The Role and Performance of Ministry of Agriculture in Nyeri South District

Booker Owuor, Beatrice Wambui, Gem Argwings-Kodhek and Colin Poulton
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1. Introduction
Agriculture is the backbone of Kenya’s economy with many urban, and most rural folk deriving their livelihoods directly or indirectly from agriculture. The performance of the sector is therefore reflected in the performance of the whole economy. Growth in the agricultural sector translates directly to the improvement in living standards of many farm families. Nyeri South District has a vibrant agricultural sector that provides the main source of livelihood for over 82% of its residents. Three commodities with varied histories - tea, coffee and dairy - are the main agricultural enterprises. Effective realization of the agricultural sector’s goals in the district depends on reviving these commodities in a sustainable manner. For this to be achieved however, the structure, capacity and coordination capabilities of the agricultural sector ministries must be up to the task.

This study focuses on the roles, performance, financial and human capacity of Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) in Nyeri South District of Kenya’s Central Province. Particular attention is given to how the ministry interacts with other agricultural stakeholders in the district. The objectives of this study are to generate evidence on patterns and trends in the scope and leverage of MoA at the district level and to draw implications for its capacity to play a coordination role in the sector in the district, and to be demand-driven and responsive to the needs of stakeholders.

The study was conducted during November and December 2009. Qualitative methods were used in data collection mainly through interviews guided by an interview checklist. Officials of agricultural sector ministries were interviewed, including the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Livestock Production and Veterinary Production departments of the Ministry of Livestock Development. 4 farmer groups, 8 individual farmers, 4 farm input stockists, 3 credit institutions and 5 out-put buyers were also interviewed. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were targeted for the survey, but surprisingly there are hardly any NGOs active within the agriculture sector in the district. One exception is Africa Harvest, which is slowly making an entrance in to Nyeri South district with the introduction of tissue culture bananas.

A list of persons and institutions interviewed is in the Appendix. The findings of the work were presented back to local stakeholders for validation and additional discussion at a workshop held in the CDF Hall in Othaya on 05/20/2010.

This paper is organized as follows; chapter 2 presents the agricultural activities and opportunities in the district. Section 3 describes the opportunities for agriculture in Nyeri South district while section 4 describes the agricultural challenges. Section 5 describes roles/duties of MoA at the district level. It also gives challenges experienced by farmers as perceived by different stakeholders. In section 6, the study looks at how the ministry has performed over time and at the performance of the sector over the same periods and also discusses MoA’s interface with other stakeholders in the district. It also highlights limitations of MoA. Section 7 discusses infrastructure in the district while section 8 talks about the fragmentations of Ministry of agriculture. Section 9 briefly highlights the budget process and finally section 10 gives conclusions from the study and draws policy implications.

2. Agricultural Activities in the District
Nyeri South covers a total area of 184.2 km² with 98.9 km² being arable and 85.3 km² categorised as non-arable. As such, it is a very small district: the furthest person who wants to access services at the district headquarters travels only 14 km.
Prior to the recent creation of additional districts in Kenya, Nyeri South was a division of the larger Nyeri district, that also included Othaya, Tetu, Mukuruweini, Kieni East, Kieni West and Municipality divisions (all also given the administrative status of district in August 2009). At the time of the 1999 census, Nyeri South division had a total of 88,291 inhabitants, of whom 42,170 were males and 46,121 females. Assuming 2.5% p.a. population growth since 1999, the population in 2009 would be around 113,000 and the population density over 600 persons per km².

Agriculture is the mainstay of people in Nyeri South. In terms of livestock, the dairy sector leads with nearly every homestead having at least one or two exotic dairy cattle. A few farmers keep poultry and rabbits. Coffee and tea are the least one or two exotic dairy cattle. A few farmers keep poultry and rabbits. Coff ee and tea are the other crops especially where land fragmentation is very extreme.

Coffee on the other hand has been in decline for some time. Farmers cite political interferences and marketing problems as the major hindrance to the crop’s advancement. A coffee farmer from Gatugu location stated that, “The problem with coffee and its management is that most of the members of the coffee cooperative societies are politicians and not real farmers”. Coffee marketing is never transparent and coffee is collected from farmers without advance knowledge of the returns it will generate. Even when the beans are sold at the auction, the cooperatives do not send a representative to witness the proceedings. Farmers are, therefore, left to collect whatever amount the societies give them. The major advantage of coffee production is that it can be intercropped with other crops. Many farmers have intercropped coffee with horticultural crops.

Nyeri South has a very vibrant dairy subsector with every homestead owning a dairy cow(s). Milk marketing infrastructure is well developed with a high percentage of morning milk delivered to Othaya Dairy Cooperative society that acts as a link between farmers and milk processors like New Kenya Cooperative Creameries (New KCC) and Brookside among others. Othaya Dairy Cooperative society buys milk at Ksh.27 per litre and sells at an average of Ksh.29.50 with the margin used in running the society. The society is making profits and is also able to finance their farm input department which gives farmers inputs on the basis of the amount of milk supplied. Othaya Dairy discourages farmers from selling their produce direct to Brookside, New KCC or any other brokers because of the past history of mismanagement and fraud cases that led to the closure of KCC in the 1990s and the resulting loss of farmers’ cash. The negative history of KCC has helped Othaya Dairy earn confidence among farmers who now feel that the society is their own. There is almost 100% allegiance to the society.

3. Agricultural opportunities in the district

Agriculture in Nyeri South experiences a number of challenges. Different stakeholders noted somewhat similar problems but in different priorities. Table 2 below shows the problems as they were articulated by different farmer groups. Karima and Gaturuturu groups were recommended for interview by MoA staff while the other two were independently sourced by the researchers. Karima group is a mixed farming group, Kiaguthu is mainly tea and coffee while Othaya dairy is purely dairy, Gaturuturu is largely dairy but with horticulture as well.

It’s evident from the table that farmers face similar problems all across the district. Some problems are mentioned across the board and need special attention. Unlike other districts studied so far, Nyeri South district does not have many problems related to diseases that were only mentioned by one group. The cold weather in the district provides an uncondusive environment for disease pathogens to multiply. In a district where disease outbreak especially in livestock are almost unheard of, you might expect the government Veterinary Department to be very lean. Nyeri South displays the reverse with the Veterinary Department outweighing all others in terms of personnel numbers.

Table 1: Major agro-ecological zones in Nyeri South

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agro-ecological Zone</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Major Crops Grown</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lower Highland</td>
<td>52.4 km²</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper Midland 1</td>
<td>22.8 km²</td>
<td>Tea &amp; Coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Midland 2</td>
<td>12.3 km²</td>
<td>Main coffee zone</td>
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Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Nyeri South District

Rabbits are also an upcoming source of food in the district and those that have tasted the meat attest to its palatable taste. While we were conducting the study, there was a field day organised by Ministry of Livestock on rabbit meat eating. Attendance was good and everyone had a chance to taste the rabbit meat. The number of rabbit keeping farmers in the district is growing and will continue even more as the market is already growing faster than production.

4. Agricultural challenges in the district

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Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Nyeri South District
Table 2: Agricultural challenges facing farmers in Nyeri district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karima Group</th>
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<th>Othaya Dairy</th>
<th>Gaturuturu Dairy Farmer group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of capital</td>
<td>Negative attitude of youth towards agriculture</td>
<td>Un-enlightened farmers</td>
<td>Lack of capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low soil fertility</td>
<td>Over-reliance on rain-fed agriculture</td>
<td>Pressure on land/fragmentations</td>
<td>Diseases and pests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor governance in the coffee subsector</td>
<td>Lack of capital</td>
<td>Poor services from the breeders</td>
<td>Reliance on rain-fed agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High costs of inputs</td>
<td>Poor marketing infrastructure esp for coffee</td>
<td>Poor extension services from the government</td>
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<td>Poor extension services/coverage</td>
<td>Weak cooperative societies</td>
<td>High costs of credit</td>
<td>High costs of inputs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths negative attitude towards agriculture</td>
<td>Land fragmentations/exhausted soils</td>
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Lack of/high cost of capital

Lack of capital was noted by all the groups interviewed as a constraint in agriculture. All farming enterprises require some capital, for example to start dairy farming one needs to have money to buy the cow(s), land for keeping and probably growing feeds etc. There are a number of savings and credit cooperative organizations (SACCOs) in the district that are lending to farmers. Unlike in much of Sub-Saharan Africa (and indeed many parts of Kenya), banks are also actively seeking to do business with the farming fraternity. Equity Bank, Othaya branch, has a number of packages for farmers in the district including different unsecured loans for tea, coffee, horticulture and dairy farmers (see Box 1 for details).

Nevertheless, Table 2 shows that farmers still see access to capital as a problem. For some respondents the problem is not access to credit but the high costs of obtaining credit. As shown in Box 1 Equity Bank charges interest of 15% or less on loans to smallholders and argues that this rate is very low. (Indeed, it is subsidised). However, as has been observed in other districts, some farmers feel that even these rates are high. They are of the opinion that the rates should be reduced to about 10%. The lenders’ response is that this is not possible because they will not make reasonable profits.

Other respondents argue that the problem is not so much the interest rate as the conditions that are attached to loans that make access to capital difficult. Thus, to borrow from Equity you need to have an existing account: you cannot turn up for the first time and obtain a loan on that day. Moreover, even though the Farm Input Loan product allows balloon repayment of principal, regular repayments of interest begin as soon as the loan is taken, which some farmers find difficult.11

Meanwhile, Taifa SACCO, Wananchi, Equity and other institutions report good levels of business even with existing interest rates and loan conditions. Attempts to get the clients figures were thwarted as each outfit feels that these figures could be used against them or for the benefits of their competitors.

Land fragmentation and soil fertility

Land is a big problem not only for Nyeri South, but for the entire Central province. Land has been fragmented into very small portions. Houses occupy the largest percentage of these portions of land, leaving very little space for agricultural activities. On average a household in the district owns 0.64 hectares of land. The DAO Mr Mwangi said that time is long gone when the larger Nyeri was known as a high potential area. “What we are left with is rain, but land and soil fertility is gone” he says5.

Farmers are so frustrated with the seriously declining fertility that cases of tea or coffee fertilizers used in maize fields are rampant. Closely related to declining soil fertility is the shrinking farm sizes. Small farm size with very low fertility means facing potential food insecurity. “The case of land fragmentation is already out of hand, what we can do is to conserve our little soils that remains”, says Mr Kingori, the Crops officer9. The government through MoA and Ministry of Forestry had ordered the immediate cutting of eucalyptus trees that are known to seep a lot of water and deplete land fertility. The district heeded the government call and agricultural officers are optimistic that the district is in the right direction in conserving soil fertility.

The government through the NAAIP programme has also distributed free CAN fertilizers to the residents of the district. Farm yard manure is inadequate as most families keep very few but high producing livestock. The quantity of milk is increasing but the number of cows is decreasing. The reason, according to Mr Samuel Gichuki, the secretary manager Othaya Dairy FCS is that most families are selling out their low milk producing cows for high milk producing ones. This in the long run means that the availability of farm yard manure will be very scarce. Mr Gichuki says that they are yet to collect data on the decreasing number of cows but application for re-stocking has gone down even as their milk figures steadily surges10.

Youth and Agriculture

Youth all over Kenya have shown the tendency of shying away from agriculture. Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) have shown that the average age of the farming fraternity is 58. Youths of Nyeri South shun agriculture and indulge in other activities. To maintain their high standard of living - i.e. nice dressing, good diet and alcohol drinking - they are accused of engaging in robbery and other unlawful ways of acquiring money. A farmer under anonymity said: “At my age of 56, I work hard in the farm to feed my three sons, who, ironically, have never set a foot into this farm to assist me in farm work. My sons do not want anything to do with agriculture, be it crops or livestock; however, they will always complain whenever there is no food. All they want are white collar jobs and we all know that these jobs are not there”.11

The government recently launched “Kazi Kwa Vijana” program but this did not do well in this district as most of the youths do not want to engage themselves in difficult manual labour. Delayed payment by the government led to withdrawal of the youth that had joined the programme. Some even demonstrated with placards reading, “kazi kwa vijana, pesa kwa wazee”, (work opportunities to the youth, money to the old men). Youth attitudes towards agriculture is a big issue in the district but some parents say that they are part of the problem. They educate their children to focus on office jobs and not to toil and die poor like their parents.
These problems include;

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correspond with what the
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Other stakeholders interviewed also had a take

4.1. Other stakeholders views on farmers
challenges

Other stakeholders interviewed also had a take
on what they know or feel aff ects farmers and
farming activities in the district. While some of
their problems correspond with what the
farmers themselves mentioned, some are a bit
different and need mentioning and detailing.
These problems include;

• Farmers ignorance and low technology
uptake

“Information is power”; these were the words
of Mr Mwangi, the DAO12. Farmers in the
district are accused of not attending train-
ings whenever they are called. Ironically,
they would rather turn up in large numbers
during political rallies rather than agricul-
tural gatherings. Stakeholders also feel that
the few farmers who attend these training
have very low capacity to absorb and uptake
technology. This has been attributed to the
fact that the larger percentages of those
involved in agriculture are very old.

• High costs of inputs

Stakeholders are feeling that the costs of
inputs have gone up quite steeply. They
point out the case of acaricide. The govern-
ment has provided cattle dips, but it is the
role of farmers to sustain them with acari-
cide. A dip requires acaricide worth Ksh
30,000 (US$400) to be adequately charged
and forty cattle charged at Ksh 15 to be
sustainable. These conditions are difficult to
meet and Dr Ngugi of the Veterinary
Department says that these government
dips will largely remain idle13. Other costs
include labour which is aggravated by the
fact that the youths are not interested in
agriculture. High input costs for chemicals
together with low returns have also driven
farmers away from coffee productions.

• Cooperative mismanagements

The strength of farmers anywhere in the
world lies in pulling resources together and
working in an organized manner. Cooperative
societies offer such outfits where farmers
can bulk purchase inputs for the benefits of
large discounts and can sell their produce
and enjoy collective bargaining. The recent
past has witnessed the collapse of many
farmer support organizations including
cooperative societies and Nyeri South is no
such exception. Being a district that is active
agriculturally, the springing up of these soci-
eties would be seen as helpful but different
stakeholders dissented in the way these
societies have been managed. Financial
embezzlement, misappropriation, political
interference and a weak Cooperative Act has
ensured that farmers fight for their woes
individually as opposed to collective actions
through a cooperative. Stakeholders inter-
viewed feel that the government should
move with speed and review the Cooperative
Act so that those that are acting in the nega-
tive interest of farmers in a cooperative
society be brought to book. As it is now, an
official in the cooperative can embezzle
money and get away with it.

• Lack of information on drugs and
chemicals

Farm input stockists feel that the govern-
ment extension agents should do more in
terms of training farmers on new/emerging

technologies and drugs. Many farmers come
to buy inputs like drugs and still insist on
products that have been withdrawn from the
market. Convincing them to buy some-
thing new and efficient becomes a problem
as they come with fi xed mind since “that is
what the agriculture personnel
recommend”.

• Delayed supply of inputs

Farm input stockists also experience the
problem of delayed delivery of products
from their suppliers. “It hurts our business
when we turn down our customers due to
product unavailability because the supplier
is not prompt with deliveries”, says an
agrovet14.

• Seasonality of agricultural produce

Farm output buyers have the problem of
one product fi loding the market in one
season and becoming unavailable during
other times. This is the nature of agricultural
produce. Better and secure storage facilities
are part of the problem. The cost of transport
they say is becoming prohibitive for them
to trade in other produce that involves trans-
porting from wide apart surplus to defi cit
areas. Maize for example is produced mainly
in North Rift and requires transport to Nyeri
South. With the small profi t margins of
maize, they say the whole affair becomes
unprofi table until such time as maize
becomes available from Eastern province.

• Output buyers in the district have been
totally neglected by the MoA in respect to
meetings and stakeholder fora. Output
buyers claim that none of their number has
been invited by any agricultural sector
ministries to attend a meeting.

5.Roles of Ministry of Agriculture
within the District.

The Ministry of Agriculture has specifi c duties
to perform at the district level. This section
therefore looks at the duties and roles of the
Ministry of Agriculture in Nyeri South. A district
level study is the best place to get insights into
how the ministry interacts and cooperates with
other stakeholders at field level.

Nyeri South operates according to both the
national and district service charters for MoA,
the latter drawing its contents mostly from
the former. Different officers interviewed noted
that the roles being performed by MoA at the
district level are in line with the policy objectives
of the sector, which is to raise household incomes,
create employment and ensure food and nutri-
tional security. From interviews held with MoA
ofﬁ cers, we learnt that district activities are set
according to predetermined documents (the
Strategic Plan). However, this would limit the
ministry’s flexibility to respond to problems

Box 1. Equity Bank, Othaya Branch

Equity bank in Nyeri South district offers short, medium and long term loan to farmers of tea, coffee,
dairy and horticulture.

1 month, temporary over-draft
Offers crop advance of between Kshs 200 to 5,000 and charges 10%

Farm input loan
Up to 12 months
Amount up to Kshs 100,000
Unsecured loan, flexible payments to suit product cycle
Interest @ 15%

Commercial agriculture
Up to 36 months
Secured loan, title deeds, shares, vehicle logbooks etc
Amount over Kshs 100,000
Interest 18% on reducing balance
expressed by farmers on the ground if at all these objectives were to be the only issues attended to by the ministry’s personnel.

On the ground the ministry personnel admit that they perform much more than what is in their objectives and performance contracts. A look at the performance contract of Mr Jackson M Mwangi, the locational extension officer of Chinga South location reveals that he performed above the mark. He attributes this to the flexibility that they have to adapt on the ground as farmers come in with different problems and issues.

5.1. The Ministry’s Own View

The district service charter contains the core responsibilities being undertaken by Ministry of Agriculture in Nyeri South district. According to the district officials, the services stipulated in the document are largely drawn from the national service charter and as such represent the aspirations of the national charter. A number of interesting observations can be made regarding the district service charter.

- Extension services dominate the MoA’s perception of its day-to-day activities. Most of the services mentioned in the charter (12 out of 23) are extension-based. By contrast, farmers wanted to see the Ministry perform a wider set of functions than simply provision of information. For example, regulation of input quality is an important issue (see below). They would also want the Ministry to play a central role in the output market as cases of farmers defrauded of their outputs keep arising, especially in the milk market.

- One of the biggest problems mentioned by different agricultural stakeholders is that of low soil fertility. In the service charter, it is the duty of the district agricultural personnel to provide information on appropriate land improvement approaches. Stakeholders believe that this has not been done adequately and is an important reason why the district produces below its potential. Almost all stakeholders interviewed lamented the discrepancies between the roles as written in the service charter and the real duties performed by the Ministry of Agriculture on the ground. Farmers said it is through their own hard and honest work that they raise their household income, ensure food and nutritional security and through farming create employment. The ministry officials are on the other hand doing negligible roles. Some farmers said that they could be better off with private service providers. The private service providers only exists in the livestock fraternity and serving mainly the dairy sector. These agents are hard to come by as they serve a wide geographical area but farmers who have dealt with them have their cell phone numbers and call whenever they so need their services.

5.2. Other stakeholders’ and farmers’ views

Other stakeholders had their own views on what they see MoA do and what they feel should be their role on the ground. These stakeholders included the financial/credit institutions like Equity and Taifa SACCO, the input stockists, output buyers and farmers. At the focus group discussions, farmers argued that the effectiveness with which MoA delivers its services is still low and needs to be enhanced. They appreciate that the current extension approach of demonstrations, field days and barazas allows MoA to meet many people with few resources. However, they believe that individual attention on farm is much better. Focus group respondents argued that, during the pre and post colonial era, the agricultural sector used to perform better because the visits were farm to farm, individual to individual. Meanwhile, the move to demand-led field visits has yet to gain widespread acceptance.

The following are some points from farmers worth noting:

- Farmers learn well from fellow farmers. As the agriculture personnel are very lean, farmers feel that some of them should be picked, offered short training and be used to teach others. This they believe will sort out the alarming staff :farmer ratio. This is an idea which MoA needs to work on and adopt. The horticulture subsector is partly growing in the district due to this farmer to farmer training.
- Farmers have realized that the Veterinary Department of the Ministry of Livestock has more staff than other ministries, yet they have not witnessed any disease outbreak or any situation that warrants such a large number of staff, who, they feel, should be re-distributed.
- Fragmentation of agricultural sector ministries has not enhanced provision of extension services; instead it has brought mixed messages that have sometimes been confusing to the farmers. An example occurred when the district was part of larger Nyeri and the Ministry of Cooperatives urged farmers to form groups for the purposes of collective bargaining in selling their merchandise like milk, coffee and tea. Ministry of Agriculture was reported to have told the farmers to sell individually until the mess in cooperative set-ups are adequately attended to. A statement from Mr. Patrick Githunguri Kanyangi Horticultural group can attest to this. He says MoA teaches how to grow coffee, tea, napier grass etc and yet distances itself from the collective marketing woes. Meetings are called by different ministries and the same issues regarding the same crop are discussed resulting in different angles. At the end a farmer does not know the advice to follow. For effective dispensation of the ministries roles in the district, there is need for some of these ministries to be merged - or at least better coordinated - since the farmer is their ultimate client15.
- Provision of extension in terms of information alone does not help much. “Our youth may want to try their hand in agriculture but because capital acquisition is a problem, they may seem to be uninterested. The government should give much more priority to farmer support structures like AFC so that our youths, after realizing there is no other way out, can borrow from the institution and start something in agriculture”, says Mzee John Muge of Kigathu sub-location16.

Adulterated/fake inputs

Adulterated agricultural inputs was a very thorny issue in the focus group discussions. Stakeholders feel that it is the duty of MoA to protect them from the sub-standard inputs. Cases were pointed out of fake fertilizers, livestock drugs, pesticides – and even fake money. The case of fake money affects the general public as once the money is released into the market it goes to national circulation. The government was criticised for privatising breeding services, as farmers claim that there are more fake private breeders than good ones.

“Our milk and calf production may be low not because we are incompetent, but because capital acquisition is a problem. “Our youth may want to try their hand in agriculture but because capital acquisition is a problem, they may seem to be uninterested. The government should give much more priority to farmer support structures like AFC so that our youths, after realizing there is no other way out, can borrow from the institution and start something in agriculture”, says Mzee John Muge of Kigathu sub-location16.

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Coffee marketing messes
Coffee is one of the major cash crops of Nyeri South. Statistics to show how much it earns for the district were not available but, according to the DAO, the amount is high and would have been much higher had the crop been given the attention it deserves.

Coffee production and marketing in the district suffers from a number of problems. Coffee management, as the farmers say, is not carried out in a transparent manner. Coffee marketing is an exercise done in secrecy such that the farmers themselves have no idea what their coffee delivered in the factories will eventually fetch. When the beans are being auctioned, not even one farmer or one member of the factory is present. Farmers wait for whatever money the broker brings back. More often than not farmers get their advance payment ahead of the January school fee paying period and this only amounts to half the total amount. The bonus payments take between three to eight months or at times a full year. This long duration before payments, not so transparent way of marketing is an exercise done in secrecy such that the farmers themselves have no idea what their coffee delivered in the factories will eventually fetch.

Some farmers now have their coffee trees neglected by the government and other stakeholders like retired chiefs, agrovets and senior citizens with a long history of agricultural practices in the district. For farmers’ views, focus group discussions were employed. The focus groups consisted of 5 to 7 respondents of varying ages with at least two in every focus group being older people with clear memories of how the agricultural sector has transformed over time. The discussions were interesting, with farmers deliberating amongst themselves before taking common stands on opinions that were then expressed and recorded.

Participants were asked to differentiate periods in the recent history of agriculture in Nyeri South, according to how agriculture in the district was faring and the roles played by the Ministry of Agriculture in supporting this. The periods quoted were dependent on how far back respondents could remember. Every group therefore came up with the earliest time they could remember, but time intervals were agreed upon before starting discussions. It was agreed before the discussions that the time intervals be roughly 10 years. Table 3 below indicates the periods and subsequent responses given.

From the focus group discussions, it is evident that the agricultural sector has evolved over time. The pre-independence era was marked with abundant availability of land and anyone still enjoyed the benefits of extension officers visiting and training them. Extension services were available. There were specialised extension agents for coffee, tea and livestock. The pre independence era also marked the emergence of Farmers Training Centres and the 4K clubs. The post independence era was marked with major agricultural upheavals. Immediately after independence, calm returned to the district and agricultural development continued. The agricultural sector was “liberalised”, in the sense that anybody could grow anything, but some conditions were still in place. For example, you could grow coffee on condition that you did not intercrop it with any other crop. The natives were not allowed to own pure exotic dairy cows, but to continually cross breed their indigenous cows to a pedigree level. The instructions from the extension officers were still law and anybody going to the contrary was penalised. The district still enjoyed the benefits of extension officers as they still used to visit and train but land availability started dwindling. President Kenyatta called on people to buy land as nothing comes for free. There was a hot scramble for land in the Rift Valley.

The 1980s marked the start of the sector’s downfall. The reducing numbers of extension personnel was felt as well as their lack of morale to perform. The dairy sector was liberalised and breeding privatised, posing hurdles to farmers in getting timely services. The 1990s marked the worst interval in the agricultural transformation in the district. Most farmer support structures suffered political interference that ensured their collapse. Farmers were no longer allowed to elect their leaders; instead the government started appointing them. Extension services were crippled as there were retirements without replacements.

The period from 2000 to the present is marked with a sigh of relief to most farmers, save for those growing coffee. The revival of vital farmer support structures like Kenya Cooperative Creameries (New KCC), Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), Kenya Farmers’ Association (KFA) and others have not only helped farmers but also restored hope in the sector. The emergence of credit institutions as well as strong farmer organizations have also helped and as a result the agricultural sector is booming in the district. But on the sad side, coffee is still inundated in huge production and marketing woes made worse by political interference. “One of the major challenges in the coffee subsector is that its organization is full of politicians rather than farmers”, one of the coffee farmers told us.

The elections in coffee societies are almost always marred with violence and disenfranchisement of the voters. The politicians in the subsector are resource endowed and are able to mount a dirty campaign and win. “Until these malpractices and politics are divorced from the subsector, coffee will gradually extinct itself from the district”, one farmer lamented.

6. Performance of Ministry of Agriculture Over Time
It is important to understand how the agricultural sector has evolved over time. The following section looks at past performance of Ministry of Agriculture in Nyeri South to relate it to the sector’s performance from the pre-independence era to the present day. The information reported in this section was provided by farmers and other stakeholders like retired chiefs, agrovets and senior citizens with a long history of agricultural practices in the district. For farmers’ views, focus group discussions were employed. The focus groups consisted of 5 to 7 respondents of varying ages with at least two in every focus group being older people with clear memories of how the agricultural sector has transformed over time. The discussions were interesting, with farmers deliberating amongst themselves before taking common stands on opinions that were then expressed and recorded.

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From the focus group discussions, it is evident that the agricultural sector has evolved over time. The pre-independence era was marked with abundant availability of land and anyone was entitled to any piece at any time. The population was still very low, soil fertility quite high and the climatic conditions were favourable. It is also the era that coffee was introduced and land demarcation started. With land given titles, people started moving slowly to their respective pieces and the sector started its march to serious agriculture. The pre-independence era, however, came with insecurity issues arising from the Mau-Mau uprising, to which the colonialists responded by forcing people into concentration camps in order to contain the rebellion. Nevertheless, they were allowed to work on their farms by day and the agricultural sector still performed well. Food was available but growing of cash crops was still restricted and only politically correct Africans were allowed to grow them. Extension services were available. There were specialised extension agents for coffee, tea and livestock. The pre independence era also marked the emergence of Farmers Training Centres and the 4K clubs.

The post independence era was marked with major agricultural upheavals. Immediately after independence, calm returned to the district and agricultural development continued. The agricultural sector was “liberalised”, in the sense that anybody could grow anything, but some conditions were still in place. For example, you could grow coffee on condition that you did not intercrop it with any other crop. The natives were not allowed to own pure exotic dairy cows, but to continually cross breed their indigenous cows to a pedigree level. The instructions from the extension officers were still law and anybody going to the contrary was penalised. The district still enjoyed the benefits of extension officers as they still used to visit and train but land availability started dwindling. President Kenyatta called on people to buy land as nothing comes for free. There was a hot scramble for land in the Rift Valley.

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6.1. Ministry of Agriculture’s Interface with other stakeholders
In order for the Ministry to achieve its goal, especially with its lean personnel, the need to collaborate well and effectively with other players in
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<td>1943-1953</td>
<td>Colonial govern-</td>
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<td>ment threw blacks</td>
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<td>cult sector.</td>
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<td>Farms were</td>
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<td>no demarcation,</td>
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<td>brought hunger</td>
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<td>in 1944/45.</td>
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<td>1954-1962</td>
<td>Land demarcation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>started, land</td>
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<td></td>
<td>still fertile, instructors advised on fertilizer use.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Extension was exemplary with regular farm visits.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Agriculture for subsistence use only. Cash crop growing restricted to whites and some few politically correct blacks.</td>
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<td>1963-1970</td>
<td>Independence came</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and detained relieved.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>White extension officers left divisions and moved to district levels. Everyone allowed to venture into cash crop farming and dairy sector. Extension very good, but the number of white extension officers started dwindling</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971-1980</td>
<td>Land became hot</td>
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<td></td>
<td>cake when Kenyatta said ‘get what you can’. Fragmentation of land ensued.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Extension services ok with instructors visiting farms and ordering what to be done.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Moi regime started and some few sectors started ailing</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981-1990</td>
<td>Extension person-</td>
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<td>nel's number reduced. There was laxity of services as white officers started diminishing. Agric sector was stagnating instead of an upward trend. Coffee subsector did well. Meal for subsistence was grown. Milk production dwindled because of troubles at KCC.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>Political interfer-</td>
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<td>ences marred farmer support institutions. The farmer elected bodies were substituted with government appointments. The start of coffee woe started by the politicians refusing to pay 19 million kgs of coffee. Extension services came to its knees. The sector was collapsing.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-1980</td>
<td>Various centres sprung up, education of black extensionists started. Moi took over power and marked the start of the regions woes. One very good specie of Irish potatoes introduced; it does well and people liked it (name could not be recalled)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981-1990</td>
<td>Era marked the start of bad governance. Most farmer institutions started ailing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>Coffee payments went to its peak, production increased as well. Subsistence farming slowly gave way to commercial farming. Pressure on land became a reality. Extension services weaker in numbers of personnel and services offered. The collapse of farmer support structures marked the era. Notably the collapse of KCC injured the dairy sector in the district.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>Cofeedidwellbut</td>
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<td>Moirrefusedtopay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19 million kgs of coffee. Tea was constantly doing well. Milk prices were deregulated. Private processors started to come into play and bought milk directly from farmers. This further injured KCC. Extension services grew weaker and the absence of white officers were conspicuous.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991-2000</td>
<td>Agricultural sector went really down, 19 million kgs of coffee were not paid and who demonstrated were beaten. Moi nevertheless paid for the free primary school milk scheme and KCC went under and the stabilised dairy sector badly. Farmer support structures went down due to gross mismanagements and political interferences.</td>
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the field cannot be over-emphasized. Table 4 summarises the Ministry’s interaction with other stakeholders in the district.

In terms of stakeholder interaction Nyeri South district is lagging behind especially when a comparison is done with the other districts this study has been conducted in. On the other hand the district can be venerated on the grounds that it is still a young district and will establish itself with time. There is no interaction between MoA and the Ministry of Fisheries or Ministry of Cooperatives because these two ministries have no personnel on the ground. The Ministry of Cooperatives is said to have one ministry blamed the other in delaying payments and they have decided to have separate bills on these two items. The MoA has managed to reconnect their water line but electricity has remained elusive for the last two years.

Besides the limited interaction amongst the Ministries, there is also no interaction with the NGO world. This is because non-governmental organizations are scarcely present in the district. Christian Children Fund (CCF) is an NGO that supports children from poor families by paying their education fee, while Africa Harvest based in Nyeri town has an agricultural focus but operates rather intermittently in the district. Attempts to meet them proved futile.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>Interface with MoA</th>
<th>Nature of interface</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of livestock</td>
<td>• Economic Stimulus Package (ESP) Sensitizing 1 farmers about fish farming. Encouraging farmers to apply for the ESP money meant for fish farming in the district. • NALEP • Joint implementation of NALEP activities in various focal areas in the districts. • Njaa Marufuku Kenya, (NMK). Train farmers on improved ways of fighting food insecurity. Both livestock and crop farmers benefit. The two ministries also disburse funds to groups. Crop group Kshs 120,000 and Livestock group Kshs 150,000</td>
<td>• Sharing of resources like vehicles, motorbikes and budgeting together increase of joint field days • Joint budget preparation. The two Ministries share personnel and expertise in the focal area • Sharing of resources and expertise.Vehicles, drivers, workshop materials, motorbikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of forestry and Ministry of environment</td>
<td>Sensitizing farmers on the need to eliminate eucalyptus tree. The tree is said to absorb alot of water thereby scuttling the growing of other trees or crops in the surrounding areas. Joint tree planting sessions.</td>
<td>Sharing resources and jointly planning for the workshops and field days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Gender and Youth</td>
<td>Joint training youths on the need and the prospects of engaging in agriculture as a business.</td>
<td>Sharing resources like vehicles and sharing the budget costs for workshops and seminars.</td>
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Notes: NALERP = National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme

Notes: FTC = Farmer Training Centre; KCC = Kenyan Cooperative Creameries; AFC = Agricultural Finance Corporation; KFA = Kenya Farmers’ Association; NARC = National Rainbow Coalition; FTC = Farmer Training Centre; KCC = Kenyan Cooperative Creameries; AFC = Agricultural Finance Corporation; KFA = Kenya Farmers’ Association; NARC = National Rainbow Coalition
go the night without food because even hotels are closed by 7.30 – 8pm. Much of the insecurity problems were attributed to lack of legal gainful employments to the youths.

6.2. District Agricultural Committee and District Agricultural Stakeholders forum

The District Agricultural Committee is a gazetted policy body within the district that offers a platform to farmers to air their views concerning the sector and allows the relevant government ministries to coordinate their agricultural activities within the district. This body had not been formed 7 months after the division was elevated to a district. The DAO admits that they are running late and it is his intention to strengthen what was there before, i.e the sub-DAC and the divisional stakeholders’ forum, and elevate them to district status. At the moment coordination of agricultural activities can only be felt between two ministries, that of MoA and MoLD. The DAO having worked in different places within the country in the same capacity has his work cut-out. He knows what to do at any stage and he gives us a detailed over-view on how these bodies been in existence, effective and authoritative; we would have not lost that much”, says the farmer22. It will be very interesting to see how the DAO manages to deal with these types of issues, particularly with the near absence of NGOs in the area. NGOs are observed to be the major driving force behind these forums in some other districts and their absence will be a stumbling block to the sector’s much needed organization.

6.3. Limitations of Ministry of Agriculture.

Ministry of Agriculture in Nyeri South has a number of limitations. Officially the ministry’s policy is that the budget is drawn up from bottom to top, so the district officials come up with their budget and forward it to the headquarters. In practice the headquarters cuts down the budgets without communication with the district agricultural office. This messes the districts projected output but since they are left with no choice, they simply abide. Financial issues aside, the ministry charged with coordinating the sector players is doing so with few staff. Staff are also less effective in the sense that they are demotivated due to low remuneration and allowances.

Nyeri South lacks a number of personnel, although the DAO is very optimistic that their lobbying to get more staff will be rewarded sooner rather than later. Figure 1 below gives an understanding of the missing gaps in terms of personnel within the district. At the district level, three subject matter specialists, (SMS) are yet to be deployed. This poses serious challenge in the district work-plans. The district has three divisions, Othaya Central, Othaya North and Othaya South. Both Othaya North and Othaya South have only one frontline extension officer and lack five divisional subject matter specialists. The Central Division has HOMECC and DADO but misses the rest.

Overall, out of the minimum requirement (for this district) of 37 personnel, the district currently has 10 technical personnel and one support staff. They have a vehicle but no driver. They borrow a driver from their Livestock counterparts who have no vehicle. The DAO is in need of 23 more technical staff and three more support staff. A driver, procurement officer and a clerk will seal the support staff vacuum in the district.

On the other hand the Ministry of Livestock’s Department of Veterinary Services have an overflowing staff complement in the area. This is despite the fact that the district is reported to be near disease-free with only few reports on mastitis and occasional vaccinations against anthrax, lumpy skin disease and black quarter. According to the veterinary head in the district, the work force is reduced to mere disease surveillance23. At the time of this study, some of the MoA locational jurisdictions were manned by animal health assistants from the Livestock Ministry. This is on mutual agreement between the two ministries.

It is very interesting to see that, with only coffee woes in the sector, agriculture continues to perform better in the district even without the help of NGOs and with few agricultural personnel. The farmers’ commitment to undertake farming as a business and the private24 extension agents must be having a hand in this. Farmers understand that services must be demanded and paid for if at all one is to operate a gainful agricultural business.

Targets and time allocations.

Every officer in the district has a performance contract to sign. It is from this document that an officer knows his targets. From this document coupled with personal interview, we sought to know how a frontline extension worker spends their time.

The agricultural sector has many stakeholders but not all have a permanent place in this committee. NGOs (if any), input and output stockists, input and output manufacturers can be called from time to time whenever a relevant topic that requires their input comes onto the agenda.

District Agricultural Committee is a place where farmers and other stakeholders articulate their issues through their representatives. DAC responds directly to concerns raised by different stakeholders. In theory, more difficult issues are forwarded to the Provincial Agriculture Board (PAB) and, if necessary, to the higher level where concerns raised by players in the sector are looked into at policy level.

The District Agricultural Stakeholders Forum (DASF) is a body composed of;

- Input stockists
- Out-put buyers
- Non Governmental organisations
- Farmers
- Input and output manufacturers
- Credit institutions
- Office of the President, provincial administration.

Ministry officials will be present in these meeting but with no veto powers, they will attend in ex officio capacities. This body’s main work will be to harmonise stakeholders’ activities within the district. Whenever there is a disagreement between two industry players, this body will also act as the first option for arbitration. A farmer we talked to lamented his woes on the lack of DAC and DASF in the district. He together with some other farmers sold their milk to some little known company in Nairobi. Since the company was giving more money than New KCC and Brookside, they continued supplying the company in the second month. The company paid the first month but disappeared at the end of the second month with all their money. “Had
Mr. Jackson is a FEW in charge of Chinga South location. Unlike his Rachuonyo counterparts charged with a target of 741 farmers, his annual target is a mere 300 farmers. He meets his target by allocating his time as shown in Figure 2 below:

- Individual visits 40%
- Information desk 15%
- Barazas 5%
- Field days 10%
- Demos 20%
- Others 10%

Mr. Jackson says he not only meets his target, he surpasses it. However, four FEWs each meeting 300 farmers per year represents very limited coverage for a district of perhaps 20,000 farm households. Even with the supposed full complement of nine FEWs in post, these targets would leave most farmers in the district unvisited each year.

Staff morale and sector performance
Ministry officials, particularly the diploma holders deployed at the divisional level, are a very demoralised lot. Most of them have been serving in the same job group for over 10 years without the prospects of getting promotion. Worse still, a number have tried in vain to apply for the employer sponsored study leave. They feel that politics have overtaken ethics and for one to get these rare chances, corruption has to come into play. This greatly hinders career progression for deserving officers as chances are not pegged on an individual’s hard work or impressive performance but on corrupt means. These diploma holders at the division are the officers who are charged with feeding the hierarchy with information, they assist FEWs with day to day extension and yet they are lowly paid, they work under poor schemes and above all get very slim or no allowances.

An officer is considered for transfer after a 3 year period but this is sometimes over-looked. The DAO has the powers to reshuffle his division and location personnel within the district. Likewise, on an advice from the DAO, the PDA may transfer and officer within the province.

7. Infrastructure
Nyeri South district is months old and lacks some of the most basic office requirements. Since the District Agriculture office lacks electricity, the use of computer cannot be sustained. We are told the office owns one computer but it is stored somewhere since there is no power. The office lacks a printer, photocopiers and enough office furniture. Furthermore the district office premises are the same ones used previously for...
divisional headquarters. The walls are good and strong but the iron sheets roofs are old and rusted. The offices are not enough as they are shared between district and central division. On the other hand, the district office has a functioning telephone land line and even running piped water.

The office has one motorbike for NALEP activities which means that it is shared among the two ministries, MoA and MoLD. The motor vehicle in their possession is an old one which was initially used at the (former) district and later relegated to the divisions. Since the district was created some few months ago, it is yet to get a better vehicle and send the old one to the division. Many of the agricultural officers interviewed said that if they are given more resources they would definitely do the following in order:

- Employ more technical staff
- Solve transport issues by buying a vehicle and motorbikes
- Increase money on capacity building
- Reconnect electricity and purchase office equipment

The district has a very good road network; most roads are either tarmacked already or are being tarmacked at the time of this study. Market structures also are functioning well. The main products, tea and milk have no major problems in terms of marketing. The district has 18 coffee factories but as was said before, the coffee societies have more politicians than growers. This has messed this subsector to date.

8. Fragmentations of Ministry of Agriculture

In recent years the agriculture sector has witnessed repeated splitting of the ministry, seemingly at will or whenever a new administration ascends to power. Once upon a time the sector had one very big ministry, that of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Marketing. This ministry basically contained agriculture in the sense of crops, all livestock including fish and the marketing part which should be understood as the present day cooperatives.

Meanwhile, the curriculum for extension agents is basically the same, irrespective of the ministry that they eventually enter, with very little specialization. This is the reason why an extension agent from the Veterinary Department in the Ministry of Livestock can effectively stand-in for an absentee agriculture colleague.

The DAO feels that these intermittent splits have not worked well for the farmer: “The farmer, whom all these ministries are working hard to serve, is getting more confused. He has to attend various stakeholders meetings, some called collectively, others called on individual basis”

This is the same view held by many farmers. They feel that it is better for these ministries to be merged and made stronger. All their life they have known extension workers as ‘watu wa agriculture’ (agriculture people) and the larger percentage still go to agriculture people even with livestock issues. “If livestock people can attend to us on crops problems, why split them?” pondered a farmer from Gatugi location.

Coffee is one of the country’s major cash crops. Its production is seen as the business of MoA yet its marketing is under the Ministry of Cooperatives. This confuses the farmer. Tea as another cash crop has its own extension agents from Kenya Tea Development Agency. Since the authority does not have enough personnel, MoA agents carry out extension services to tea farmers. At times there is no proper synchronisation as the two agents are seen to advise differently. This further confuses the farmer and lowers production in due course.

The DAO feels that even some of the government agricultural parastatals should be merged to make them more effective and strong and thereby to help serve the farmers effectively. He pointed out the case of National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPB) together with Agriculture Finance Corporation. His argument replicates those we gathered in Uasin Gishu. Farmers are charged more for the AFC loans because NCPB has delayed to pay for the produce they delivered to them. If the two are merged and well streamlined, farmers can be spared such agonies.


Nyeri South district has not had the chance to prepare a budget of their own. However, in the coming financial year, the district will have to come up with a budget for eventual funding from the relevant baskets especially from MoA headquarters in Nairobi. The DAO talked to us on how he intends to carry out his budget preparation process.

First the divisional workforce shall call a meeting of their own and discuss all that they want to be in their workplan. These must be accompanied with how much an activity costs. Once that is done and agreeable, the team shall come to the district level for a meeting with their colleagues at the district headquarters. They will present and defend their budget. From there the district personnel shall expand the budget to include their activities. At the end a meeting will again be called for all technical staff in the district for a final say before the budget is dispatched to the headquarters for funding.


Coffee is one of the major cash crops in the district. It is marred with marketing issues which are now affecting its production as well. Coffee societies have more politicians than real coffee growers and whenever an election is called for, they (politicians) are able to mount well-financed campaigns and eventually win. Stakeholders know that the government is somehow involved in this mess, but they are still asking the same government to be serious and help them out.

Those other farmers who have no more trust in the government have already cut back or uprooted their coffee trees and made charcoal out of them. There is urgent need for MoA and Ministry of Cooperatives to come in and help coffee farmers in the district and indeed nationwide.

At the time of the study the dairy subsector was also doing well. This owed much to the strong market competition between New KCC and its private rivals. In addition, farmers are hard working and the climatic conditions of the district do not favour many diseases. There is a need to redeploy the many staff at the Veterinary Department to serve in less well staffed parts of the country or to be incorporated into the MoA system as they are doing now on an informal basis.

Areas like this district should be used as pilot areas to test new ideas like the demand-driven approach of extension. Because many of the farming families have good sources of money, they see no problem in demanding and paying for services, at least where dairy is concerned.

MoA in the district needs to launch and strengthen its stakeholder forum not only to weed out fake private purveyors of animal breeding services, which farmers are crying foul of, but also to help streamline, coordinate and harmonize stakeholder activities in the district. This will also alleviate the problem that exists between the input stockists and the MoA personnel, (outdated advice given to farmers by MoA personnel on inputs to buy).

Ministry of Agriculture should encourage a meaningful exit of demoralised coffee farmers to engage in horticulture as some farmers have already done. Horticulture seems to be a very big opportunity in the district. Previously horticultural crops used to come from neighbouring districts of Mathira and Mukurweini.

There is very minimal interaction of MoA with the output buyers and manufacturers. There is need to incorporate these stakeholders so that
the market of agricultural produce can be further enhanced and unscrupulous/fake output buyers like those of milk from Nairobi can be dealt with.

End Notes

1 Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Nyeri South District (interview)

2 Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Nyeri South District (interview plus charts in the district office)

3 Personal interview, Gatugi location – December 2009

4 Personal interview, Gatugi location – December 2009

5 Personal Interview, MoLD offices, Nyeri South District – December 2009

6 This was also a major topic of discussion at the feedback workshop in Othaya on 05/02/2010.

7 Equity’s “Kilimo Biashara” product offers full balloon repayment, but is targeted towards cereals producers, so is of limited interest to farmers in Nyeri South.

8 Personal interview, MoA offices, Nyeri South district – December 2009

9 Personal interview, MoLD offices, Nyeri South District – December 2009

10 Personal interview, Othaya town – December 2009

11 Personal Interview, Iriaini – December 2009

12 Personal Interview, MoA offices, Nyeri South District – November 2009

13 Personal Interview, MoLD offices, Veterinary Department Nyeri South District – December 2009

14 Group discussions, Githunguri Kanyange society – December 2009

15 Personal Interview, Githunguri Kanyange – December 2009

16 Personal interview, Kiaguthu sublocation – December 2009

17 Group discussion, Iriani – December 2009

18 Personal interview, Kiaguthu Coffee factory – December 2009

19 4K’s stands for “Kuungana, kufanya na kusaidia Kenya”.

20 Group discussion, Kiaguthu group – December 2009

21 Group discussion, Kiaguthu Group – December 2009

22 Group discussion, Chinga group - December 2009

23 Personal interview, MoLD offices, Nyeri South District – December 2009

24 Efforts to meet some of them did not bear any fruit as they are based in Nyeri town and are constantly on call. They give more priority to duty call than a call to be interviewed.

25 It’s worth noting that Rachuonyo has since been sub-divided in to two districts, Rachuonyo South and North districts. The larger Nyeri district out of sub-divisions produced four; Municipality, Tetu, Nyeri South and Mukurweini Districts.

26 Personal interview, MoA offices, Nyeri South District – December 2009

27 Personal Interview, Gatugi location – December 2009

28 Field work took place prior to the 2009-10 crisis in KCC.

Appendix:
The list of people interviewed during the survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual Farmers</th>
<th>Farmer Groups</th>
<th>Farm Input Stockists</th>
<th>Farm Output Buyers</th>
<th>Credit Institutions</th>
<th>Government Bodies</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kibui Gichigi</td>
<td>Githunguri Kanyangi horticultural group</td>
<td>Joe Agencies</td>
<td>Jaribu traders</td>
<td>Equity Bank</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
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<td>Jackson Maina</td>
<td>Kiaguthu coffee farmers Association</td>
<td>Eliziana Agroverts</td>
<td>Othaya Dairy</td>
<td>Taifa SACCO</td>
<td>Ministry of Livestock Development</td>
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<td>John Muge</td>
<td>Chinga Tea farmers Association</td>
<td>Othaya Dairy farmers, farm input department</td>
<td>Kiaguthu Coffee factory</td>
<td>Wanaichi SACCO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Githinji</td>
<td>Gatugi mixed farmers Association</td>
<td>Sharkvile Agrovert</td>
<td>Gaturuturu Dairy farmers group</td>
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<td>Ayub</td>
<td>Chinga Tea Factory</td>
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<td>Samuel Mahiyau</td>
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<td>Joseph Gichiama</td>
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<td>Mary Wanjeri</td>
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This Research Paper was written by Blessings Chinsinga of the Future Agricultures Consortium. The series editor is David Hughes. Further information about this series of Working Papers at: www.future-agricultures.org

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