

AGRI-FOOD SYSTEM GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN UGANDA

A Case Study of Mukono District



Barbara Ntambirweki-Karugonjo Julian Barungi

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AASP	Agricultural Advisory Service Provider
ACODE	Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment
AO	Agricultural Officer
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
DSC	District Service Commission
ENR	Environment and Natural Resources
FO	Fisheries Officer
LC	Local Council
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
MUZARDI	Mukono Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Institute
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NARO	National Agricultural Research Organisation
NEMA	National Environment Management Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PMA	Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
SAS	Senior Assistant Secretary
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
VO	Veterinary Officer

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It has been predicted by scholars like Millstone and Thompson that governing agrifood systems to improve agricultural production and productivity; reduce hunger and malnutrition and improve farmers' incomes, *inter alia*, is likely to become harder in many countries in the coming decades. Despite this plausible forecast, countries like Uganda facing challenges of declining agricultural production and food insecurity are doing very little to examine the governance of their agri-food systems to proactively address emerging and future challenges. Using Mukono district as a case study, this paper tries to examine some governance aspects of Uganda's local agri-food systems. It analyses Mukono district's major agricultural and food institutional mechanisms, resource allocation to the agri-food sector and the sector's budget decision-making processes. The study also highlights some issues concerning delivery of agri-food services in the district.

In terms of the institutional framework, the governance of Mukono district's agri-food system is spread among a wide range of (mainly public) institutions. The major agri-food institutional mechanisms in Mukono district include the district local council, the production and the natural resources sectors. Other major institutional mechanisms of relevance to the governance of Mukono district's agri-food system include the Office of the Chief Administrative Officer and the Office of the Resident District Commissioner. Private institutions and civil society organisations play a limited role in agri-food system governance and decision-making processes. They are mainly involved in service delivery.

A key finding of this study regarding Mukono district's agri-food system institutional mechanisms is that they are poorly coordinated. For instance, the production and natural resource departments which are the most relevant mechanisms in Mukono District's agri-food institutional and service delivery system, work independently and in isolation from each other. This obviously affects their efficiency in terms of achieving the objectives of improving agricultural production and food security, while protecting the integrity of the environment and natural resources. It has also been established that there are a number of unfilled posts in Mukono district's agri-food institutional set up. This undoubtedly impacts on the capacity of the district to effectively deliver agri-food services to the people.

Regrettably, the fear by the councillors and local leaders to lose political support from their constituencies greatly affects their willingness to make and enforce byelaws, ordinances and policies necessary to ensure environmental protection, sustainable agricultural production and food security. This is particularly because such policies or byelaws would require greater responsibility from the masses including, for instance, stopping them from degrading the swamps and wetlands from which a number of them derive their incomes and livelihood.

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In some sub-counties with agricultural officers (AOs) that did not convert to agricultural advisory service providers (AASPs) under the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), there exist two parallel and competing agri-food structures. The AASPs recruited and working under NAADS are doing the same work that AOs at that level do. The relationship between these AASPs and the AOs is not clear. While those in each category know their roles, their operations are not so streamlined as to complement each other. This results in duplication of services, wastage of resources and unnecessary competition. There is also a lot of anxiety among the AOs whose future remains very uncertain.

With respect to Mukono district's agri-food system budget and budget governance, three key observations can be made. First, the district's agri-food sector budget, like the budgets for other sectors is largely determined by central government through the budgetary indicative figures it provides to the district at the beginning of the budgetmaking process and the conditional grants it gives to the district which constitute about 90 per cent of the district's budget. Second, there is little public participation in the district's budget-making and decision-making processes. The district budget conference which is supposed to be the major avenue for public participation in the district budget governance and decision-making is poorly organised. Invitations are usually sent out very late; a number of stakeholders are not invited; and the time for stakeholders' contribution to the deliberations is very limited. Besides, there is very little flexibility to change budget proposals because they are usually based on the indicative figures for the conditional grants from central government which, as earlier pointed out, constitute about 90 per cent of the district's budget. Finally, Mukono district's agri-food system budget is too small to make any meaningful impact in terms of creating a robust system that would guarantee sustainable increased agricultural production and food security, while protecting the integrity of the environment.

The study makes a number of recommendations for improving the governance and funding of Mukono District agri-food system. Key among these include:

- □ Central Government should urgently conclude the staff restructuring exercise in the production sector to enable the district service commission recruit and fill all the vacant posts;
- Streamline the operations of the AASPs and the sub-county production extension staff to avoid unnecessary competition, duplication of efforts, wastage of resources and anxiety;
- Encourage and support the active participation of civil society and farmer groups in the agri-food governance and decision-making processes;
- □ The Budget Conference, which is a one day event, should be given sufficient time—at least three days;
- Lobby Central Government to increase resource allocation to the agri-food sector;

- Mainstream agri-food issues in all other sectoral budgets;
- □ Train the district councilors and the local leadership about making bye-laws and ordinances;
- □ Increase awareness of farmers, farmers' groups and CSOs working on issues of agriculture and food security about the mandate, roles and functions of the different local agri-food institutions/offices; and
- □ NAADS should involve farmers and their leaders in the development of the rules and guidelines governing farmers' groups and fora.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last two and a half decades Uganda has witnessed many interventions aimed at ensuring sustainable use of the environment, increased agricultural production and food security. These interventions have included: the restructuring of the ministry responsible for agriculture; the creation of the office of the Presidential Advisor on Agriculture; the establishment of the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) to coordinate and oversee all agricultural research activities in Uganda; the establishment of the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) to increase farmers' access to information, knowledge and technology; the adoption of the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture; the adoption of the Uganda National Food and Nutrition Policy; and the adoption of the Prosperity for All Policy.

Although these interventions have had some positive impact, on the whole, they are failing to appreciably protect the environment, improve agricultural production and ensure food security for all Ugandans.¹ Arguably, this is partly attributed to the fact that many of these agricultural sector and food security-related initiatives do not adquately address the governance issues affecting the national and local agri-food systems. Good governance is key for any system or institution to achieve its objectives. Therefore, unless and until the governance issues affecting Uganda's national and local agri-food systems are properly identified and adequately addressed, there is very little that can be expected in terms of improving agricultural production, food security and maintaining the integrity of the Environment and Natural Resources (ENR).

It is in the above regard that this study sets out to examine the governance of Uganda's local agri-food systems, using Mukono district as a case study. This study is linked to two similar studies that ACODE is undertaking in the districts of Ntungamo and Tororo. Like is the case with the Ntungamo and Tororo studies, the major objective of this case study is to provide some insights into how Uganda's local agri-food systems are governed and provide recommendations that can help to improve their governance and efficiency.

This study has three specific objectives. First, it identifies and examines the major existing local agri-food institutional mechanisms. Second, it analyses Mukono district's agri-food budget, budget governance and financing of agri-food service delivery. Finally, as a way forward, the case study provides some recommendations that can help to address the governance challenges facing Mukono district's agri-food system.

¹ See Naluwairo, R., (2011). In Quest for an Efficient Agri-Food System: Reflections on Uganda's Major Agri-Food Policies and Policy Frameworks. ACODE Policy Research Series No.49, p1.

The paper is divided into eight sections. Section 1 is the introduction. Section 2 briefly analyses the concept of agri-food system governance and provides the scope of this study. Section 3 provides the methodology that was followed in conducting the study. Section 4 is a brief over-view of Mukono district. Section 5 briefly analyses the state of agricultural production, food security and ENR in Mukono district. Section 6 analyses Mukono district's major agri-food institutional mechanisms. Analysis of Mukono district's agri-food budget, budget governance and financing of agri-food service delivery is done in section 7. The conclusion and way forward are the subject of section 8.

THE CONCEPT OF AGRI-FOOD SYSTEM GOVERNANCE

"Agri-food system" is a very broad and multi-faceted concept.² It comprises a number of rules, actors, relationships, processes and activities involved in the production, processing, packaging, distribution, consumption and recycling of food.³ Agri-food system governance can therefore be simply defined as the way the different actors and processes across the entire agricultural and food chain organise and relate with one another to achieve certain outcomes.⁴ As Renn⁵ and Millstone⁶ put it, the concept involves the actions, processes and institutions by which power and authority are exercised and decisions are taken and implemented across the entire agriculture and food system.

From the brief analysis of the concept of "agri-food system governance" above, it is apparent that doing a holistic examination of agri-food system governance in Mukono district requires analysing very many aspects including actors, rules and policies, institutions, decision-making processes, and accountability mechanisms among others. Owing to a number of limitations, this is not possible in this study. This study focuses only on a few aspects of agri-food system governance in Mukono district. It focuses mainly on Mukono district's major agri-food institutional mechanisms and the district's agri-food system budget and budget decision-making processes.

² Ibid, p.7.

³ Pimbert, M., et al (2001), *Global Restructuring, Agri-Food Systems and Livelihood*, International Institute for Environment and Development, London, p.4.

⁴ The major objectives of any agri-food system are to ensure: food security; efficient growth in the food and agricultural sectors; satisfactory nutritional status for the population and improved incomes. See Naluwairo (2011), supra note 1, p.7.

⁵ Renn, O., (2008), *Risk Governance: Coping with Uncertainty in a Complex World*, Earthscan, London.

⁶ Millstone, E., et al. (2010), *Agri-food systems governance: An Analytical Framework*, Foresight Project on Global Food and Farming Futures, Working Paper No. 8.

METHODOLOGY

This study used a number of data collection methods but the main ones were literature review; review of relevant instruments and official documents; and in-depth unstructured interviews with different stakeholders. The relevant instruments and documents reviewed include the Mukono District Development Plan; the district budget framework papers: the district council minutes; and, the Local Government Act. The key informants interviewed, include: the Mukono district Vice Chairperson; the District Production Officer; the District NAADS Coordinator; the District Environmental Officer; agricultural officers at the subcounties; and the Uganda National Farmers' Federation district representative. In addition to these officers, in-depth interviews were also conducted with selected farmers and representative of farmer groups particularly in the sub-counties of Ntenjeru, Nagojje and Nakifuma. For the full list of persons interviewed, see annex 1 of this paper.

This study also benefited from the attendance and participation of the research team in some stakeholder meetings where issues concerning agriculture and food security in Mukono district were discussed. For instance, in November 2010, the team participated in the food security baseline survey results dissemination workshop that was organised by the National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO) and ACODE in partnership with the Mukono district leadership. Beyond the dissemination of the results, this workshop dealt with a number of issues, many of which were directly relevant to the governance of the district's agri-food system. In December 2010, some members of the research team also had the privilege to attend the Mukono District Budget Conference where stakeholders in the district discussed the district budget proposals for 2011/2012.

The major field work for this study was done in November and December 2010. A followup fieldwork exercise was done in July 2011. All through the course of writing the paper, the research team sought more information and clarification from different stakeholders.

ABOUT MUKONO DISTRICT

Mukono is one of the now over 112 districts that comprise Uganda.

4.1 Physical Characteristics

Mukono district lies in the central region of Uganda. It shares borders with the districts of Buikwe in the East; Kayunga along River Sezibwa in the North; Luwero in the North West; Kampala and Wakiso in the South-West; and Lake Victoria and Tanzania in the South. The district headquarters are situated in Mukono town, 21 kms East of Kampala city.⁷ Mukono District has a total area of 2,986.47 km², 40 per cent of which is water -- comprising lakes, rivers, wetlands and swamps.⁸ The district lies on a high plateau - 1000-1300m above sea level.⁹

Mukono district's mean annual rainfall is 11,000mm, distributed over 106 rain days, with peaks in March to May and September

to November.¹⁰ Temperatures range between 16°^C and 28°^c throughout the year.¹¹ The district's vegetation cover is of the forest/savannah mosaic characterised by patches of dense forest in the south and scattered trees in shrubs and grassland of the north.¹² The district is also endowed with a lot of wetland vegetation species, many of which are utilized by the local communities for food, fuel, building materials, medicines and raw materials for crafts.¹³

- 9 Ibid, p.2.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.



⁷ Mukono District Development Plan for FY 2010/11- 2012/13, p.1.

⁸ Ibid., pp.2 & 3.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics

The 2002 population census projected Mukono's mid-2011 population to be 536,400 people. Mukono has got a population density of 495 people per km² which more than tripples the national population density of 124 people per km². Currently, Mukono is estimated to have 15,493 infants and 142,438 children aged below five years. The population under 18 years is 443,946; the youth (18-30) are 175,708, while those aged 60 years and above are 38,975.¹⁴ Table 1 below shows the population dynamics of Mukono District.

Factor	Mukono District	Central Region	National
Population density	495 people per km2	175.7 people per km2	124 people per km2
Annual Growth Rate	2.6 %	2.6 %	3.3 %
Urbanization level	17 %	25 %	12 %
Homeless population	2,113	5,051	29,949
Infant population below 1 year	15,493	244,994	1,007,407
Population under 5 years	142,438	1,133,633	4,544,423
Children of primary school age (6 to 12 yrs)	178,409	1,421,189	5,373,678
Adolescents (10 – 24 years)	272,783	2,378,914	8,392,872
Population under 18 years	443,946	3,596,929	13,708,263
Adults above 18 years	351,447	2,978,496	10,733,821
Youth (18-30 years)	175,708	1,598,825	5,472,062
Elderly (60+ years)	38,975	291,799	1,101,039
Orphans (Less than 18 years)	65,709	583,037	1,796,343
PWDs	24,120	205,165	844,841

Table 1: Mukono District's Demographic Characteristics Compared with the Central Region and National Figures

Source: Mukono District Development Plan 2010-2015

¹⁴ Mukono District Development Plan, supra note 8, p.5.

Mukono's demographic characteristics have serious implications for the district's development. As the district's development plan rightly indicates, the many young and under-age people imply low per capita production of the youth and general contribution to the district's Gross Domestic Product. It also means a high level of dependence of the under-age youths on the working adults. The high number of young and energetic people in the district can, however, be harnessed to stimulate development. This is particularly so, if the district is able to create enough employment opportunities and equip the youth with the necessary working knowledge and skills.

4.3 Administrative and Political Structure

Mukono district comprises two counties, 15 sub-counties, 5 town/urban councils, 80 parishes/wards and 592 villages/zones.¹⁵ Table 2 below gives a summary of Mukono district's local governments and administrative units.

Counties	Local Governments		Administrative Units		
	Sub-counties	Town/Urban Councils	Parishes/Wards	Village/Zones	
Nakifuma	6	2 Town boards	31	235	
Mukono	9	1 Municipal council with Two Divisions & 1 Town board	49 [40 are rural]	357	
Total	15	5	80	592	

Table 2: Summary of Mukono District's Local Governments and Administrative Units

In terms of the political structure, like all other local governments in Uganda, Mukono district's supreme political and policy-making organ is the District Council. Currently, Mukono District Council comprises 30 elected councilors, of whom 18 are male and 12 female.¹⁶ The District Council is headed by an elected LC V Chairperson, supported by an Executive Committee of three persons drawn from the elected councilors. The Council conducts its business through five policy/sectoral committees i.e., Finance, Administration, Investment, Information and General Purpose; Community Development; Education, Sports, Health, Sanitation and Security; Production ; and Works, Water, Land, Urban and Regional Planning.¹⁷ These committees deliberate on policy issues and make recommendations to the District Council.

¹⁵ Ibid, p.3.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

4.4 Local Economy, Economic Opportunities and Poverty Levels

Despite its loss of big industries (like the Sugar Corporation of Uganda, Cable Corporation, UGMA, Tembo Steel manufacturing industry, Nile Breweries, and Picfare Textile industry) to the newly created district of Buikwe, Mukono district is still blessed with a number of factories and other economic infrastructure. Namanve industrial zone, which is likely to become Uganda's biggest industrial park, is located in Mukono district. The industries in this park so far include Century Bottling Plant for soft drinks, African Polybags producing polyethylene bags and Biyinzika Poultry Breeders. The district also hosts Lwanyonyi Industrial Park, Kyetume Abattoir, and a number of hotels including, Ridar and Colline hotels. The district also has a number of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

The above-mentioned industries, hotels and enterprises have contributed immensely to the economic development of the district by providing goods and services, employment opportunities and revenue among other benefits. The establishment of the Uganda Christian University in 1992 greatly boosted the district's economy. The establishment of this university has led to the setting up of many hostels, hotels and restaurants, entertainment places, shopping centres and a number of other businesses including banks and other financial institutions. Table 3 below summarises the economic activities that the different categories of persons in the district are engaged in.

	Category of People	Economic Activity
1	Youth	 Boda boda services Brick-laying Fishing and fish metering Petty trading Hair salon services Formal employment Gambling
2	Women	 Subsistance farming Craft-making Rearing poultry Petty trading House-keeping Animal husbandry Vanilla-growing

Table 3: Economic Activities in Mukono District Per Category of People

3	Men	 Farming both subsistence and commercial Trading Poultry-keeping Small-scale industries Formal employment Brick-laying Vanilla-growing Fishing/fish-mongering
4	People with disability	 Shoe-repairing Craft-making Tailoring Petty-trading
5	People living with HIV/AIDs	- Craft-making - Poultry-keeping - Petty-trading
6	The Elderly	- Subsistence-farming - Craft-making

Source: Mukono District Development Plan 2010-2015

Paradoxically, the economic development that has taken place in Mukono over the years notwithstanding, it is reported that the district has witnessed a general increase in poverty levels especially among the rural populace.¹⁸ It is estimated that nearly 50 per cent of Mukono's population is living below the poverty line.¹⁹ Poverty increase in the district over the last five years is attributed to a number of factors. But the major factor is the invasion of the banana and coffee wilt diseases which seriously affected the incomes of the people in the district.²⁰ The vanilla crop, which farmers in the district had turned to as substitute to coffee and banana also hit a snag when its world market price fell precipitously.²¹

20 Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.17.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

THE STATE OF MUKONO'S AGRICULTURE, FOOD SECURITY, ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Before analysing the governance of Mukono district's agri-food system, it is important to first briefly explore the state of the district's major agri-food base, i.e., agriculture and agricultural production, food security, environment and natural resources (ENR).

5.1 Agriculture and Agricultural Production

Travelling to Mukono early morning leaves one with nothing else to talk about save for the trucks filled with foodstuffs heading out of the district, which illustrates intense food and agricultural production within the district. Over 80 per cent of Mukono district is agricultural, characterized by low acreage subsistence production. The main food crops grown include cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, beans, yams, bananas and vegetables. Mukono is also now famously known for growing high-value crops like vanilla, flowers, aloe-vera and hot pepper which are steadily replacing coffee growing. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Mukono was one of the leading coffee producing districts in Uganda. But with the outbreak of the coffee wilt disease, many farmers started turning away from growing the crop. Alongside subsistence farming, are a few big commercial farmers like the Sugar Corporation of Uganda Limited (SCOUL) and Kasaku Tea Estates. The tea and sugar cane estates are so evident in Nagojje Sub-county where a number of farmers are converting from food crop production to cash crop production – as outgrowers of sugar and tea.

Farmers in the district mainly use and rely on local crop varieties. This is in spite of the fact that the district has two agricultural institutes, i.e., Mukono Zonal Agricultural Research and Development Institute (MUZARDI) and Coffee Research Institute in Kituza. This perhaps implies that there is no deliberate effort to ensure that agricultural technologies trickle down to the local communities. An Agricultural Officer (AO) for over a decade in the district who was the then Nagojje's AO confirmed that there is not much interaction between agricultural extension workers and farmers on one hand and the agricultural research institutes on the other."I am not familiar with the technologies at MUZARDI. We only meet at the national agricultural exhibition and in project workshops," Mr.Wandera stated.

In 2010, efforts to obtain statistics on the district's agricultural and food production and food security were futile. Mukono district production and planning departments hardly had any statistics on agricultural production in the district. "Statistics at the sub-county and district levels are poor since data collection is not well facilitated. In fact, the creation of Buvuma and Buikwe districts out of Mukono has disrupted the scanty statistics that previously existed," Dr. Mukulu, the District Production Officer, explained. At that time, Dr. Mukulu pointed out that his office was anxiously waiting for the results of the national agricultural census in which Mukono fully participated as a sample district. He explained that the results from the national agricultural census would form the baseline and make it easy for the district to update it at least annually.

It was however impressive to learn later that in 2011, the Mukono district production department conducted a survey whose findings are important for understanding the status of agricultural production in the district. Table 4 below shows the status of production of some of the major crops grown in Mukono district.

Сгор	Acreage	Expected yield (Tons)	Ideal productivity (tons/acre)	Current productivity (Tons/ Acre)	Production variance (Tons)
Maize	7,513,5	10,999	1.4 – 1.8	1.46	2,525.3
Beans	10,165	17,680.4	1.5 – 2	1.74	2,650
Banana	919	4,205	16	4.6	10,499
Vegetables	383.2	1,776.5	10	4.6	2,055
Coffee	36,648	26280	2.25	0.68	60678
Сосоа	3395	3395	1.2	1.0	679

Table 4: Status of Production of Major Crops in Mukono District

Source: Production Office, Mukono

5.2 Environment and Natural Resources

Mukono district is endowed with a wide range of environmental and natural resources. Among these resources are a large expanse of fresh water of Lake Victoria and Lake Kyoga with a lot of fauna; a number of natural forests including a part of Mabira forest which is a water catchment area for small rivers and streams that serve many people in Mukono and neighbouring districts; many wetlands and wildlife. Mukono district's ENR however, face a number of threats and challenges. These include the high population pressure, high level of industrialization without conducting environment impact assessments, poor disposal of polythene bags, deforestation as a result of high demand for timber products and wood fuel, and uncontrolled stone quarrying.



Figure 1: One of Degraded Wetlands in Mukono District

Source: Photo taken by the research team on 7 July 2011.

With respect to the issue of deforestation, Kifu and Mabira forests were some of the forests that were pointed out by the farmers as being heavily deforested. The increasing deforestation in the district is attributed to the rise in population and commercialization within and outside the district which have in turn created a high demand for forest products such as charcoal, firewood, timber and poles. Agricultural activities were also identified as contributors to environmental degradation for example in cases where wetlands were reclaimed and forests cleared for agricultural production.

Poor funding of the natural resources department, limited environmental awareness, lack of an independent professional enforcement unit and lack of political will were alluded to as some of the major challenges to the sustainable management of the environment and natural resources in the district.

5.3 Food security

Many people consider Mukono to be a food-secure district because, among other indicators, it is generally known to feed the neighbouring districts, towns and Kampala city. But the Head of the Production Sector in Mukono does not share in this view. According to him, although by national standards the food security situation is not alarming, the district is far from being food secure. Mukono district's food crop production is not copying with the increase in population and the food prices remain high for the average common person. According to 2011 statistics from Mukono district production

office, only 15 per cent of the district's population (representing about 63,030 persons) can afford three meals a day. 77 per cent can only afford two meals and 8 per cent, one meal a day. These statistics mean that many people in Mukono district are food insecure and unless serious interventions are made the situation can only get worse.

MUKONO DISTRICT AGRI- FOOD INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Uganda is supposed to follow "the principle of decentralisation and devolution of governmental functions and powers to people at appropriate levels where they can best manage their own affairs".²² Arguably, this includes the devolution of functions and powers with respect to matters concerning agriculture, food security and ENR. It is provided that the principle of decentralisation shall apply to all levels of local government, from higher to lower government units to ensure peoples' participation and democratic control in decision making.²³

The decentralisation system in Uganda is based on the district as a unit under which are local governments and administrative units.²⁴ In order for the districts to function well with respect to the devolved functions and powers, there must be organisational and institutional structures for provision of services and through which the masses participate in decision-making processes. In this section of the paper, we try to explore the major agri-food institutional arrangements in Mukono district.

6.1 Institutional Arrangements at the District Level

At the district level, the Mukono District Council, the Production Sector and the Natural Resources Sector constitute the major institutional arrangements as far as issues of agriculture, food security and ENR are concerned. Offices of the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) also play important roles in decision-making processes concerning the district's agri-food system. Figure 2 below shows the major institutional structure for agri-food systems governance and service delivery at district level.

²² See the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, para. II (3) of the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy.

²³ Ibid, Art. 176 (2) b. Emphasis added.

²⁴ Ibid, Art. 176 (1) and Sec 3 (1) of the Local Government Act, Cap 243 Laws of Uganda 2000.





6.1.1 Mukono District Council

As is the case with all other districts in Uganda, the highest political and policy decisionmaking organ in Mukono district is the district council. The district council is headed by a chairperson elected through universal adult suffrage. Additionally, it comprises elected councillors who represent specific electoral areas and interest groups. As earlier pointed out, Mukono district council currently comprises 30 elected councilors.

The executive functions of the district council are performed by the district executive committee. Mukono district executive committee comprises the district chairperson, his/ her vice and four secretaries whose portfolios are: finance, planning, works and technical services; production, natural resources and island development; gender, health and community based services; and education and security. The secretaries are nominated by the chairperson from among the members of the council and must be approved by the council.

The functions of the district executive committee include the duty to initiate and formulate policy for approval of the council and overseeing the implementation of the Government and council's policies.²⁵ With this in mind, the study set out to establish

whether the district council has ever passed any policies or byelaws in the areas of agriculture, food security and ENR. From the interviews conducted and records reviewed, it was apparent that except in 2007 when the district council made

Existing bye-laws and policies dealing with issues of agricultural production, food security and environmental protection are not enforced mainly because councillors fear to lose the political support of their constituencies.

three ordinances,²⁶ it has never passed any specific policies or bye-laws to deal with issues of agricultural production, food security and environmental protection. Nor is there any effective enforcement of the existing agri-food bye-laws and policies. Most respondents interviewed attributed this failure to the fear by the councillors to become unpopular and lose political support from their constituencies. This is especially because any effective policies or bye-laws for improving agricultural production, food security and environmental protection would require greater responsibility from the masses including, for instance, stopping them from degrading the swamps and wetlands from which a number of people in the district derive their income and livelihood. Other reasons advanced for Mukono district's failure to pass bye-laws and policies on matters related to

²⁵ Sec 17 of the Local Government Act.

²⁶ These are "Mukono District Council protection of the Environment and Natural Resources Conservation Ordinance (2007)," "Mukono District Council Food Hygiene Ordinance (2007)" and "Mukono District Council provision of lunch to primary school pupils in UPE schools (2007)."

agri-food system include the inadequate capacity for making such bye-laws and lack of enough resources to facilitate the process. These are serious challenges that need to be addressed soonest to improve agri-food governance and service delivery in the district.

6.1.2 The Production Sector

To ensure effective delivery of services to the people, Mukono district's service delivery system is organised in different sectors. In total, the district has nine sectors, i.e., council and statutory bodies; management and support services; finance and planning; education; health; natural resources; community based services; works and technical services; and production. Of these sectors, the production and natural resource departments are the most relevant as far as issues of provision of agricultural services and agri-food system governance are concerned. The production sector is charged with the responsibility of improving agricultural production and ensuring food security in the district by, among other things, promoting delivery of quality agricultural extension services; providing planting materials; training farmers on best farming methods; and educating them on pests and disease management.²⁷

The Production sector is headed by the District Production Officer appointed by the District Service Commission (DSC). It is divided into eight departments, i.e., agricultural services, agricultural mechanisation, veterinary services, fisheries, entomology, NAADS, commercial services' and game and tourism. These departments are headed by technical officers who are also appointed by the DSC.

Technically, the District Production Officer reports to the CAO; who in turn is expected to communicate to all the other power centres/offices. The current District Production Officer however complained that, he is placed in a very difficult situation because, practically, he has to report formally or informally to all the district power centers including the district chairperson, RDC, Secretary for Production, Sectoral Committee for Production,

the District Internal Security Officer (DISO) and the District Executive Committee. One wonders what business a DISO has with issues of food and agricultural production in the district so as to require periodical reports from the

There are a number of vacant posts within the Production department and this has been worsened by the unending restructuring of the department which has caused some staff members to resign, seek other jobs, or simply "go slow on their work" due to the unpredictable environment.

District Production Officer. "Whatever you report/discuss with one power centre, the other must be briefed to avoid being misunderstood," he explained. In addition to reporting to the different power centres at the district, the production officer also has to report to the various line ministries, secretariats and agencies (like Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries; Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Industry; Ministry of Water and

27 See the Budget Conference Presentation for the Production Sector FY 2011/12 (On file).

Environment; Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development; NAADS; Uganda Wildlife Authority; NARO and the President's Office). Another big challenge confronting Mukono district production sector concerns the capacity of the different departments to deliver on their mandate. There are a number of vacant posts within the different departments in the sector. According to the District Development Plan 2010-2015, in June 2010, there were 20 unfilled posts in the production sector. The capacity of Mukono district production sector, like is the case with most districts, has further been greatly affected by the unending restructuring exercise which has caused some staff members to resign, seek other jobs, or simply "go slow on their work" due to the unpredictable environment. The situation has been exacerbated by a number of staff moving to the new districts of Buikwe and Buvuma which were created out of Mukono.

There are also serious challenges that the NAADS programme poses not only to the Production sector but also to the entire Mukono district agri-food institutional structure. As earlier pointed out, NAADS falls under the Production sector which generally provides oversight of implementation of the programme at the district. This notwithstanding, in many areas, NAADS operates as if it is independent of the Production sector virtually has no say in the NAADS budget. The NAADS budget, which is over 90 per cent of the production sector budget, is determined elsewhere. More so, although the district NAADS coordinator works under the District Production Officer, he reports directly to the CAO and NAADS secretariat.

6.1.3 The Natural Resources Sector

Mukono district's natural resources sector is the other very important sector as far as issues of agriculture, food security and ENR are concerned. The major mandate of the natural resources sector is to ensure the sustainable use and management of Mukono's ENR. The sector comprises four departments, i.e., environment; forests and wetlands; land management and surveys; and physical planning. It is headed by the District Natural Resources Officer under whom are a number of technical officers including the senior environment officer, senior forestry officer, senior land management officer, environment officer, environment officer, senior forestry officer, physical planner and registrar of titles.

As is the case with the production sector, Mukono district's natural resources sector is also faced with the challenge of lack of enough manpower to effectively execute its mandate. At the time of our visit, the department had a staffing shortfall of 38 per cent. Of its 21 established positions, only 13 were filled. In fact, at the time of our visit, Mr. Mujuni the District Natural Resources Officer was acting as the District Forest Officer and virtually doing all the work in the Forest Department.

6.2 Agri-Food Institutional Arrangements at the Sub-county Level

The same public institutions mandated to ensure food security and natural resource management at the district are replicated at the sub-county level. Just like at the district, there is a political wing which comprises the sub-county council, sub-county executive committee and sectoral secretaries. The sub-county council is headed by a sub-county chief (now referred to as the Senior Assistant Secretary). It consists of 10-20 councillors who represent parishes in the sub-county. The sub-county council is the overall decision-making organ of the sub-county and is responsible for monitoring service delivery and other development activities in the area. The sub-county executive committee consists of the chairperson, the vice chairperson and various secretaries. It is charged with the responsibility of making policies for the council and monitoring development projects in the sub-county.

Figure 3: Institutional Structure for agri-food systems governance and service delivery at the sub-county level



In November 2010, when we first visited the district, the technical wing at the sub-county level comprised the sub-county agriculture officers (AOs), sub-county veterinary officers

(VOs), sub-county fisheries officers (FOs) and the sub-county NAADS coordinators. These would liaise with and work under the district officers to carry out their work at the sub-county. However, we were informed about the on-going restructuring within the NAADS programme. The NAADS programme introduced a new agri-food structure at the sub-county level. It called on all sub-county extension staff in local governments to voluntarily apply for positions in the new structure. Most AOs and some VOs converted to NAADS. Table 5 shows the number of staff in the various departments within the production sector that converted to NAADS as at 30 March 2011. By the end of 2011, another six staff had transformed their services to other agencies/ministries. These have never been replaced.

Department	Designation	Total No. of staff	Total of staff converted to NAADS	Staff not converted	Staff converted to NAADS in other Local Governments	Requested for Retirement	Absconded
Agriculture	A 0	11	9	1	0	0	1
Veterinary	Assistant AO	16	11	5	0	0	0
Fisheries	V.V.	10	3	5	1	1	0
Entomology	Entomology Assistant	3	0	3	0	0	0
Commercial services	Assistant Commercial Officer	1	0	1	0	0	0
Totals		60	25	31	2	1	1

Table 5: Status by Department of Staff Converted /Not Converted to NAADS

Source: Mukono District Production Office

Those that did not convert retained their posts. It was however stated then that retaining them was a temporary measure as, in future, all of them would have to convert to NAADS and those not willing would be retired.²⁸ This created, and still creates great uncertainty among those staff that did not convert to NAADS.

When we visited the district in July 2011 to validate our earlier findings, we found a new structure in place. In the new structure, the sub-county chief is the accounting officer of the sub-county and he is now referred to as Senior Assistant Secretary (SAS). All sub-counties have degree holders as SASs in confirmed capacity. There are two full-time Agricultural Advisory Service Providers (AASPs), i.e., AASP Crops and AASP Livestock.

²⁸ Interview with the Mukono District Production Officer.

These are appointed on full-time performance based two-year contract. While the majority of the respondents in the sub-counties visited seemed to be happy with the new structure, they were of the opinion that two AASPs per sub-county is not enough. The AASPs

work under the sub-county NAADS coordinators. The subcounty NAADS coordinators are appointed on a full-time performance-based three-year

Unfortunately, in sub counties with extension staff that did not convert to NAADS, the new NAADS created sort of a parallel structure.

contract. They report and are answerable to the SASs and the district NAADS coordinators. In addition, the district and sub-county NAADS staff report to an elaborate NAADS farmers institutional structure.

Unfortunately, in sub-counties with AOs and other extension staff that did not convert to NAADS, the new NAADS created sort of a parallel structure. In each sub-county there exists an AASP Crop, AASP Livestock, and a sub-county NAADS Coordinator on one hand, and the AOs, VOs, FOs on the other, depending on whether or not they converted to NAADS. The latter category of extension workers do almost the same work as the ASSPs but with very little pay and limited facilitation. The major role of the AASPs is to train farmers, offer advisory services and carry out any NAADS-related work plan activities. In addition to training and offering advisory services, the AOs VOs and FOs are mandated to enforce sector regulations. In enforcing the sector regulations, they can, for instance, confiscate, arrest, carry out meat inspection etc. The challenge now is that these latter categories of staff are very few and there is a ban on recruitment in the production sector. Even within the NAADS structure, it is not possible now to fill vacant posts. A directive was issued by MAAIF and the NAADS secretariat that effective FY2011/2012, no new recruitment in NAADS is allowed until the structural issues are sorted out. The guidance from the NAADS secretariat is that if a NAADS vacancy arises, the District Production Officer and the CAO should assign someone from within the production sector to fill that gap.

Commenting on the new NAADS structure, the District Production Officer lamented the frequent introduction of new rules and procedures which he said affects the performance of staff and the production sector as a whole. He pointed out that the production sector and its staff require a certain level of certainty and stability to be able to effectively deliver on their mandate. He argued that the AASPs should be recruited under the local government system and that performance-based contracts are not the solution to getting long-term commitment for high performance levels.

With regard to environment and natural resource management at the sub-county level, there are no officers dealing with environment issues. Nor are there any established environmental committees envisioned under the National Environment Management Policy. This was the status quo at least in the sub-counties of Nagojje, Nabaale and Ntenjeru. According to the AO of Nagojje, the community development officers sometimes take up the role of environment officers at the sub-county. Ms.Nakimbugwe, the District Environment Officer attributed this state of affairs to the lack of adequate funds to employ staff at that level.

6.3. Farmers Institutions

In 2001, the Government of Uganda established NAADS to transform the country's publicly financed and delivered agricultural extension to a decentralised, farmer-owned and private-sector-led advisory service. One of NAADS' major strategies in achieving this objective is to support the development of farmers' grassroot institutions. To this end, in Mukono, like in many other districts of Uganda, NAADS has been supporting the development and strengthening of farmers' groups and farmers forum as the institutional mechanisms through which individuals can access NAADS services and support. These farmer institutions are also expected to lead to increased participation of people in the governance of their local and national agri-food systems.

All adults of 18 years and above in a village are eligible to form or join farmer groups. It is in these groups that farmers demand and access the NAADS services and support. All households in their farmer groups, within a village constitute a Village Farmer Forum (VFF). The VFF is mainly a platform for selection of enterprises and host farmers in the village to be supported by NAADS. Members of the VFF elect 7 members from amongst the different farmer groups to constitute the Village Farmer Forum Executive (VFFE). Among the responsibilities of the VFFE include: identifying advisory needs of the Forum, following up repayment by host farmers, and overseeing the revolving scheme for the recovered inputs.

In terms of procurement of inputs for farmers, after the selection of the host farmers, three farmers are selected from amongst the benefiting farmers to constitute the Village Procurement Committee (VPC). This committee is formed from among the farmers selected to benefit in a particular financial year. Once the VPC awards a contract, the supplier delivers the inputs directly to the beneficiaries in the farmer groups in the VFF and submits the demand documents to the VPC which in turn submits them to the Senior Assistant Secretary (Sub-county Chief) for payment. Payment is made directly to the supplier.²⁹ These farmer institutional mechanisms i.e., farmers forum and the procurement committees are replicated at the parish, sub county and district level. At each of these levels there is a farmers' forum, the executive committee of the forum and a procurement committee. Figure 4 below illustrates these institutional arrangements as they exist from the village to the district level.

²⁹ For more details about farmer groups and farmers forum, see the NAADS Implementation Guidelines on Farmer Selection and Support.





Although the NAADS farmer structure highlighted above presents a good opportunity for farmers to participate in the governance of their local agri-food system and service delivery, interactions with different stakeholders revealed a number of challenges that need to be urgently addressed. First, the farmers and the technocrats complained of the ever changing rules and guidelines governing the operations of farmers groups and forums. Second, they complained that they do not participate in the development of these rules and guidelines. The rules and guidelines are just imposed on them by the NAADS secretariat. This perhaps explains why the farmers are failing to own the NAADS initiatives. Finally, most stakeholders interviewed highlighted the issue fraud in the procurement process. The beneficiaries collude with the suppliers and sometimes members of the procurement committee to defraud Government. The common incidents are were the beneficiaries confirm receipt of inputs when in actual sense there was nothing supplied or the supplies made are far less than what is supposed to be delivered. The supplier is subsequently paid for nothing supplied and shares the proceeds with the beneficiaries. The weaknesses in the rules and procedure are partly to blame for this unfortunate practice. As pointed out above, the beneficiaries constitute the procurement committee and the rules require the supplier to deliver the inputs directly to the beneficiaries. These are some of the loopholes that are exploited by the fraudulent beneficiaries/suppliers.

6.4. Other Institutions

In addition to the formal agri-food institutional mechanisms highlighted above, there are a number of other institutions working on agri-food system issues. These include Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), farmer groups and organisations and the private sector generally. The major CSOs active in Mukono district that we interacted with include World Vision, Volunteer Efforts for Development Concerns (VEDCO), SASAKAWA Global 2000 and Send a Cow. Most of these CSOs and the private sector institutions are engaged in agri-food service delivery. One of the challenges that these organisations face is that they are not well coordinated. This has led to duplication of work in some sub-counties.

MUKONO DISTRICT AGRI-FOOD BUDGET AND BUDGET GOVERNANCE

For any agri-food system to work effectively, it must be adequately funded. The budget is the primary policy tool through which development priorities are determined and resources allocated. This section explores the funding of Mukono district's agri-food sector, the sector's budget and budget governance issues

7.1 About Mukono District Local Government Budget

To have a clear picture of Mukono district's agri-food sector budget and funding, it is necessary to first have a glimpse of the district's budget and financial resources. The budget for Mukono Local Government is financed from three major sources, i.e., grants from central government, local revenue and donor funding. Of these sources, central government funding is the most important. It constitutes over 90 per cent of the district's budget. The central government funding comes in form of conditional and unconditional grants. Over 90 per cent of central government funding to the district is in form of conditional grants. These conditional grants come with very strict conditions and guidelines. This has serious implications for funding local priorities like agriculture and food security initiatives.

7.2 Funding and Budgetary Allocations to the Major Agri-Food Sectors

Although it is appreciated that all Mukono disctrict local government sectors have a bearing on the functionality of the district's agri-food system, the production and the natural resource sectors stand out as the most relevant as far as issues of agriculture, food security and ENR are concerned. In this sub-section, we briefly examine the budgetary allocations to these two important sectors.

Looking at the 2010/11Mukono district sectoral budget allocations, the money allocated to the production and natural resources sector is too little. As shown in Figure 1 below, the production department received 12 per cent while the natural resources sector received only 1 per cent of the district budget. Although these allocations were a slight improvement compared to financial year 2009/10 where the natural resources sector received no allocation at all and the production department received 9 per cent,³⁰ given

³⁰ Muyomba, L., et al., (2011), Local Government Councils' Performance and Service Delivery in Uganda: Mukono

the total district budget, these allocations are too small to make any meaningful impact in as far as provision of agri-food and related service delivery is concerned. This is made worse by the fact that over 90 per cent of these sectoral allocations goes to cater for the wages of the various district officials in these departments.

Figure 5: Mukono District Sectoral Budgetary Allocations FY 2010/2011



Source: Data from the Mukono Finance department

7.3 Budget Governance and Accountability

One of the hallmarks of Uganda's decentralisation policy is to enable citizens to participate in decision-making processes on matters that affect them. The budget-making process at the local government level is one of the major avenues through which citizens should participate in decision-making processes and demand accountability. In this regard, the Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development require that the budget-making process should be participatory involving not only members of the district council and technocrats at the district, but also CSOs, members of the business community and the general public.

The district budget conference is the main forum where the different stakeholders make their contribution to the draft budget proposals prepared by the District Budget Committee. The conference is a one-day event involving members of the district council, lower local governments, technocrats at the district, leaders of local stakeholder groups, CSOs, the business community and the general public. Participants are required to scrutinise the draft district budget framework paper. The discussions mainly revolve around the budget priorities, sectoral allocations and reallocations. The heads of department make presentations on achievements and failures in the financial year

District Council Score-Card Report 2009/10. ACODE Policy Research Series, No.45, Kampala, p.24.

ending and what needs to be done in the following year. They are put to task to explain why they were unsuccessful in implementing agreed projects and programmes. In this way, the budget conference provides a very good forum for the district leadership and technocrats to account to the people.

The district budget conference as one of the major avenues for the general public to participate in agri-food sector decision-making process, has a number of shortcomings. First, people are invited very late and many of them do not get copies of the budget framework paper in advance. "We are often not invited to budget conferences and when the invitation comes it is very late, that same day scheduled for the conference, making it difficult for us to attend," lamented one member of a local-based organisation in Ntenjeru. Second, there is very little time for stakeholders to meaningfully participate. "One day is not enough to have an effective exhaustive budget conference. By the time the protocol is over and the nine heads of department are through with their presentations, little time remains even for those present to deliberate," pointed out the District Production Officer.

Third, some stakeholders interviewed complained that their ability to reallocate and allocate more resources to their own priority areas like agriculture and food

"One day is not enough to have an effective exhaustive Budget conference. By the time the protocol is over and the nine heads of departments are through with their presentations, little time remains even for those present to deliberate".

security is very limited. It is limited in the sense that the central government largely determines the priorities that local governments should focus on. This is mainly through the indicative budgetary figures for each sector that central government gives local governments at the beginning of the budget-making process and the conditional grants which come to the district with fixed amounts for specified purposes in areas that the central government considers to be priority. In fact, in this connexion, the Local Government Act clearly provides that "Local governments shall always accord national priority programme areas preferential budget outlays"³¹ and that appropriate action shall be taken against local governments whose budgets significantly detract from the national priority programme areas.³² From this perspective, it is in fact plausible to argue that the poor funding of the agri-food sector in Mukono district is largely attributable to central government.

³¹ Section 77 (2)

³² Section 77 (3).

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

This study mainly set out to examine Mukono district's major agricultural and food institutional mechanisms and the funding of the district's agri-food sector. It has been established that the governance of the district's agri-food system is diffused among a wide range of sectors and departments that are not well coordinated and in which the general public does not play a significant role. The private institutions like CSOs play a limited role in the agri-food system governance and decision-making processes. They are mainly involved in service delivery. The funding and budgetary allocation to the district's agri-food sector is too little for the sector to have any meaningful impact in terms of improving agricultural production, food security and ensuring the sustainable use and management of Mukono district's ENR.

As a way forward, the following recommendations may be very useful for improving agri-food system governance and service delivery in Mukono district.

- □ Central Government should urgently conclude the restructuring exercise in the agri-food institutions, to enable the DSC to recruit and fill all vacant posts.
- □ The Ministry of griculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries and NAADS should streamline the operations of the AASPs and the other extension staff at the subcounties to avoid unnecessary competition, duplication of efforts and wastage of resources.
- Mukono district leadership should encourage and support the active participation of CSOs and farmer groups in the agri-food system governance and decisionmaking processes. Many CSOs and farmer groups in the district should be invited to participate in the development of the sub-county and district development plans and to the budget conferences. They should be facilitated, given reasonable notice and availed the necessary documents in time.
- □ Mukono district leadership, CSOs and other stakeholders should aggressively lobby central government to increase resource allocation to the agri-food sector.
- □ The district leadership should mainstream agri-food and ENR issues in all other sectoral budgets.

- □ The district budget conference should be held for at least three days to allow adequate time for meaningful deliberations and participation by stakeholders.
- There is need to train the district councilors and the local leadership about making bye-laws and ordinances.
- □ The farmers, farmers' representatives and CSOs working on agriculture, food security and ENR issues need to be trained on the mandate, roles and responsibilities of the different local agri-food institutions/offices. It is only then that they can hold these institutions and office bearers accountable.
- □ NAADS should involve farmers and their leaders in the development of the rules and guidelines governing farmers' groups and fora.

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ANNEX

List of People Interviewed

	NAME OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED	DESIGNATION
1.	Francis Odap	Deputy CAO
2	Musa Kiggundu	Vice Chairperson
3.	Dr. Fred Mukulu	Production Officer
4.	Mr.Mukasa Mabira	District Agriculture Officer
5.	Ms. Anne Nakimbugwe	District Environment Officer
6.	Mrs Alice Nyanzi	District NAADS Coordinator
7.	Mr.Njoola	District Planner
8.	Dr. Tumushabe	District Health officer
9.	Mr. Deo Kigonya	NGO focal person
10.	Joseph Mulindwa	Uganda Environmental Education Foundation
11.	Henry Mayanja	Clerk to Council
12.	Margaret Nakato	Katosi Women Development Trust
13.	Aisha Namutebi	Senior Finance Officer
14.	Florence Nabaale	Sub county AO, Nabaale
15.	Christine Ampaire	Community Development Officer
16.	Mr. Moses Wandera	Sub county AO, Nagojje
17.	Ben Lubega	Uganda National Farmers' Federation District
		Farmers Representative
18.	Emmanuel Kayaayo Battson	Executive Director SASAKAWA 2000
19.	Moses Tamale	Kasaawo Namuganga Development
		Association
20.	Mr. Fred Mukasa	Sub-county NAADS Coordinator, Nabbaale
21.	Joseph Kigonya	Chairperson, Nabaale Sub County Farmer Fora
22.	Mr. Christopher Wali	Subcounty NAADS Coordinator, Ntenjeru
23.	Mr. Joseph Muwanga	Ntenjeru Farmer fora Chairperson
24.	Thomas Musoke	Chairperson, Nagojje Sub-county NAADS
		procurement Committee
25.	Godfrey Biso	Sub-county Agriculture Officer
26.	Abdullah Kijambu	Chairperson, Nagojje Sub-county farmer fora

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