to develop organisation performance necessary for positive results (Kapiriri et al. 2003). This study concurs with Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) suggestion that the mutual interdependence of individual, institutional and societal capacity would be seen to accelerate more meaningful participation in this case.

From the interviews, a gap was identified where most small holder farmers interviewed could not easily explain the importance of a policy development as an assessment factor; this has an effect on their capacity to negotiate and being able to define policy issues. The proclamations below reflect their capacity in terms of negotiating for issues necessary for national coffee policy development. One of the small farmer when asked about his understanding of the national coffee policy document, he said that;

“Our problem is not the policy document but stopping middle men exploiting farmers and destroying coffee quality, the law is weak to stop this. Also addressing coffee diseases problem is not adequate” (Personal communication, July 2014).

In relation to the statement above, the study found out that the main respondents’ worry was on how the implementation of the coffee policy would be effected in curbing the challenges of middlemen and diseases but not exactly what it is with the policy document. Nevertheless, judging from the created spaces that is village level meetings and national level, there is a variance of interests on the policy development process. Communities seem to have given up to engage in the process because they are not sure the policy would address their problems. Still on the capacity to negotiate for issues, another participant who was a smallholder farmer and the same time serving as a field trainer could not easily explain the details of the coffee policy meetings and confessed that the husband attended most of the meetings. She argued that;

“The problem is that, people are not conversant with what is in the coffee policy document”. What we are conversant with are the practical problems. For instance, coffee nursery operators are selling poor quality planting materials and this affects coffee quality.” (Personal communication, July 2014).

The above response clearly indicates that the above smallholder farmer has in adequate capacity to negotiate for issues. The above woman respondent revealed to have no knowledge on what the coffee policy document was about and all that mattered to her are the issues that directly affect her but not issues of policy. On the definition of issues, one intermediate farmer’s respondent commented that;

“The government has never helped us, the farmers suffer a lot, imagine by this time it was a coffee boom in the area and now we have little coffee, we have a challenge of water and coffee diseases” (Personal communication, July 2014).

The above response shows that to her policy are government things, she did not participate in any policy dialogues meetings and was only interested in solving issues immediately and farmers would never benefit in such frameworks that end in the capital offices. It was also clear from the study participants that the farmers did not have capacity to negotiate. The findings revealed that, though farmer leaders and some farmers participated in the dialogues that deliberated about the coffee policy, majority of the participants did not actively engage in the policy dialogues. In in Focus Group Discussion (FGD), one participant claimed that;

“The space provided to farmers was not adequate because the meetings took one day and not all farmers are in groups and these were the groups that could have been neglected at national level. He added that, it was though interesting to participate in these meetings because farmers all over Uganda discussed on issues that concern them and this platform of sharing was capacitating” (Personal communication, July 2014).

It is concluded here that space was more provided at the national dialogue level than village meetings thereby limiting the participation of smallholder farmers.

Inadequate capacity building of community leaders on policy advocacy was seen to reduce the efficiency of the organisation and management of community activities. In almost all conducted interviews, people revealed that there were a few trainings delivered to engage farmers' leaders in this advocacy process. This would be seen to stimulate active involvement of farmers at local levels but the skills gap impacted on their performance. Training is considered in this paper important to gain negotiating capacity and empowerment. Therefore if it is inadequate; this contributes to reduced participation of the local level participants. Reflecting on the level of participation by smallholder farmers in the development of the national policy document, a national leader of the farmers in one interview asserted that;

“There was no deliberate selections of farmers to participate in the convention, all farmers were invited and those who could afford payment for their transport did so” (Personal communication, July 2014).

The above comment by the national leader of the farmers was a clear manifestation that there was no fair participation of farmers since participation was only based on those who afforded transporting themselves to the city to attend meetings. Based on the information table 1, it was clear that what the farmers earned as their income from the coffee at the end of each season was only enough to cater for their problems and not enough to cater for the travels to the capital for dialogues. This also points to the gap of lacking enough motivation for the farmers to participate and there was a general attitude towards policies taking long to benefit local communities. Another participant commented that;

“There was much emphasis on committee meetings and national level dialogues, this is not enough; there is a need for changing the modes to more general farmer community participation with many meetings in order to have full access of all farmers' views rather than a national level focus” (Personal communication, July 2014).

In one interview, the participant was hesitant to respond on his participation in the policy dialogues and lamented that;

“I remember being invited by my chairperson but I can't easily remember what transpired during the meetings and I have no clue what the coffee policy is all about. I heard that the policy is crucial to regulate the coffee industry but I am not sure of the details of the streamlining the industry he talked about” (Personal communication, July 2014).

From observation and responses made, this farmer claimed participation, but in reality he had forgotten the details but relied so much on what he heard from his leaders. One respondent who gave us a warm welcome later told us she was tired of being interviewed by people who could not even offer a bottle of soda. She made the following observation;

“It is my husband selected as a respondent but he is not around. I do not know our group and it is my husband who knows everything” (Personal communication, July 2014).

On the whole, (65%) from the interviewees, it is felt that small holder farmers had a partial participation, this is a form of participation by Bishop and Davis (2002), under this form the author says that to an extent decisions are swayed by marginalised participants. However interaction with the policy formulators was minimal especially at the local level where small farmers would be said to sway decisions. Similarly, another participant was of the opinion that engaging smallholder farmers through local level participation would be important especially through the education of the farmers about what the policy is. Therefore a large section of small farmers could involve in policy development participation. In this case building capacity of farmers in policy issues is

seen to be a means and an end to channelling farmers' development agendas through policy development as coined by Morgan (2006)

From the interviews at the national level was that participation of farmers was constrained by several challenges. Among these included; the education level of most of the small holder farmers being low and this could not enable them to their issues well. This finding was crucial because English was used in the process and this was a big problem to most smallholder farmers. The interviews also clearly indicated; that the domination of the elite and male farmers was a problem, also the process was very costly which impacted on the reach out to smallest farmers in the villages.

The interviewed leaders also clearly indicated that during the meetings, state actors were not pro-farmers issues, they held more power in the sector and claimed that the farmers were weak players (smallholder farmers) and not viable to be involved in such a high level policy making process. According to Puri (2004) horizontal relations managed through reciprocity and cooperation are important to steer marginalised people participation other than vertical relations of power dominance and dependence. Undoubtedly still, despite having had a bottom up form of arrangement in the development of the policy in the beginning, it was not what was considered in the final stages of the policy development. The above observation therefore poses a danger in relation to the bottom up form of policy formulation which could face capture in terms of the powerful endorsing differing decisions. It is argued that smallholder farmer participation was critical in advancing their views but worry was placed more on how it will be implemented to address farmers' issues.

Knowledge contribution by farmers to the policy document was also seen as a challenge for non-participation. Due to low levels of education, small farmers mostly did not adequately explain what their needs were, it was observed that poverty placed them in lower positions in society and this added to the inferiority complex. Probing further on the definition of policy issues, one smallholder farmer interviewee commented;

“Adulteration of coffee quality at the trader level, because farmers are poor they are forced to sell to traders green beans, arresting people who steal farmers’ coffee in the garden is our biggest concern. I don’t care of what is included in the policy document” (Personal communication, July 2014).

It is concluded here that the above respondent did not participate in the coffee policy meetings but he was optimistic that if the policy is implemented, there will be change in terms of coffee quality handling and farmers getting a good price out of it. Also it was discovered that language barrier became a limitation to achieve knowledge contribution of smallholder farmers towards the development of the policy document. In Uganda, English is viewed as ‘language of the elites and those in office’ associated with ‘civility and modernity’ whilst indigenous languages are perceived to be ‘primitive’ and a reflection of backwardness. Therefore, despite having much experience and knowledge, farmers’ contribution towards formulation of the policy document was always limited inferiority complex created by the language barrier.

Additionally most of the respondents mixed policy related meetings discussions with other general coffee trainings, one study participant claimed attending mostly local level meetings but was not sure of which ones were policy related meetings and which were other trainings. This points to the need of clarity because during the discussion there was a mix of the difference despite being well sure of the farmers’ issues, this participant picked responses from hearsay, her activeness in participating in terms of contributing on the concerns is also questionable. After a thorough explanation, still her response focussed on the challenges farmer’s face for example pre-financing for their

coffee to solve immediate problems such as school fees. She seemed emphatic on the many fellow women members but her inadequate knowledge on elaborating policy issues affected the discussion, digging further on her fellow women activeness in meetings, she mentioned dominance of men interactions in such meetings. The study generally contends that, on knowledge contribution towards policy development, the practice of consultations needs to be inclusive without regarding someone's social status. Since the passing of the policy, it was already one year during the interview period and 80% of the respondents had no concrete information on the passed policy. This point to inadequate use of information and communication networks, this indicator is crucial to attain empowerment and improve the negotiating capacity

Therefore, farmer's incapacity affected them to include issues in the policy which resulted into which kind of participation they were involved in for example more at local level meetings. This created uncertainty for them to participate because they indicated policy was government things that took long to materialise to solve their problems.

5.3 Whose interests does the coffee policy document represent

Drawing from the discussion above, it is concluded that the elite participated more than the non-elite and this is judged from their level of empowerment in terms of knowledge, capacity and integration in networks. Also looking at issues definition and presentation at national level in comparison to local level there is a difference. Some of the selected for analysis are; one is mixture of private and public roles in the coffee sector, another is service delivery in terms of extension which was criticised to be inadequate. From the findings for instance farmer members hinted on extension challenges, also they sounded more worried about government supporting them with farm inputs, disease control measures and specifically pointed out absence of extension workers. This exhibits that partly farmers' issues were addressed but there is a difference between the technical understandings of problem solving at national level in comparison to local level.

The low level of empowerment of smallholder farmers is seen to affect pushing for their issues inclusion. Among the objective drawn from the coffee policy document is to "support farmer led extension and intensify district level extension than the present regional extension approach" (Uganda Coffee Development Authority (2012). Further, clarity of roles between the public and private players is elaborated, therefore it is argued here that to an extent small holder farmers issues were represented but the challenge is less capacity to trigger change. Also if there will be establishment of farmer led extension as pointed out in the policy, this will build on the existing farmers knowledge thus empowering the small holders farmers more. However as Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) emphasises that institutional capacity should be levelled with the individual skills to achieve the societal objective, but this was seen to be a challenge to many small holder farmer participants, thereby affecting their participation levels. As elaborated further by Fukuda-Parr and Lopes (2013) to gauge capacity, taking up initiatives and creating opportunities is visible; this was not so present within the local level organisation.

However, it is clear from the findings that most participants indicated that men were more involved in coffee related issues compared to women. They admitted that the men were considered to have more knowledge. The fact that men are the heads of families and inheritance of family properties deprives women control over family properties as well as removing any authority by women to make decisions in family matters. Hickey and Mohan (2004) infers that inequalities builds complex spaces, one of the participants gave an example of an incident which occurred due to male control of wealth. She said;

“A child had died in my natal village only because the money which was needed to send the child to the hospital was kept by a husband who was not there when the child was sick, and it was not because they had no money, that was because all money was kept by the husband”(Personal communication, July 2014)

This was reflected in women not independent to make decision in the participation arenas.

Hickey and Mohan (2004) states that in invited spaces, peoples backgrounds influence how they use their agency, to that respect coffee is known to be a man’s crop and decision on is mainly controlled by them; this side lined women’s involvement in policy development. Also there was a revelation that a patriarchal system makes people ignore women’s opinions in family and community matters. Moreover, men admitted that there has been an increase in women’s work load due to the gender division of labour and economic condition in their families. Some of the respondents mentioned working together as a family but women participation in policy dialogues was still impended by their social status, therefore it is argued here that the coffee policy represented more of men interests than women. Generalising the community as smallholder and inadequate attention to such special cases may pose a danger to limit participation, Hickey and Mohan (2004) cautions that spaces are seen to be sites of resistance if generalised.

Furthermore, reflecting on why small holder farmers did not participate, most of their challenges pointed at the low levels of education, therefore it could be inferred that the interests represented in the coffee policy considered most the needs of the larger farmers who had capacity to negotiate and push for their issues into the policy document. It was not by coincidence that the same category of farmers held leadership positions and judging from the interview responses they were highly respected in the community and so held a direct ticket for participation. On average, 70% of those who participated held a leadership post and mostly belonged to large farmer category, nevertheless participation by representation was used as a means to ensure small holder farmers’ views were filtered in these processes, but judging from the difference of interest and power as explained in figure 4, their views faced a high risk of getting mixed-up or not taken as a matter of high importance. This is in line with Hickey and Mohan (2004) criticising formal representation to empower more the elite, it is not transformative to the marginalised participants and therefore becomes critical to judge participation by practice rather than the spaces created.

Therefore this study argues that to a big extent the coffee policy represented issues of those with high social status in the community than the smallholder category, nevertheless it is not concluded that smallholder farmers issues were not included because the bottom-up initiation of the process naturally engineered a smallholder farmers focus.

Chapter six: Discussions and conclusions

What the finding mission of participation is suggesting is that execution of meaningful participatory processes is demonstrated using a bottom up approach of policy making. But there is a growing complexity of such approaches in practice and a revisit of the academic debates seeks to provide an answer to the main question and the result is not positive. According to Hickey and Mohan (2004: 17) participatory spaces sometimes are seen as sites of resistance and this is based on the existing inequalities and representation is criticised to empower more the elite.

In the NUCAFE case, it has been demonstrated that spaces were managed to be created for small farmers to participate in the policy making process. Nonetheless, there were identified challenges that affected farmers using spaces. This is not discerning the importance of participatory process but rather shows the growing complexity, the findings have shown that smallholder farmers' participation under the consultation form of participation was less.

Among the limitations of smallholder farmers were non-affordability of transportation to meetings and low literacy levels restricted farmers' confidence to engage in dialogues. Additionally perceptions at the National dialogue level about smallholder farmer's low position in the chain and regarded as weak players. This is in line with Puri (2004) argument that sometimes vulnerable participants face coercion and are inhibited to contribute in dialogues because of these perceptions. Since national level was a critical space for issues negotiation, this limited small farmers to fully contribute during consultations. Such limitations led to miss a point of small holder farmers' inclusion and thus participation was biased towards the large farmers. A small section of small farmers managed to be represented and as a result their issues faced a high chance of not being heard.

On the one hand, observations revealed that smallholder farmer participation seemed to be high at the local level space for instance in meetings organised in villages or individual interviews. Consultation form of participation was evident as being applied more in the coffee policy development process and farmer leaders participated who happened to be most large farmers participated more than other community members, this could eventually lead to capture of smallholder farmers' issues.

Findings suggest that existing power differences also affected the smallholder farmer participation levels. This is also reflected in the analysis of power and interest in the participation process. Despite small farmers' level of interest being high, their power/influence levels were low. Thus it is discovered that in what Colebatch (1998) terms as "pulling and hauling" policy making process was also evident in this case for instance there were meetings in which smallholder farmers issues were dropped which created struggle on whose interests to take on. Additionally, there were gender differences that limited the participation of women, this is because they occupied an inferior position, had inadequate knowledge on policy issues and their inactiveness in networks relegated them more than men.

Nevertheless, we learn that smallholder farmers who are members of NUCAFE had more influence to participate and present their issues because of the created spaces, but had less power to ensure endorsement of their needs. And if this is carried on, a maturing participatory process of policy development in which smallholder farmers become empowered would be realised. Apart from challenges realised at the national space level, NUCAFE members still had chances to do it within the village boundaries but the minimal intervention in terms of few local meetings and prioritising the national

level dialogues was seen to be among the constraining factors to effectively reach out to the smallholder farmer community.

Furthermore, participants understanding of policy development issues was more affected by inadequate education, lack of resources and inferiority complex to clearly articulate issues. This resulted into the domineering of the large and elite participants, moreover availability and accessibility of social network support from fellow members and other relevant institutions within and outside the village would be important to boost smallholder farmer participation, but this was seen to be affected by inadequate resources.

An identified key gap in this study is the limited discussion on capacity needed by key actors engaged in policy processes. It was also learnt from the study that the description of a policy process that turns out positive results are that it is evidence based, inclusive, supported by implementation and monitoring capacity, and endorsed with strong political commitment. This is affiliated with the philosophies of the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). Several capacities are required to execute policy making, for instance Birner and Resnick (2010) address a potential disconnect between participation and implementation processes for policies and strategies and note that because of this, participation can sometimes result in disappointment among stakeholders. These authors suggest that the formulation of agricultural policies in West Africa was not hindered by lack of participation by key stakeholders but instead was constrained by a failure to link strategies resulting from participatory processes with actual decision making on agricultural policies. Therefore it becomes critical to appreciate the paradox of bottom up policy making in this case with gradual inclusion and recognition of the small holders farmers. The paradox is about farmers initiating the process but still the process becomes more complex for them to stand out or have an equal playing ground for decision making.

Therefore, this paper contends that the advancement from top down policy development process to bottom did not have a fully empowering effect to small holder farmers. Low levels of capacity affected triggering issues incorporation, trailed smallholder participants to lower levels of participation thus capture of their issues and this challenged the empowerment effect due to less exposure during the policy development process. However, this has potential to gradually empower farmers in the process because ownership is demonstrated, reflecting on the main question smallholder farmers' participation would be more appreciated in bottom up process rather than in a top down process where they stand a high chance of exclusion. But this does not mean that empowerment is guaranteed, structural transformation to legalise bottom up approaches with capacity building and awareness on policy making would neutralise the emerging complexities and thus participation would be seen as a transformative and empowering intervention to the bottom level participants.

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