

Heterogeneous Constraints and Incentives and the Uptake of Agricultural Innovations by Smallholder Farmers

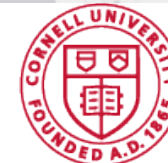
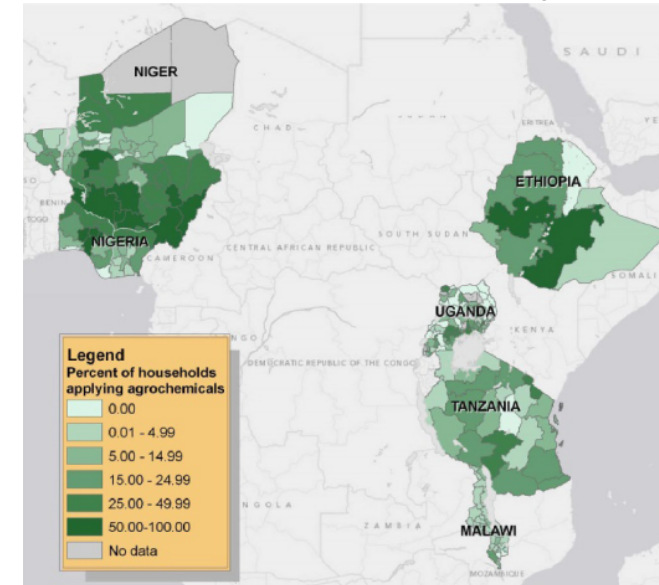
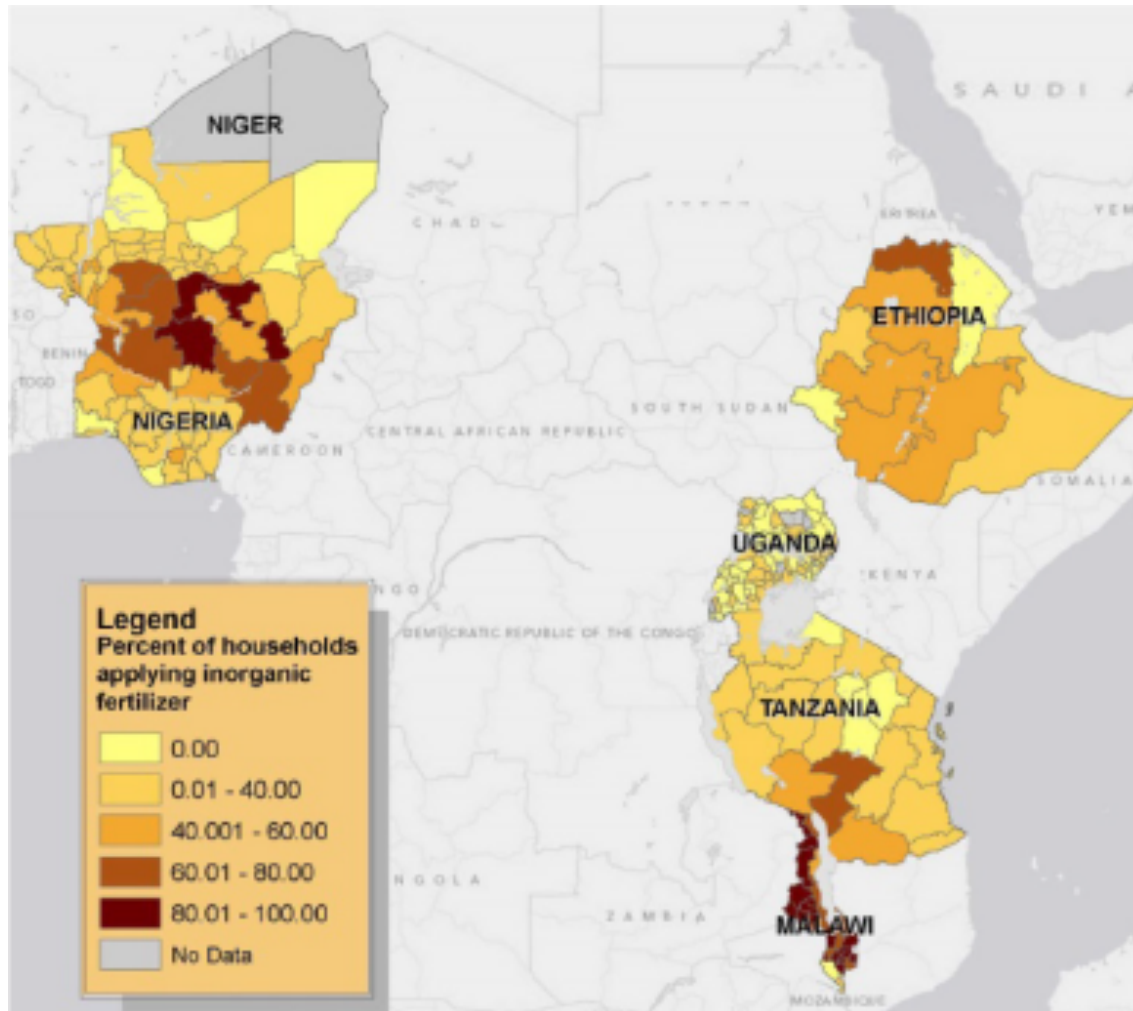
Christopher B. Barrett, Cornell University
USAID workshop on “Exploring the Disparities
between Smallholder Practice and Potential”
Washington, DC, November 3, 2016



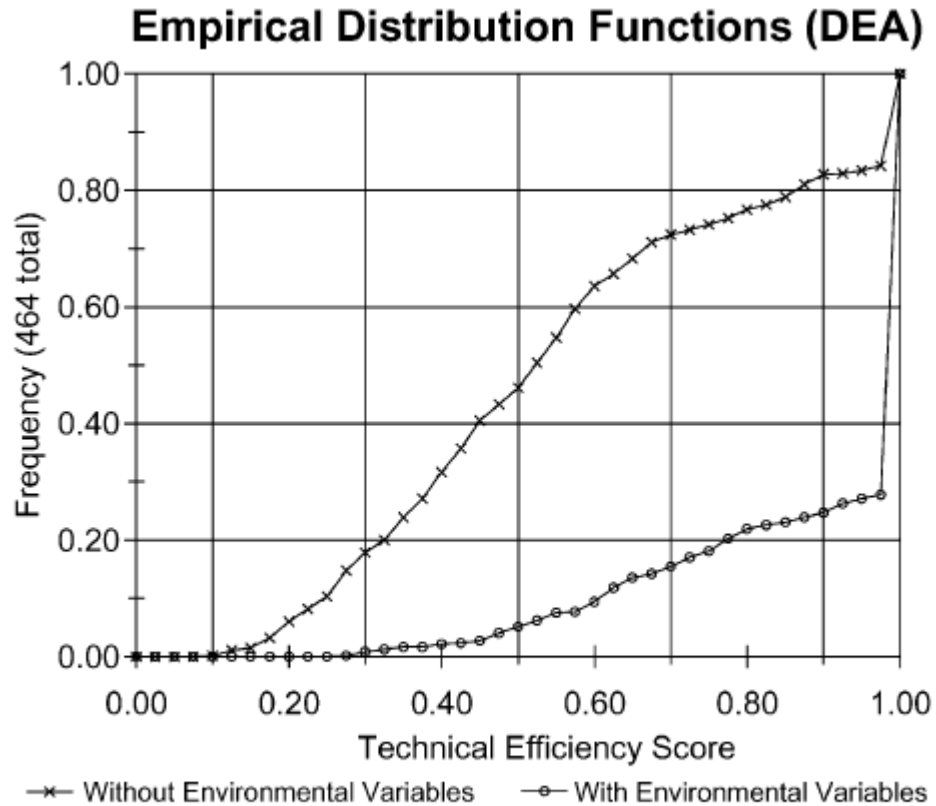
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Heterogeneous uptake of innovations

LSMS-ISA data show that uptake of modern ag inputs varies markedly, both within and among countries. (Sheahan & Barrett, *FP* in press)



Poor but efficient revisited



Observations of smallholder inefficiency often reflect failure to control for variation in natural conditions uncontrollable by farmer.

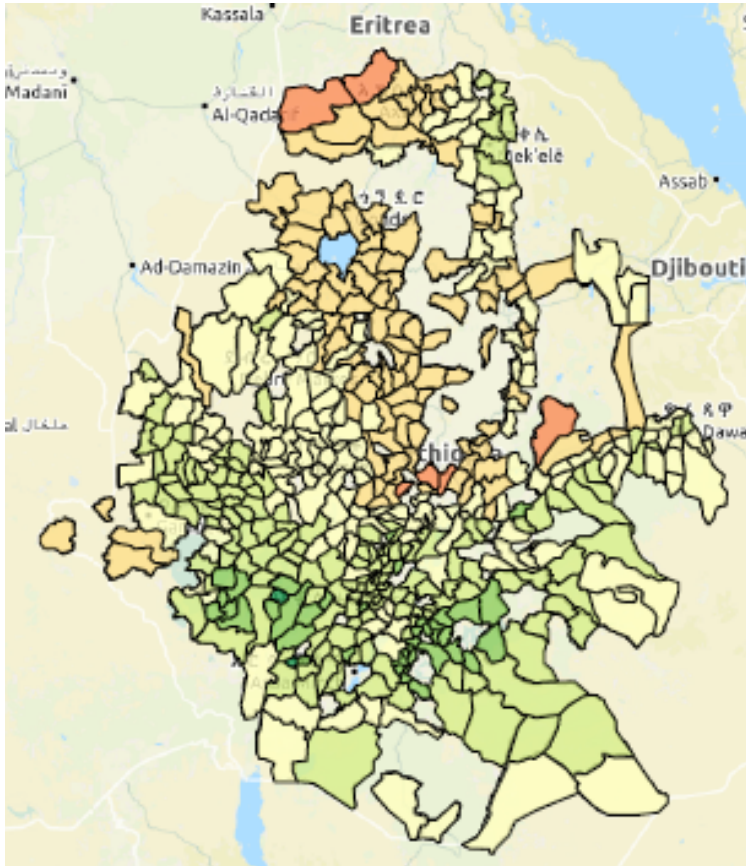
Ex: Ivorien rice farmers – median is on PPF w/ control for soils, rain, pests, etc. vs. 52% w/o (Sherlund, Barrett & Adesina *JDE* 2002)

If smallholders really are poor but efficient, perhaps non-uptake is optimal as well??

Fig. 2. Distribution functions for estimated plot-specific technical efficiencies.



Likely reflects heterogeneous i



Probably relatedly, a number of recent studies find spatially heterogeneous returns to inputs:

Suri (*EMTRA* 2011) –

Kenya hybrid maize seed

McCullough et al. (WP 2016) -

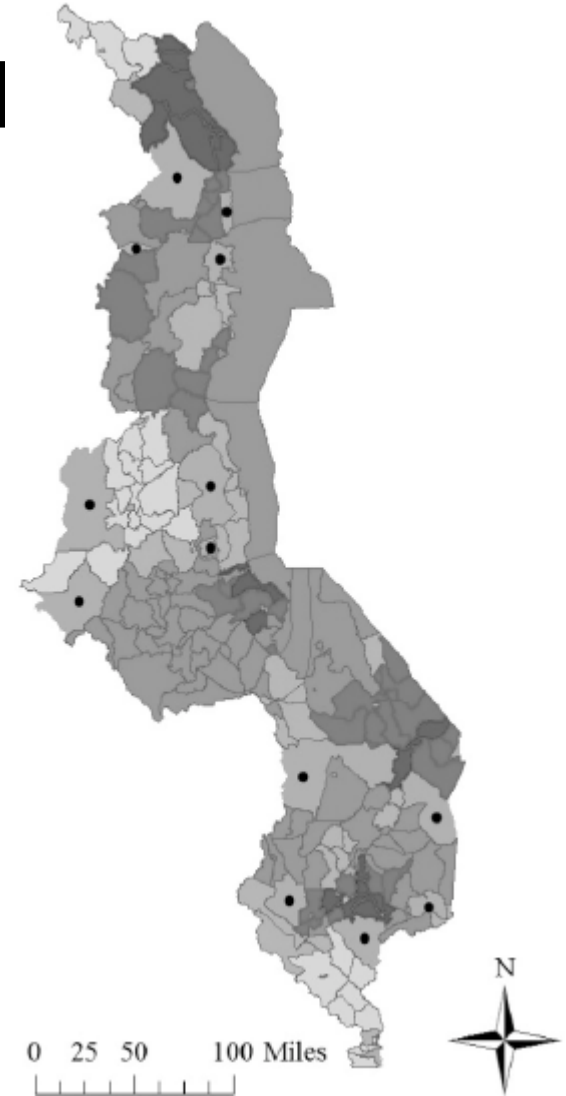
Ethiopia fertilizer

Burke et al. (*AgEcon* 2016) -

Zambia fertilizer

Harou et al. (*JAfrEcon* in press) -

Malawi fertilizer



<https://www.ag-analytics.org/AgRiskManagement/EthiopiaGeoApp>



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Disadoption rates often high

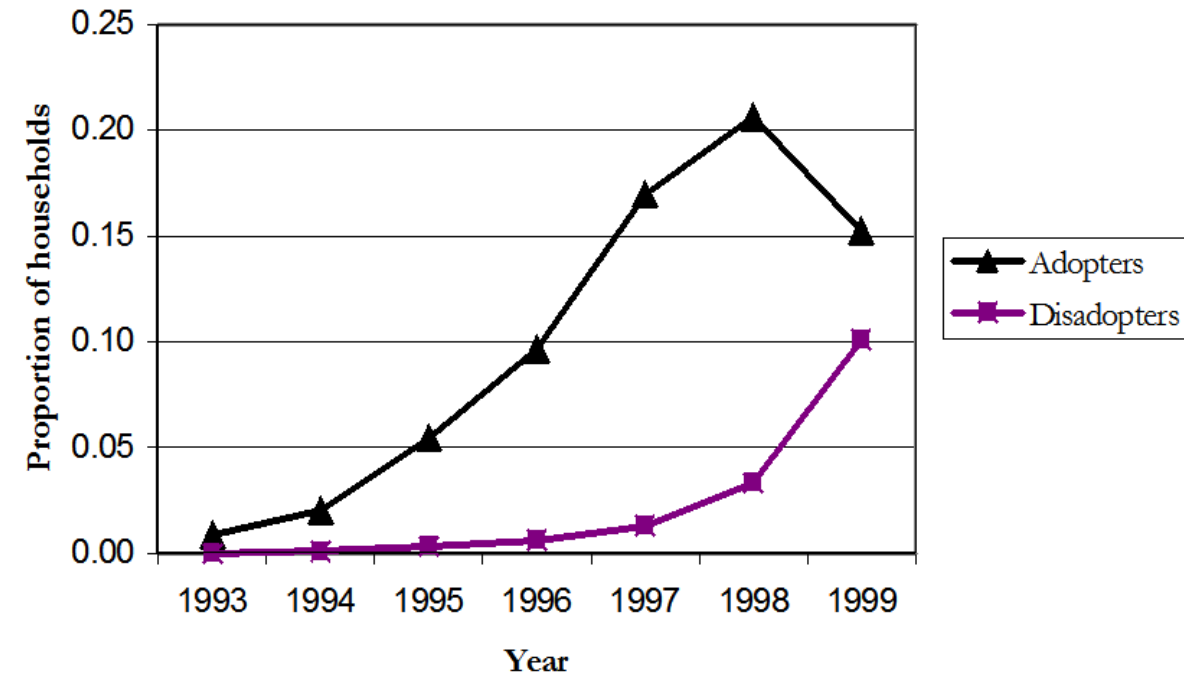
If ag innovations always superior, we should see negligible disadoption. But disadoption common.

Example: System of Rice Intensification (SRI)

In spite of 60-80% true yield gains often found:

- Haiti (Turiansky WP 2016)
- Indonesia (Takahashi & Barrett *AJAE* 2014)
- Madagascar (Moser & Barrett *AgEcon* 2006)

SRI adoption-disadoption in Madagascar



Moser & Barrett *AgEcon* 2006



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explanations

1. Nature limits profitability

The profitability of modern ag inputs commonly depends on natural endowments:

- Soil quality
 - Soil organic carbon, other nutrients, Ph (Marenya & Barrett *AJAE/AgEcon* 2009, Suri *EMTRA* 2011, Harou et al. *Ag Econ* in press, Burke et al. *Ag Econ* 2016, Harou et al. *JAfrEcon* in press)
 - Within-village variability in soil quality also impedes learning (Tjernstrom WP 2015)
- Water (irrigation, rainfall, soil water retention capacity, evapotranspiration)
- Temperature, altitude and growing season length
- Biotic and abiotic stresses (e.g., aluminum, iron, salt, striga)

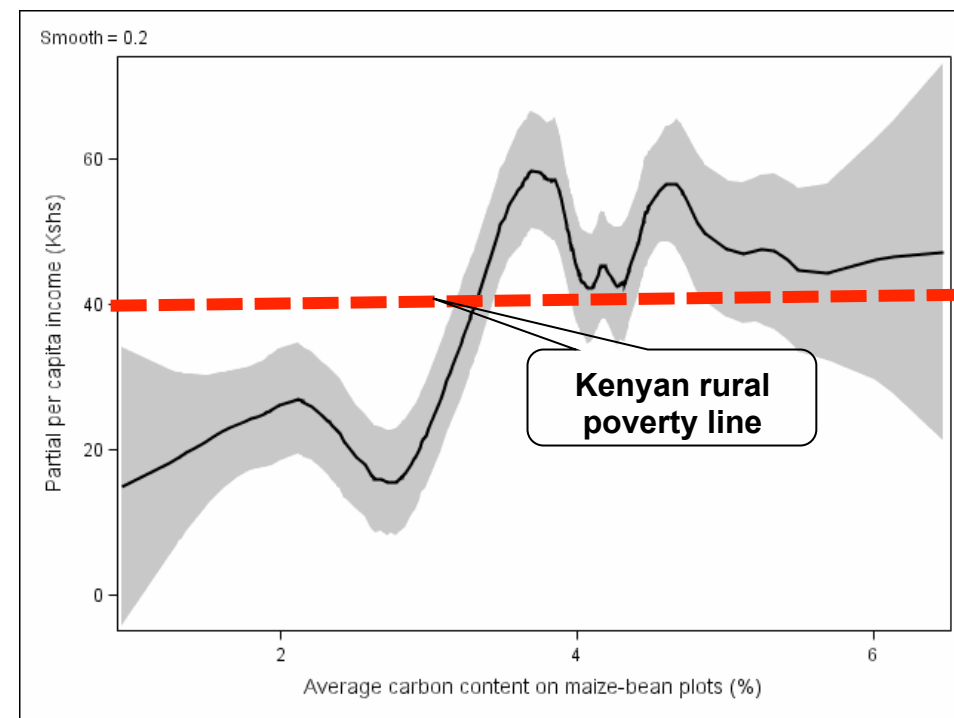
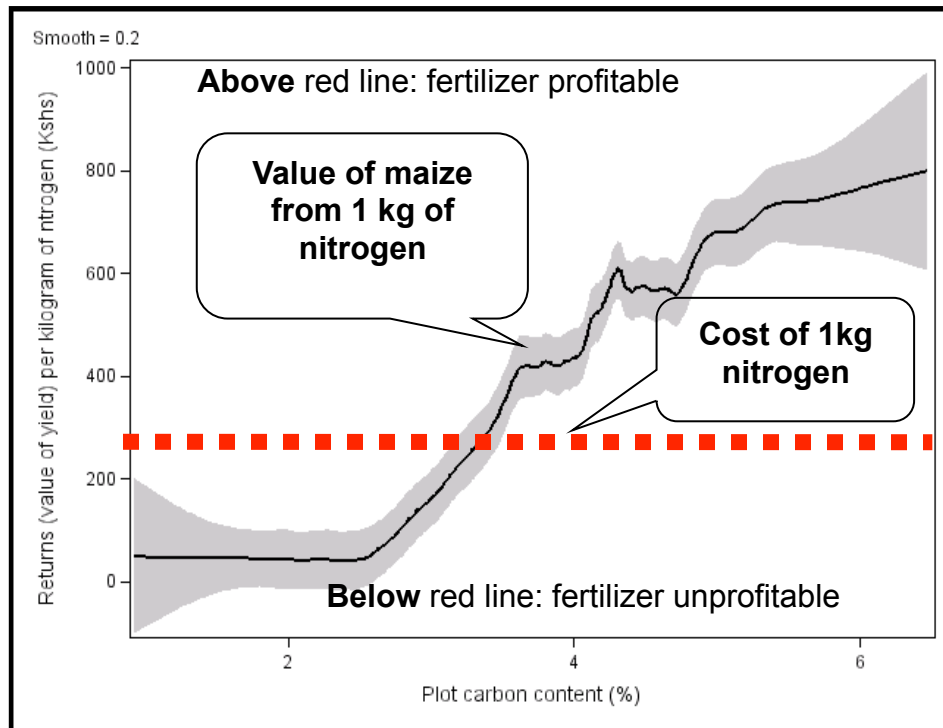
Agroecological niches therefore crucial to suitability/profitability



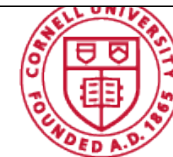
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1. Nature's complementary inputs

Example: Soil degradation in Kenya Marginal returns to fertilizer application low on degraded soils; and poorest farmers are on the most degraded soils. Soil degradation also feeds a striga weed problem that discourages uptake (\$7bn/yr in crop losses).



Marenja & Barrett AJAE 2009



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2. Labor availability

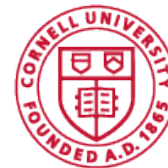
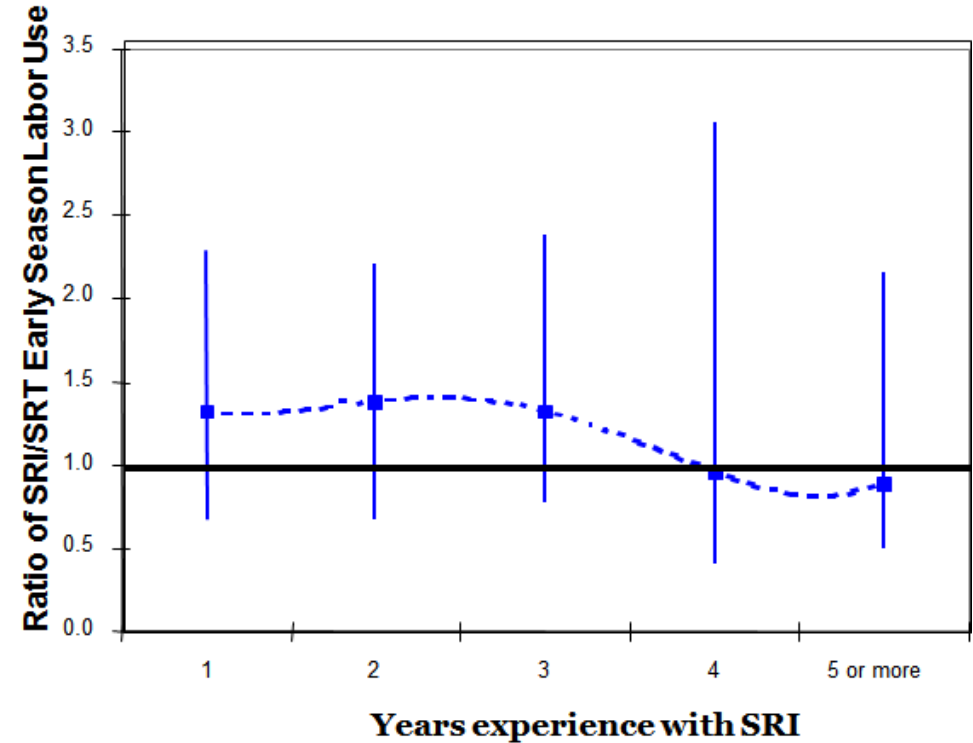
Many agricultural innovations also require labor availability (hh or hired).

Examples:

SRI (Haiti, Madagascar, Indonesia, Timor Leste – Moser & Barrett *Ag Econ* 2006; Noltze et al. *EcolEcon* 2012; Takahashi & Barrett *AJAE* 2014, Turiansky WP 2016)

Mucuna (Honduras, Neill & Lee *EDCC* 2001)

Herd splitting among pastoralists (Toth *AJAE* 2014)



3. Gender

Male-run plots more likely to use modern inputs (Sheahan & Barrett *FP* in press).

Returns to inputs appear lower for female farmers (due to social norms on labor and market access, etc.)



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4. Market access and prices

Market access:

Transport costs and reliable access to intermediaries drive input/output prices
Omamo (*AJAE* 1996)

Fuel prices have a big impact on food prices due to infrastructure deficiencies
(Dillon & Barrett *AJAE* 2016)

Burkina Faso school feeding program and cowpeas (Harou et al. *WD* 2013) – trader seasonality, market access and bulking

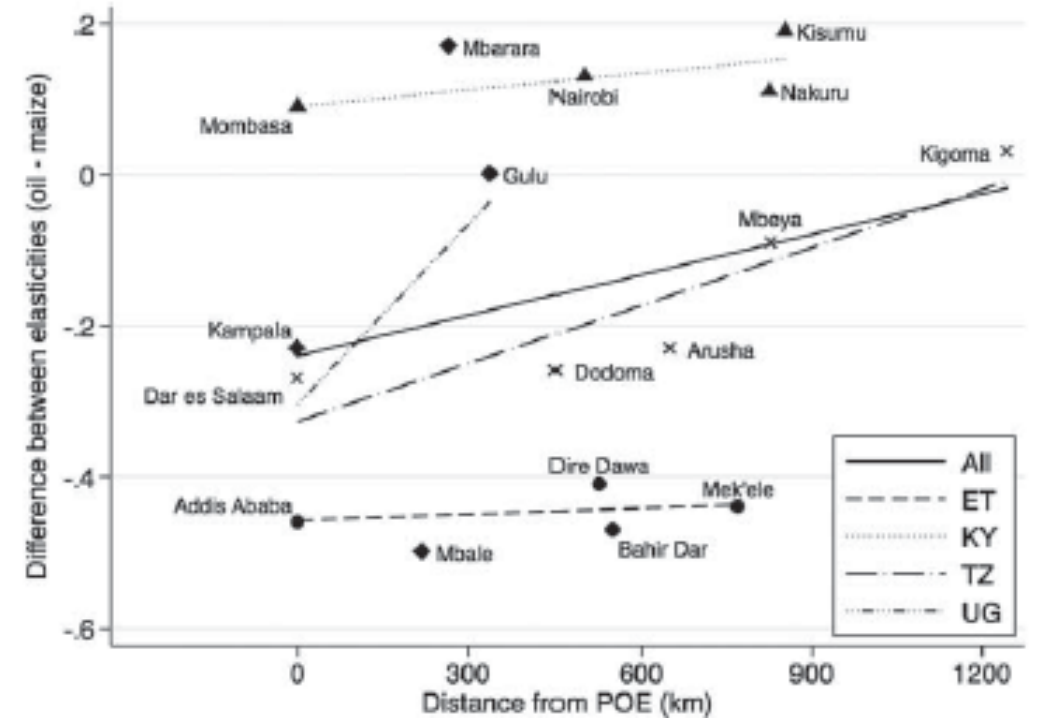
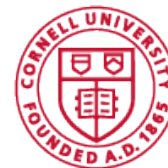


Figure 4. (Elasticity of local maize to global oil) – (Elasticity of local maize to global maize) plotted against distance from POE

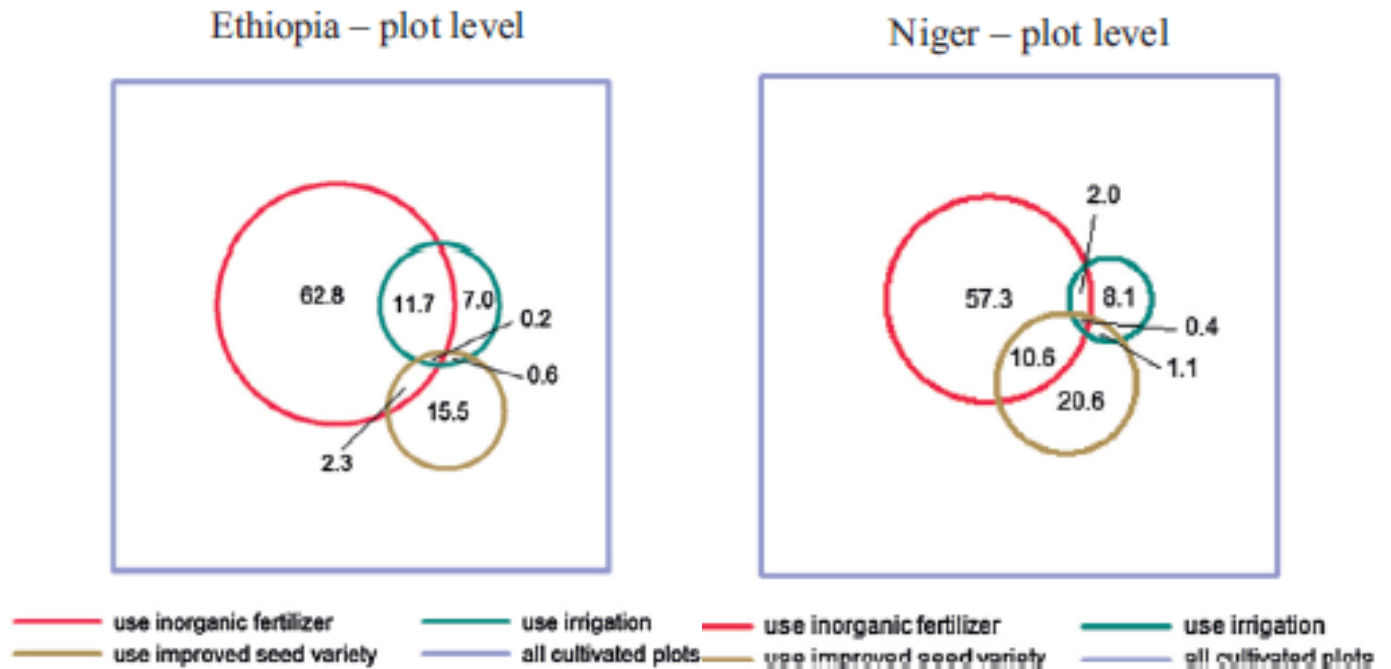


Two puzzles. One even adoption within hhs

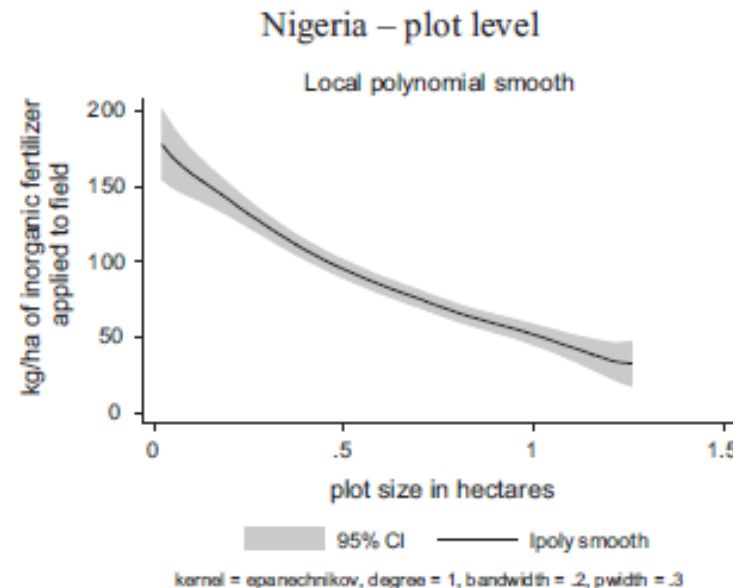
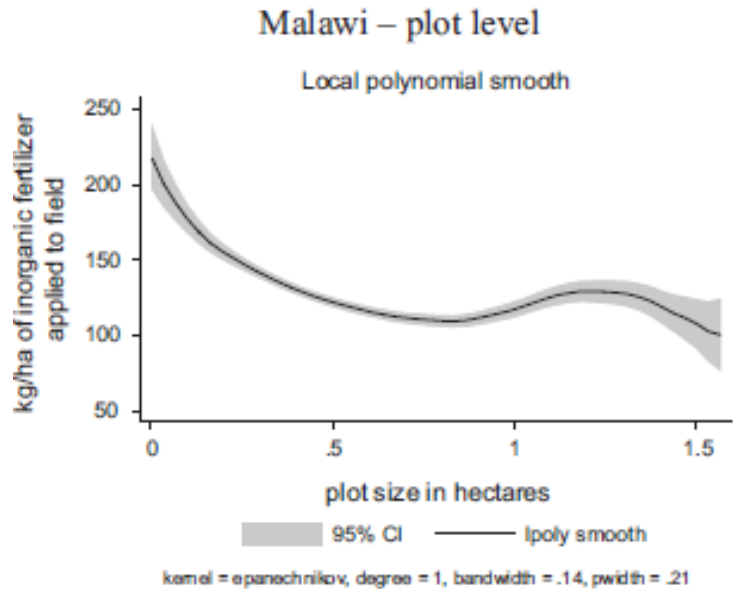
Ex 1 - Limited joint input application

LSMS-ISA data show little joint uptake of modern ag inputs despite agronomic synergies and contrary to ISFM principles.

(Sheahan & Barrett, *FP* in press)



2- Plot-level inverse size-productivity relation



Plot-level input application and productivity varies inversely w/plot size. True within-hh and w/controls for soil quality and actual size, so not due to ORV, measurement error, or heterogeneous shadow prices.

Adoption varies even across plots w/n hh ... why? Edge effects hypothesis?

(Barrett, Bellemare & Hou *WD* 2010; Carletto, Savastano & Zezza *JDE* 2013; Sheahan & Barrett, *FP* in press; Bevis & Barrett, 2016 WP)



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Key implications

1. Context matters

- Best technologies vary among farmers, even among plots ... one size fits all rarely works
- Agroecological niches crucially important
- Physical and institutional infrastructure likewise affect incentives and constraints
- Lots of focus on developing new technologies ... but adaptation to agro-ecological niches is equally important
 - Requires adequate local applied scientific research capacity
 - Requires companies with incentive to invest in adaptive research

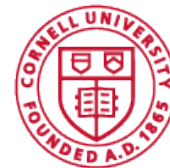


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Key implications

2. Bundled approaches often needed

- Multiple constraints often bind (nested or simultaneously)
 - Second-limiting factors can limit gains from new technologies (e.g., Bt cotton in China)
- Success of BRAC ultra-poor programs (Bandiera et al. WP 2016, Banerjee et al. *Science* 2015)
- Often need to address market access and modern inputs simultaneously
 - Contract farming can help leverage private capital: e.g., sugar farms in Kenya; vegetables in Madagascar



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Key implications

3. Need to be intentional about gender

- Technology development/adaptation need to pay more attention to gender
- Crop selection – vegetables, small livestock – is a major issue. Cereals focus may be limiting.



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**Thank you for your interest and
comments!**



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